

A STUDY ON RURAL SPACE, LAND AND SOCIO-AGRARIAN STRUCTURE  
IN OTTOMAN EDİRNE, 1613-1670

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GÜRER KARAGEDİKLİ

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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Prof. Dr. Tlin Genoz  
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy.

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Prof. Dr. mer Turan  
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully  
adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

---

Prof. Dr. Seil Karal Akgn  
Supervisor

**Examining Committee Members**

Prof. Dr. Seil Karal Akgn (METU, HIST)

Prof. Dr. zer Ergen (BLKENT UNI., HIST)

Prof. Dr. mer Turan (METU, HIST)

Prof. Dr. Recep Boztemur (METU, HIST)

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyitdanlıođlu (HACETTEPE UNI., HIST)

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **A STUDY ON RURAL SPACE, LAND AND SOCIO-AGRARIAN STRUCTURE IN OTTOMAN EDİRNE (1613-1670)**

Karagedikli, Gürer

Ph.D., Department of History

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Seçil Karal Akgün

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This study analyzes the Edirne region in the late seventeenth century, during which the city of Edirne witnessed a fascinating spatial and demographic enlargement due to the very fact that the Ottoman Sultans preferred to physically reside there. The demographic rise – and hence spatial dispersion of the city necessitated certain requirements that are imperative for us to better comprehend the city’s position in the seventeenth century. The increasing necessities of the city not only brought about the internal organization of the city per se, but also gave way to a new administrative organization of its hinterland. In this regard, the present study aims at understanding the city’s role in the organization of and integration with its rural surroundings in the period under scrutiny. The latter is given prime importance through a method of exclusive focus on land and landholding in the rural hinterland of the city of Edirne.

**Keywords:** Edirne, Rural Hinterland, Land, Space, Seventeenth Century

## ÖZ

### OSMANLI EDİRNE’SİNDE KIRSAL MEKÂN, TOPRAK VE TOPLUMSAL- TARIMSAL YAPI ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA (1613-1670)

Karagedikli, Gürer

Doktora, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Seçil Karal Akgün

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Bu çalışma, 17. yüzyıl boyunca Osmanlı sultanlarının bizzat yaşamalarından ötürü ciddi bir nüfus artışına ve mekansal büyümeye şahitlik eden, Osmanlı Edirne’sinde kırsal mekan, toprak ve tarımsal yapıyı incelemektedir. Bu demografik ve mekansal gelişim, şehrin 17. yüzyıldaki durumunu daha iyi anlamamıza yardım edecek bazı gereksinimleri de beraberinde getirmiştir. Şehrin artan gereksinimleri, bir yandan şehrin kendi içinde organizasyonunu beraberinde getirirken, diğer yandan da hinterlandının yeni bir idari yapıya kavuşmasına yol açmıştır. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma şehrin kırsal hinterlandındaki organizasyonu ve onunla entegrasyonunu anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma analizinde, kırsal kesime toprak ve toprak tasarrufu üzerinden yoğunlaşacaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Edirne, Kırsal Hinterland, Toprak, Mekân, On Yedinci Yüzyıl

To the memory of my beloved father, Yaşar Karagedikli

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
MAD	Maliyeden Müdevver
TT	Tapu Tahrir
EŞS	Edirne Şer'iyeye Sicilleri
AÜ DTCF	Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi
İÜ İF	İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi
TDV İA	Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi
EI <sup>2</sup>	Encyclopaedia of Islam

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This study analyzes the Edirne region in the late seventeenth century, during which the city of Edirne witnessed a fascinating spatial and demographic enlargement due to the very fact that the Ottoman Sultans preferred to physically reside there. The demographic rise – and hence spatial dispersion – of the city necessitates certain acknowledgements that are imperative for a comprehension of the city’s position in the seventeenth century. In this regard, the present study aims to provide a better explanation of the city’s role in the organization of and integration with its rural surroundings in the period under scrutiny. The rural surroundings of Edirne are given primary attention through a method focusing exclusively on land and landholding. At this point, one can ask the following questions: how did Edirne tolerate a significant demographic rise in a way that it could feed its residents? The Edirne of the seventeenth century was not a city that could possibly do so in the preceding century; then how about its rural surroundings?

However simple these questions seem to be, it is important to underline that the rural society in the Edirne district did not only meet its own needs but also fed the cities in its closest proximity, as well as contributed to the provisioning of the capital city of the Empire, Istanbul. Being deeply intertwined spaces, the interconnection of Edirne and its countryside increased due to a variety of factors such as demographic mobility, provisioning of cities, service demand of country, and the like. Thus, rural spheres of Edirne ought to be taken into consideration not as an auxiliary unit of the city, but rather as its indispensable component. This can be understood by treating the region of Edirne in a holistic way that pictures the

settlement patterns, the nature of those settlements, and their relations with the city covering them under its jurisdiction. In this regard, this study is an undertaking in understanding Edirne through its rural hinterland that was not static, but was rather dynamic taking different shapes in relation with changing circumstances. Modern scholarship has produced a good number studies dealing with different cities within the Ottoman state. However, there are very few examples that deal with the Ottoman city and its rural surroundings in this way because most of the extant literature paid attention either to the city per se or to the countryside within economic and judicial domains exclusively. Hence, it is important to see the relevant studies in the Ottomanist historiography.

The literature at hand concerning regional studies in the post-classical period is still lacking an undertaking such as the above due to various reasons such as the unavailability of relevant sources to visualize a whole area despite the fact that researches on rural societies have constituted a significant portion in the historiography in the last few decades. Between the 1960s and the 1980s, researchers in Turkey were in an enthusiastic dispute on the possible causes of the underdevelopment of the country. This intellectual debate was much shaped around the theoretical frameworks of both feudalism and the Asiatic mode of production. It was not the Ottomanist historians' contributions dominated these intellectual discussions, but was rather the non-historians who were influenced by the theoretical works of prominent scholars in Europe.<sup>1</sup> These non-specialists of Ottoman history, getting influenced by theoretical discussions elsewhere, *did* influence Turkish historians with their works that most commonly defended one of the two frames just mentioned above. In the meantime, while influencing historians via their works, they benefited from the empirical studies of students of Ottoman history, who used Ottoman archival sources in order to illuminate the state structure as well as societal relations.

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<sup>1</sup> Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay, *Feodalite ve Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Üretim Tarzı* (Ankara: Gazi, 1985); Sencer Divitçioğlu, *Asya Üretim Tarzı ve Osmanlı Toplumunu* (İstanbul: Sermet, 1971); Muzaffer İlhan Erdost, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Mülkiyet İlişkileri: Asya Biçimi ve Feodalizm* (Ankara: Onur, 1989). Also see Stefanos Yerasimos, *Az gelişmişlik Sürecinde Türkiye* (İstanbul: Belge, 1986); İdris Küçükömer, "Asyagil Üretim Biçimi, Yeniden Üretim ve Sivil Toplum," *Toplum ve Bilim* 2, (1977): 3-30.



This interaction between *the* Ottomanist historians and non-Ottomanist researchers occurred at a time when the former began using a particular kind of tax surveys (*tahrir defterleri*) that would dominate the field until the early 1990s after when the historical inquiry among students of Ottoman history shifted to research questions shaped more around cultural and intellectual history.<sup>2</sup> During the heyday of the so-called *defterology* studies, one line of historical inquiry in Ottoman studies at the time, students of Ottoman history interested in the “classical age” were lucky in their attempts to explain rural societies, as the regular tax surveys enabled them to reconstruct sixteenth century social and rural realities.<sup>3</sup>

Since in the following centuries Ottoman central authorities did not prepare such regular tax surveys that were compatible to the surveys of the sixteenth century, historians specializing in the later Ottoman periods were not as fortunate as those working on the earlier centuries who had opportunities to benefit from “a happy marriage of sources” as termed by Amy Singer.<sup>4</sup> Despite the fact that the Ottoman State still produced different kinds of registers concerning its tax revenues, none of

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<sup>2</sup> Heath Lowry, *Studies in Defterology. Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (İstanbul: The ISIS Press, 1992); Michael Kiel, “Population growth and food production in 16th century Athens and Attica according to the Ottoman Tahrir Defters,” in *Proceedings of the VIth Cambridge CIEPO Symposium*, ed. J.-L. Bacque Gammont and E. van Donzel (İstanbul-Paris-Leiden: Divit Press, 1987), 115-133; Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Enver Meriçli, eds., *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988); Halil İnalçık, ed., *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Süret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid* (Ankara: Türk Tarih, 1954); Ahmet Özkılınc et al., *438 Numaralı Muhâsebe Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri* (Ankara: Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1993); Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları. Kanunlar I* (İstanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbası, 1943); Mehmet Öz, “Tahrir Defterlerinin Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmalarında Kullanılması Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 22, (1991): 429-439; Kemal Çiçek, “Osmanlılardan Önce Akdeniz Dünyasında Yapılan Tahrirler Hakkında Bazı Gözlemler,” *AÜ Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi OTAM* 6, (1995): 51-89; Zeki Arıkan, “Tahrir Defterlerinde Geçen Deyimler,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 16, (1996): 1-13; Fatma Acun, “Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmalarının Genişleyen Sınırları: Defteroloji,” *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi* 1, (2000): 319-332; Suraiya Faroqhi, “Tahrir,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam* X, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 112-113; Feridun M. Emecen, “Sosyal Tarih Kaynağı Olarak Tahrir Defterleri,” in *Tarih ve Sosyoloji Semineri, 28-29 Mayıs 1990: Bildiriler* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1991), 149-155; Feridun M. Emecen, “Mufassaldan İcmale,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 16, (1996): 37-44; Halil İnalçık, “Osmanlılarda Raiyyet Rüsümü,” *TTK Belleten* XXIII, (1959): 575-610; Tiber Halasi-Kun, “Some Notes on Ottoman Mufassal Defter Studies,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* X, (1986): 163-166; Rhoads Murphey, “Ottoman Census Methods in the Mid-sixteenth Century: Three Case Studies,” *Studia Islamica* 71, (1990): 115-126.

<sup>3</sup> Heath Lowry, “The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri as a source for social and economic history: pitfalls and limitations,” in *Studies in Defterology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1992), 3-18.

<sup>4</sup> Amy Singer, “Tapu Tahrir Defterleri and Kadı Sicilleri: A Happy Marriage of Sources,” *Tarih* 1, (1990): 95-125.

these provided the “full” picture as the *tahrirs* of the earlier periods had done for historians who were to combine different kinds of Ottoman sources.<sup>5</sup> The next generation of Ottoman historians were not that fortunate as far as different regional contexts in the post-classical period are concerned, since no compatible archival sources were found. Hence, scholars combined various archival sources (but not tax surveys as they did not exist) to analyze rural society in this period.<sup>6</sup>

Students of Ottoman history found their mine of information to verify the data provided by the surveys of the sixteenth century when a new kind of source was discovered that were detailed household tax surveys (*mufassal avarız defterleri*). In terms of area coverage, population and production, no sources had equipped to the historian with the detailed information as the tax registers had done. With this data, historians were convinced that these household registers offered an understanding of the settlement patterns and demographic situation in the seventeenth century. They could also argue that the detailed household tax registers could provide a fuller picture of rural society of the seventeenth century Ottoman Empire.<sup>7</sup> For instance, having chosen Amasya and its rural environs as his case study, Oktay Özel claims that rural society in central Anatolia faced serious disturbances in the mid-seventeenth century following the disintegration of the classical Ottoman *timar* regime that had been the backbone of the entire system. Known as the Celali bandits, rebellious groups comprising a good number of unemployed young men ravaged the countryside of Anatolia that was also facing a series of economic, political and climatic difficulties.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy. Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire 1560-1660* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

<sup>6</sup> See Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Haim Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994).

<sup>7</sup> Oktay Özel, “Avârız ve Cizye Defterleri,” in *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bilgi ve İstatistik*, ed. Halil İnalçık and Şevket Pamuk (Ankara: TC. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000), 35-50; Oktay Özel, “17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Demografi ve İskan Tarihi İçin Önemli Bir Kaynak: Mufassal Avârız Defterleri,” in *XII. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 12-16 Eylül 1994), Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler III*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999), 735-743.

<sup>8</sup> Oktay Özel studied the destructive effects of the Celali rebellions in Anatolia in one of his articles recently published. See Oktay Özel, “The Reign of Violence: The *celalis* c. 1550-1700,” in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London: Routledge, 2012), 184-202. Also see Oktay Özel,

A second line of historical inquiry, which was based on *sicil* collections (Muslim court registers) in different geographical contexts, has treated this topic in a rather more complete method by integrating the city with its rural hinterland. Using such collections, Özer Ergenç, in his study on Bursa in the sixteenth century, underlines that the rural surroundings of Bursa at that time were adjusted in accordance with the city's demographic expansion that was very significant in the century and that was in line with the general demographic trend evident in the Ottoman country. In so doing, the administrative organization in the sixteenth century compiled rural sites from other sub-provinces (*sancak* or *liva*) under the jurisdiction of Bursa, which dispersed the city's control over larger areas and helped to feed Bursa's growing population.<sup>9</sup> Özer Ergenç has drawn a similar picture for sixteenth century Ankara by utilizing from Muslim court registers in a multidisciplinary method.<sup>10</sup> Other historians, basing their studies on Muslim court registers, have also attempted to understand the interaction of the Ottoman city with its surroundings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which were times the Ottoman state was facing serious political and economic transformations.<sup>11</sup> However, lack of available tax surveys from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prevented scholars from analyzing the region they dealt with in a complete way.

By the early 2000s, some Ottomanist scholars began working on the centre-periphery relations in order to revise the scholarly understanding of the eighteenth century that

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"Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries: The "Demographic Crisis" Reconsidered," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36, (2004): 191.

<sup>9</sup> Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Bursa* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006).

<sup>10</sup> Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya* (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı, 2012), 62-63.

<sup>11</sup> Modern scholars of Ottoman history researched different regions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, their works were mostly without such tax surveys. They mostly benefited from local Muslim court registers and other archival sources. See Haim Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600-1700* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1988); Dror Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996); Hülya Taş, *XVII. Yüzyılda Ankara* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006); Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: 'Ayntab in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992). For a recent study on the relations between city and country through lenses of Salonika and its countryside see İrfan Kokdas, "When the Countryside is Free: Urban Politics, Local Autonomy and the Changing Social Structure in Ottoman Salonika, 1740-1820," unpublished PhD thesis (State University of New York, 2013). I would like to thank İrfan Kokdas for kindly sending me his dissertation and his published article. Also see Nenad Moacanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

was for long viewed in relation with the so-called decline paradigm, i.e., loosening central authority and strengthening local power holders.<sup>12</sup> Dina R. Khoury analyzed the relations between the state and Mosuli society “to test the efficacy of the centralization/decentralization paradigm.”<sup>13</sup> Others also produced scholarly researches by focusing on different territorial contexts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>14</sup> All of these scholarly works, which analyzed local politics from the point of view of “state-society dichotomy”, contributed in a great deal to the current state of knowledge of students of Ottoman history.<sup>15</sup>

In agricultural empires, land was the prime means of living, producing and contesting for the subjects, and the Ottoman Empire was one of this sort. The literature not undermining the significance of land has researched this crucial matter mainly within three lines. While the first line analyzed land and land possession in the Ottoman Empire based on the tax surveys of the sixteenth century,<sup>16</sup> the second line attempted to evaluate land ownership following the Land Code of 1858.<sup>17</sup> The third line that needs to be mentioned here analyzed land and land holding within

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<sup>12</sup> Dina Rizk Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire. Mosul, 1540-1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 9; Kenneth M. Cuno, *The Pasha's peasants: land, society, and economy in Lower Egypt, 1740-1858* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Ariel Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire: rival paths to the modern state* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Ariel Salzmann, “An ancien régime revisited: privatization and political economy in the 18th century Ottoman Empire,” *Politics & Society* 21, (1993): 393–423. For the most recent study treating local power holders in a holistic way see Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (California: Stanford University Press, 2016).

<sup>13</sup> Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire*, 9.

<sup>14</sup> See Bruce McGowan, “The Age of the Ayan,” in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, Vol. II, 1600-1914*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quartaert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 637-758; Marc Aymes, *A Provincial Society of the Ottoman Empire: Cyprus and Eastern Mediterranean in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2014). Also see Antonis Anatasopoulos, ed., *Provincial elites in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete V: a symposium held in Rethymnon 10-12 January 2003* (Crete: Crete University Press, 2005); Işık Tamdoğan, “‘Büyükleri Saymak, Küçükleri Sevmek’ 18. Yüzyıl Adana’sında Ayanların İlişki Ağları ve İki Farklı İlişki Yürütme Üslubu,” *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 1, (2005): 77–96; James Grehan, *Consumer Culture and Everyday Life in Eighteenth-Century Damascus* (Washington: Washington University Press, 2007).

<sup>15</sup> Kokdas, “When the Countryside is Free,” 10.

<sup>16</sup> See footnote 2.

<sup>17</sup> Huri İslamoğlu, “Property as a Contested Domain: A Re-evaluation of Ottoman Land Code of 1858,” in *New perspectives on property and land in the Middle East*, ed. Roger Owen (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 3-61. Also see Attila E. Aytekin, “Agrarian Relations, Property and Law: an Analysis of the Land Code of 1858 in the Ottoman Empire,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 6 (2009): 935-951.

judicial or jurisprudential domain based on responsa (*fetva*) collections.<sup>18</sup> With few exceptions, though, land possession in the Ottoman Empire after the sixteenth century – and before the nineteenth – has been overlooked due to the lack of relevant empirical data on which new insights could be structured on.<sup>19</sup> Among them, one study deserves special attention: Özer Ergenç and Hülya Taş, in their work on land use in Ottoman Anatolia, analyzed the types of land possessions based on cases obtained from the Muslim courts of Hatay, Bursa, Konya, Amasya, and Harput. The authors prove that the applications of the nineteenth century reforms were in actual fact were valid in the previous two centuries. Hence, the land code of 1858 and the developments following it ought not to be analyzed without considering the land system of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>20</sup>

Very recently, historians have uncovered some new tax surveys prepared during a period of a series of conquests in the seventeenth century. The tax survey that is of significance for the present study is the one the Ottoman central state authorities prepared after the conquest of Crete in 1669. Molly Greene, in her article published in 1996, analyzed the land survey that the Ottomans prepared in Crete in 1669 just before the island was incorporated into the Ottoman administrative system.<sup>21</sup> It was not a novel practice for the Ottomans to survey a recently conquered land. What was new, however, was that the Ottomans implemented new ways of registering the lands in the Crete survey of 1669. This survey has been analyzed by other scholars who agreed that it was a new survey, despite its similarities with the classical *tahrirs* of

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<sup>18</sup> Sabrina Joseph, *Islamic Law on Peasant Usufruct in Ottoman Syria: 17th to Early 19th Century*. (Leiden: Brill, 2012). Also see Martha Mundy and Richard S. Smith, *Governing Property, Making the Modern State: Law, Administration and Production in Ottoman Syria* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007).

<sup>19</sup> For various articles in this line see Martin P. Bunton, *New perspectives on property and land in the Middle East* (Harvard CMES, 2000); Çağlar Keyder and Faruk Tabak, eds., *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East: Globalization, Revolution, and Popular Culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991). In the latter, Halil İnalcık and Gilles Veinstein's works are of significance for land issues in the pre-1858 Ottoman Empire.

<sup>20</sup> Özer Ergenç and Hülya Taş, "Assessments on Land Usufruct and Ownership in Anatolia during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries," *Ajames* 23, no. 2 (2007): 1-32. Also see Özer Ergenç, "18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Anadolu'sunda Tarım Üretiminde Yeni Boyutlar: Muzâra'a ve Murâba'a Sözleşmeleri," *Kebikeç İnsan Bilimleri İçin Kaynak Araştırmaları Dergisi* 23 (2007): 129-139.

<sup>21</sup> Molly Greene, "An Islamic Experiment? Ottoman Land Policy on Crete," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 11, no. 1 (1996): 60-78.

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>22</sup> Although Ottomanist historians claimed that this practice of the Cretan survey did not become a widespread application in the Ottoman realms, other similar or dissimilar surveys have been discovered in the Ottoman archives shedding further light on the new registration practices the Ottomans were experimenting. Similar to Crete, the Ottoman central administration undertook a tax survey for Podolia in 1681 following its conquest in the seventeenth century. This was the last territory that became an Ottoman land during the reign of Mehmed IV.<sup>23</sup> Within two decades or so, the Ottomans did the same for the Morea when they recaptured it from the Venetians in 1715. This was followed by a series of other tax surveys in the Aegean the islands.<sup>24</sup> Although new surveys similar to (not identically) tahrirs were undertaken for some parts of the Ottoman Empire (i.e., Podolia and the Morea after their conquests by the Ottomans, and Semendire) between the late seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries, this did not become a general practice throughout the Ottoman territories.<sup>25</sup> However, most of the recent researches have dealt with these late seventeenth and early eighteenth century

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<sup>22</sup> Since Ömer Lütfi Barkan who first analyzed the kanunname of the Cretan survey of 1669, scholars have extensively studied it. Also see Greene, “An Islamic Experiment?”; Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Elias Kolovos, “Beyond ‘Classical’ Ottoman Defterology: A Preliminary Assessment of the Tahrir Registers of 1670-71 Concerning Crete and the Aegean Islands,” in *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands: Toward a Social and Economic History (Studies in Honor of John C. Alexander)*, ed. Elias Kolovos (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2007), 201-35; Eugenia Kermeli, “Caught in between Faith and Cash: The Ottoman Land System of Crete, 1645-1670,” in *The Eastern Mediterranean under Ottoman Rule: Crete, 1645-1840 (Halcyon Days in Crete VI, A Symposium Held in Rethymno, 13-15 January 2006)*, ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos (Crete: Crete University Press, 2008); Evangelia Balta and Mustafa Oğuz, eds., *Livâ-i Resmo Tahrir Defteri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009).

<sup>23</sup> Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681). Defter-i Mufasssal-i Eyalet-i Kamanîçe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994).

<sup>24</sup> Evangelia Balta, “The Ottoman Surveys of Siphnos (17th-18th Centuries),” *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 18, (2006): 51-69. Also see Stefka Parveva, “Agrarian Land and Harvest in the South-west Peloponnese in the early eighteenth century,” in *Village, Town and People in the Ottoman Balkans 16<sup>th</sup>-mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. Stefka Parveva (İstanbul: ISIS Press, 2009), 61-110.

<sup>25</sup> Kołodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681)*; Miroslav Pavlovic, “Postclassical defterology: Possibilities of Socio-economic research in contemporary Ottoman Studies,” *Journal of Historical Researches* (Istrazivanja) 26, (2015): 66-81.

surveys in order to analyze how the Ottomans integrated the newly conquered lands into the Ottoman political and administrative systems.<sup>26</sup>

The most recent line of inquiry in Ottoman studies has emerged in parallel to the current agenda of historical research in the world that is related with the so-called “spatial turn.” Two current projects in this respect deserve special attention. The first is a forthcoming book edited by Ali Yaycıoğlu and Cemal Kafadar that brings together a number of papers in order to provide a better spatial understanding for the early modern Ottoman Empire.<sup>27</sup> The second one is on a rather narrow geographical context: Crete.<sup>28</sup> Research on space greatly contributes to our current state of knowledge of the early modern Ottoman Empire in a way that interprets conceptual frames empire-wide as well as at local levels.<sup>29</sup>

In this dissertation dealing with the interaction of the city with its rural hinterland by focusing on the Edirne district, I, in light of the current literature, argue that the relations of Edirne with its rural surroundings was re-organized in the seventeenth century, when the city witnessed a tremendous population rise bringing about a higher demand of provisioning. Hence, this demographic rise in the city not only stimulated the organization of the city *per se*, but also necessitated the re-organization of the city’s rural surroundings. In this regard, I further argue that similar to the Bursa district of the late sixteenth century as elaborated by Özer Ergenç, the rural space of the Edirne region of the seventeenth century was also re-organized in a way that increased its allocations (*tahsisat*) from the surrounding

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<sup>26</sup> It was also this period when a new generation of Ottomanist historians began to praise the scholarly shift towards the peasant in Ottoman studies. Elias Kolovos, ed., *Ottoman Rural Societies and Economies: Halcyon Days in Crete VIII: a Symposium Held in Rethymno 13-15 January 2012* (Crete: Crete University Press, 2015).

<sup>27</sup> The papers were presented in a workshop organized in Stanford University in 2016. The proceedings will be published under the title of Ali Yaycıoğlu and Cemal Kafadar, *Ottoman Topologies: Production of Space in an Early Modern Empire* (California: Stanford University Press, forthcoming).

<sup>28</sup> The name of the project is Mediterranean Insularities: Space, Landscape and Agriculture in Early Modern Cyprus and Crete. This is a still ongoing project undertaken by Elias Kolovos and Antonis Hadjikyriacou. See its website on <http://medins.ims.forth.gr> (accessed on 11 July 2017).

<sup>29</sup> See Özer Ergenç, “Perception of Space in the Early Modern Ottoman World: ‘Vatan’ and ‘Diyar-ı Aher’ within the Triangular Context of ‘Memalik-i Mahruse’, ‘Diyar-ı Acem’ and ‘Frenjistân,’” in *Ottoman Topologies: Production of Space in an Early Modern Empire*, ed. Ali Yaycıoğlu and Cemal Kafadar (California: Stanford University Press, forthcoming). I would like to thank Özer Ergenç for allowing me to read his unpublished work.

districts in order to alleviate the provisioning demand of Edirne. However, unlike the Bursa case, this re-organization was arranged in a concrete and horizontal way by the enlargement of rural sites of Edirne from within the same sub-province that was the Paşa *sancak* or *liva*.

## Sources

In order to test these hypotheses, this study uses a new data set based on a newly found survey (*tahrîr-i cedîd*) prepared in 1670 for the district of Edirne that I use here for the first time. The Edirne survey of 1670, prepared almost in the same year and in the same way with that of the Cretan survey of 1669, is far more advantageous in terms of settlement typologies vis-à-vis the enlargement of the Edirne district, peasant holding and *çiftlik* sizes. The survey consists of two separate parts that I brought together due to the fact that they belonged to the same *defter* that is detailed in Chapter III.<sup>30</sup>

Besides this survey that forms the backbone of this research, other archival and contemporary sources were also used to complement the data at hand in order to see the bigger picture concerning the region. The first of these sources are the last tax surveys prepared during the late sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth centuries. Three classical tahrir registers (Tapu-tahrir defterleri) were used to compare the data in hand. These are TT 729, TT 1001 and TT 648.<sup>31</sup> All of these are stored in the Başbakanlık Archive in İstanbul.<sup>32</sup> Though they were prepared in a different way from the Edirne survey of 1670, the tax surveys (*tahrirs*) of the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth are of great importance in order to

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<sup>30</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Maliyeden Müdevver (hereafter BOA MAD), 133, [undated], pp. 1-185; BOA MAD 556, 1081/1670, pp. 6-211. This survey is described in detail in Chapter III where I analyze peasant holdings and large estates.

<sup>31</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter, BOA), TT 729; TT 648; TT 1001.

<sup>32</sup> Tayyip Gökbilgin and Ahmet Yiğit analyzed TT 729 and TT 648 in their works. Gökbilgin states that they were badly bound; hence need to be read carefully. See Tayyip M. Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Pasa Livâsi: vakıflar, mülkler, mukataalar* (İstanbul: İstanbul Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1952) and Ahmet Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," unpublished PhD Thesis (Muğla University, 1998).



initially define the settlement names in the Edirne district, i.e., as abandoned and/or inhabited. Secondly, especially for the villages within the classical *mîrî* land regime, it was necessary to see the continuity of villages (be a *timar*, *zeamet* or *hâss* village). Thirdly, the latest tax surveys of the classical period for the Edirne district were crucial to compare the revenue amounts recorded in the Edirne survey of 1670. Unfortunately, the latter survey did not record the total annual revenues for all settlements. This made it essential to read previous tax surveys of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Moreover, there is one detailed *avârız* register (*mufassal avarız defteri*) prepared in 1686 that is of great importance for the present study.<sup>33</sup> Catalogued as the TT 817 register in the Başbakanlık Archives in Istanbul, this survey does not provide compatible data to that of the Edirne survey of 1670, yet it offers indispensable details regarding the villages whose residents moved to neighboring settlements or that were hit by plague affecting their demographic situation. The only researchers mentioning this avarız survey are Suraiya Faroqhi and Stefka Parveva. Faroqhi analyzed it in one of her articles that was about a flood that occurred in 1690. However, she mentioned the survey briefly only in relation with determining the names of some villages in the Ada sub-district of the Edirne district.<sup>34</sup> Parveva, too, mentioned the survey shortly in her article on the Edirne region in the late seventeenth century.<sup>35</sup> In addition to the mentioned, in this study, a later survey that

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<sup>33</sup> BOA TT 817, 1097/1686, pp. 1-48. Recorded the rural sites of Edirne, this was the completing part of the mufassal avarız register of 1686 (KK 2711, 1097/1686) recording the city *per se* that some historians used (see Gürer Karagedikli, “In Search of a Jewish Community in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire: The Case of the Edirne Jewish Community (1686-1750),” unpublished Master’s Thesis (Bilkent University, 2011); Yunus Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the city with its mahalles: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” unpublished PhD Thesis (Boğaziçi University, 2014)). Although some historians assert that these surveys are compatible with the classical tahrirs, the avarız registers are different from the mevkufat registers. One has to keep in mind that the detailed avarız surveys registered the reaya who were responsible to pay avarız taxes, hence they did not include all the people living in cities and villages.

<sup>34</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, “A Natural Disaster as an Indicator of Agricultural Change: Flooding in the Edirne Area, 1100/1688-89,” in *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete III: a symposium held Rethymnon 10-12 January 1997*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou (Crete: Crete University Press, 1999), 251-263.

<sup>35</sup> Stefka Parveva, “Rural Agrarian and Social Structure in the Edirne Region during the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century,” in *Village, Town and People in the Ottoman Balkans 16<sup>th</sup>-mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. Stefka Parveva (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2009), 38.

is a summary avarız register (*icmâl*) was used also.<sup>36</sup> This survey gives us very important information about the situation of neighborhoods and villages for later years.

Another archival source used in this study comprises judicial records from the Edirne Muslim Court (Edirne *Şer'iyye Sicilleri*). Unfortunately, until the beginning of the eighteenth century, Edirne Muslim court registers contain only probate inventories (*tereke* or *muhallefât*) that are the bequest records of state officials (*askeri*) as well as “civilians” (*beledi*). These are also crucial records to observe the lives of not only urban dwellers but also rural residents'.<sup>37</sup> This study thus used the available data in the Muslim court registers of Edirne to determine the probate inventories of rural dwellers as well as urban residents owning immovable property in the rural spheres of Edirne. Despite all their limitations, they also provide information to indicate the number of siblings' village dwellers had at the time of their deaths. Hence ten full registers recorded within ten years beginning from the time of the registration of the Edirne survey of 1670 were used in this study.<sup>38</sup>

The writings of contemporary observers (both European and Ottoman) were also very illuminating for this research in a sense that they offer qualitative information that complement the quantitative data we gain from the archival sources. Contemporary Ottoman chronicles such as the *Tarih-i Naima* of Mustafa Naima Efendi<sup>39</sup>, *Tarih-i Raşid* of Raşid Mehmed Efendi,<sup>40</sup> the *Seyahatname* of Evliya Çelebi,<sup>41</sup> the *Fezleke* and of Katip Çelebi,<sup>42</sup> and the *Zeyl-i Fezleke* and *Nusretname*

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<sup>36</sup> BOA KK 2726 (1098/1687), pp. 1-42.

<sup>37</sup> For the Edirne probate inventories see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Edirne Askerî Kassamına Âit Tereke Defterleri (1545-1659),” *Belgeler* 3, no. 5-6 (1966): 1-479; Gülser Oğuz, “Bir Osmanlı Kentinde Taşınır ve Taşınmaz Mal Varlığına Dayalı Servet Analizi: Edirne Örneği,” unpublished PhD Thesis (Ankara University, 2013).

<sup>38</sup> These are *Edirne Şer'iyye Sicilleri* (hereafter EŞS), 4669, 4670, 4671, 4672, 4673, 4674, 4675, 4676, 4677, 4678.

<sup>39</sup> Mustafa Naima Efendi, *Tarih-i Naima*, 6 vols, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007).

<sup>40</sup> Mehmed Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli*, 6 vols, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan et al. (İstanbul: Klasik, 2013).

<sup>41</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname vol.3*, ed. Yücel Dağlı and Seyit Ali Kahraman (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 1999).

<sup>42</sup> Zeynep Aycibin, “Kâtip Çelebi Fezleke-Tahlil ve Metin,” unpublished PhD Thesis (Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2007).

of Fındıklılı Silahdar Mehmed Ağa<sup>43</sup> were also resorted to as they vividly portrayed the period under scrutiny. Moreover, the *Vekayiname* of Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa closely describes the hunting activities of Sultan Mehmed IV, who was in Edirne most of the time of his reign and traveled around the villages in the Edirne region.<sup>44</sup>

Contemporary Western observers of Edirne provided a good deal of information about the city and its rural surroundings as well. Especially during the reign of Mehmed IV who often traveled around the Edirne region due to his royal hunting expeditions, some European visitors had opportunities to see rural sites around Edirne.<sup>45</sup> In this regard, John Covel, a Christian envoy of the British ambassador to Istanbul, recorded very vividly his observations the originals of which are now in the British Museum in London.<sup>46</sup>

In concluding, based on the above sources, in order to verify or support the arguments I raised above, the present study aims to contribute to the current literature by providing new empirical data through a new survey prepared for the Edirne district in the late seventeenth century. By way of a regional study on the district of Edirne that was the physical seat for the Ottoman royalty throughout the seventeenth and first years of the eighteenth centuries, it is aimed that the empirical findings widen our understanding of how the Ottomans organized space and how the perception of space changed in the early modern period. Furthermore, the present study also expects to contribute to the scholarly discussions on land use, land holdings, and estate formation in the early modern Ottoman Empire.

Through the above proceedings, this dissertation follows a thematic structure that consists of three following chapters. Although the chapters are bound around a

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<sup>43</sup> Mehmet Topal, “Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, Nusretnâme, 1106-1133 (1695-1721), Tahlil ve Metin,” unpublished PhD Thesis (Marmara Üniversitesi, 2001).

<sup>44</sup> Sevim İlgürel, “Enîsü’l-müsâmirîn (Abdurrahman Hibri’nin) Tahlili ve Tenkitli Neşri,” unpublished PhD Thesis (İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1972); Fahri Çetin Derin, “Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi’nâmesi. Tahlil ve Metin Tenkidi,” unpublished PhD Thesis (İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1993).

<sup>45</sup> John Covel, “Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covel, 1670-1679,” in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (London: Hayklut Society, 1892). Also see Anthony Galland, *İstanbul’a Ait Günlük Hatıralar 1672-1673*, I-II, trans. Nahid Sırrı Örik (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998).

<sup>46</sup> Özdemir Nutku provides some of Covel’s original drawings in his work. See Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmet’in Edirne Şenliği (1675)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1987).

common framework, they can also be read as independent parts. After the Introduction chapter, Chapter 2 examines the position of Edirne within the Ottoman socio-political world. For that, this chapter describes a short historical background of the city of Edirne since its conquest by the Ottomans in the mid-fourteenth century towards the beginning of the twentieth giving us an opportunity to better comprehend the city in terms of its demography and social structure.

Chapter 3 analyzes land and landholding in the Edirne district in the late seventeenth century. Having exclusively relied upon the data of the Edirne survey of 1670 (*tahrîr-i cedîd*) that recorded landholdings in a system of metric measurement, I analyze land cover and land use in the Edirne district in the late seventeenth century. The data, which enables the analysis of the socioeconomic use of land (such as arable land, forestry, meadows, and the like), forms a basis for spatial and territorial analyses, which are crucial for understanding land and landholding system in the early modern period. Following a detailed description of landscape of the Edirne region, this chapter is concerned with the peasant holdings and large estates, which aims to empirically contribute to the scholarly discussions on landholding and *çiftlik*s in the early modern Ottoman Empire.

In Chapter 4, the kaza of Edirne (more specifically its sub-districts) are taken up in more detail in order to better explain the rural structure in terms of settlement typologies (such as the village, the hamlet and “exempted farm”) and of revenues (*hâss*, *ze’âmet* or *timar*). These rural settlements are displayed more specifically on maps. This was accomplished by way of geographic information system (GIS) technologies based on geo-referencing each rural unit. This is crucial for it enables visualizing the district of Edirne through GIS maps drawn. In the procedure of making the maps, the physical distinction of rural units is attributed, as to whether they were inhabited settlements or uninhabited locations that were or were not in the possession of neighboring villages. Although this attempts to draw the picture of the Edirne district based on the latest survey of Edirne that is the Edirne survey of 1670, it benefits from the tax surveys of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that were the last classical tax surveys (*tahrirs*) the Ottoman finance department undertook for the district. Chapter 4 also analyzes the demographic situation in the

five sub-districts of Edirne in terms of social and religious compositions of villages that greatly varied from one to another. In addition, the number of men with *askeri* status who were physically residing in the villages around Edirne is of great significance for the general thesis of the present study.

For a final word, this chapter demonstrates that the interaction between Edirne and its rural sites were intensified in the seventeenth century when the residence of Ottoman sultans in the city consecutively brought about a sharp rise in its population. The city's significant demographic rise could only be understood in relation with its rural hinterland that also faced a sharp territorial dispersion in the century under scrutiny. Once this is accomplished, the study moves to the city's rural surroundings that were not static during the period under research but was rather dynamic taking a larger shape as the city was enlarged. In other words, administratively speaking, this chapter shows how the city tolerated the demographic enlargement by bringing a larger rural sphere under its jurisdiction in the seventeenth century, making the Edirne district (*kaza*) that more or less found its natural physical boundaries during the seventeenth century.

## CHAPTER 2

### EDİRNE IN THE OTTOMAN SOCIO-POLITICAL COSMOS

#### 2.1 Ottoman Edirne

##### 2.1.1. A Brief Historical Background of Edirne

Once the city of Adrianople for the Roman/Byzantine Empire, Edirne was a city of great importance for the Ottoman state throughout its history. The Ottomans conquered the city in 1361 and henceforth used it as a base to further their conquests in the Balkans when the State was expanding towards the west in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, Ottoman power was consolidated in the Balkans in the fourteenth century after a decisive victory it gained at the battle of Sırp Sındığı against a crusader army composed of military forces from various European states to stop the Ottoman expansion. The Ottomans continued to conquer the strongholds in Europe including Sofia in 1382. Following this period of expansion in the fourteenth century, the Ottomans faced a serious threat coming not from the West but from the East that was the army of Timur the Lame. Edirne became an arena of rivalry of the Ottoman princes when the state fell into a period of political chaos – the Interregnum – upon the defeat of Battle of Ankara fought with Timur in 1403. Political contention between the rival princes lasted about a decade until Mehmed I re-established their

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<sup>47</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Edirne’nin Fethi,” in *Edirne-Edirne’nin 600. Fethi Yıldönümü Armağan* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993), 137-159.

Ottoman political unity.<sup>48</sup> In the following decades, the Ottomans turned Edirne into an imperial centre where a new palace was constructed just before the Byzantium capital, Constantinople, was conquered.<sup>49</sup>

When the Ottomans seized Constantinople (later Konstantiniyye or İstanbul) in 1453, Edirne stayed in the shadow of the new capital administratively. Yet, the following Ottoman Sultans still favored the city, beautifying it through the roles of the pious endowments (*waqfs*) established by the Sultans, royal family members, ruling elites, and ordinary people.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, the city became a cultural centre in the sixteenth century during when the city homed a significant number of scholars and many architectural complexes were established.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, it was precisely in the sixteenth century that the Selimiye Mosque, the marvelous product of the great Ottoman architect, Mimar Sinan, was erected in the city.

Edirne's importance among the Ottoman rulers as well as its place in state mechanism did not change much in the following century, as it physically became a *de facto* seat for the Ottoman sultans during most of the seventeenth century. Historians thus depicted that Edirne lived its "golden age" in this period during which the Ottoman sultans mostly preferred to reside there. In the seventeenth century, Edirne continued being also a centre the military assembly center before the army's northern or western campaigns. Likewise, in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it retained its significant position as a defense line when the Empire was territorially shrinking as a result of long and devastating wars.

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<sup>48</sup> Dimitris J. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402-1413* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

<sup>49</sup> Rifat Osman Tosyavizade, *Edirne Sarayı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989).

<sup>50</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*.

<sup>51</sup> Aziz Nazmi Şakir-Taş, *Adrianopol'den Edirne'ye. Edirne ve Civarında Osmanlı Kültür ve Bilim Muhitinin Oluşumu (XIV-XVI Yüzyıl)* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayinevi, 2009).



Figure 1. Sketch of Edirne (Leiden MS as shown in Ludá Klusáková)

From the mid-seventeenth century on, during the reigns of Mehmed IV, Ahmed II and Mustafa III, Edirne played the role of “unofficial” capital that positively affected the city, and this role strengthened the demographic situation and political influence of the city. A significant number of state officials (both at office and retired) lived in the city throughout the seventeenth century. Almost 20 per cent of the city-dwellers were under the state service according to two official surveys undertaken in the last quarter of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries respectively.<sup>52</sup> This so-called golden age came to an end as a result of the so-called Edirne Incident of 1703, at which date Mustafa II was deposed that brought about the return of the Imperial Seat to Istanbul.<sup>53</sup> Students of Ottoman history in general and those specializing in Edirne in particular have long depicted the Edirne Incident as a crucial turning point in the history of the city that brought about a decline in its significance because of the proceeding rulers’ negligence in residing there as much as their predecessors had done prior to 1703.

<sup>52</sup> Özer Ergenç, “XVIII. Yüzyıl Başlarında Edirne’nin Demografik Durumu Hakkında Bazı Bilgiler,” in *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi (21-25 Eylül 1981) Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989), 1415-1424; Gürer Karagedikli, “Bir Payitahtı Yeniden Düşünmek: 18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Edirne Şehrinin Sosyal ve Mekansal Yapısı Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler,” in *Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç’e Armağan*, ed. Ümit Ekin (İstanbul: Bilgi Sanat Yayınları, 2013), 221-231; Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles.”

<sup>53</sup> Sebra F. Meservey, “Fezullah Efendi: An Ottoman Şeyhülislam,” unpublished PhD Thesis (Princeton University, 1967); Rifa’at Abou-el-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut Te Istanbul, 1984).



Almost all of the scholarly works dealing with the Ottoman city in the eighteenth century focus on the administrative structure, power relations, and lately wealth. Scholars also argued that Ottoman cities and their inhabitants were better off in terms of their wealth compared to the previous century, which has long been depicted within the Ottoman “seventeenth century crises”. History of Edirne in the aforementioned two centuries has rather been treated in an opposite understanding due to the unique political processes that the city went through. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Ottoman sultans – particularly Mehmed IV (Avcı) and Mustafa II – preferred to stay in Edirne rather than staying in İstanbul that became the fortune of the city as the sojourns of the sultans made the seventeenth century the “golden period” for Edirne. This was the main factor of the city’s increasing population and popularity among state officials, traders, and even foreign embassies. Up to this point, the general discourse is understandable.

However, with a rather reductionist approach caused mostly by the Edirne Incident of 1703 that brought about the return of the Imperial Seat to İstanbul and Sultan Mustafa II’s abdication and a series of other events, modern historiography has tended to depict the city’s history within the “decline” discourse – i.e., population of the city decreased, state neglected it, and finally it lost its old glorious days. One reason for this decline discourse is that the city’s history has long been described in parallel to the Ottoman Empire’s political and military history in the eighteenth century, and thus mostly within the “decline paradigm”. This discourse based its argument on three events that occurred in the first half of the eighteenth century: The “Edirne Incident” of 1703 (*Edirne vak‘ası*), the Great Fire of 1742 (*ihrâk-ı kebîr*), and the Great Earthquake of 1752 (*zelzele-i ‘azîme*).<sup>54</sup> Modern historiography of Ottoman Edirne has long depicted the city’s position in the century concerned within the discourse of “neglect and decline”.

If these three incidents had affected the city severely and caused irreversible economic and social traumas, one may suspect that the property relations must have been affected from this as well. Economic, sociological and anthropological theories

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<sup>54</sup> See Yunus Uğur, “Edirne,” in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2009), 195-197; Feridun M. Emecen, “Tarih Koridorlarında Bir Sınır Şehri: Edirne,” in *Edirne: Serhattaki Payitaht*, ed. Emin Nedret İşli and M. Sabri Kozlu (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 1998), 49-69.

have drawn frameworks to enable understanding urban structures and personal and communal relations. They provide general explanations, at given exogenous shocks (i.e., earthquake, fire, or unrest), to how the urban structure and social relations in general and property relations in particular are affected in the short and long terms. By systematically and empirically analyzing the entire series of property sale contracts extracted from the sicils between the dates mentioned above, a recent study has shown that the number of property transactions throughout the eighteenth century decreased by the 1730s, which might testify to a decline in the number of people residing in the city.<sup>55</sup>

It is not this study's main concern to verify this decline discourse of the city. However, one may conceivably assert that the city of Edirne faced demographic "decline" by the thirties of the eighteenth century. Following the permanent return of the seat to Istanbul, it would make more sense to state that the city in fact found its demographic equilibrium. As such, while the students of Ottoman history viewed the seventeenth – and very early years of the eighteenth – century as Edirne's "golden age", they repeatedly underlined its "decline" in the following centuries.<sup>56</sup> Additionally, even though the two disasters must have indeed negatively affected the city's economy, it will be a slight exaggeration to talk about the complete abandonment of Edirne in the eighteenth century. The situation of Edirne in the eighteenth century needs to be analyzed through further empirical examination. However, despite the fact that Edirne might have lost a good number of officials hitherto resided in the Edirne Palace as well as merchants and foreign diplomatic personnel located in Edirne because of the Sultan's presence there, it is wise to say that Edirne still kept its position due to its closeness to Istanbul and its essential position on the road of intersections of imperial roads that I will further describe below.<sup>57</sup> The other assertion is that it was still the base for the army for military

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<sup>55</sup> Güner Karagedikli and Ali Coşkun Tuncer, "The people next door: Housing and Neighbourhood in Ottoman Edirne, 1734-1814," paper presented at the annual meeting for the *Economic History Society Annual Conference* (Cambridge, April 1-3, 2016).

<sup>56</sup> Historical studies have repeatedly advocated this decline narrative of Edirne in the eighteenth century. For some examples see Uğur, "Edirne"; Tayyip Gökbilgin, "Edirne," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 10 (İstanbul: Türk Diyanet Vakfı, 1994), 425-431.

<sup>57</sup> For contemporary views, see *Tarih-i Raşid; Tarih-i Naima*; Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *A Voyage Round the World* (J. Walthoe, 1732), 54-55.

campaigns in Europe. Furthermore, various European traders still chose to locate in Edirne for commercial purposes in the following centuries.<sup>58</sup>

The nineteenth century, however, was rather different. In the beginning of the century, during the reign of Selim III, leading notables rebelled giving way to the “Second Edirne Incident” in 1806.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, with the so-called “Auspicious event” in 1826, the Ottoman State abolished the Janissary corps stationed in every city throughout the empire. Edirne also homed a good number of Janissaries whose abolishing affected the city demographically and economically. Following this event, Edirne was devastated when the Russian army invaded the city in 1829 that would not be the last invasion. Almost half a century later, the Russians invaded the city again during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 (also known as the '93 *Harbi*). Historians have a consensus on the devastating effects of these two invasions that left destructive marks on the city and its people, many of whom abandoned Edirne.<sup>60</sup>

In the early years of the twentieth century during which the Ottoman State engaged in a series of long wars, Edirne was occupied twice by Bulgaria in 1912 for a very short time until its return to the Ottomans in 1913 and by Greece between 1919-22 respectively. The latter came to an end with the War of Independence when the Turkish army re-took it from the Greek military forces. Consequently, with the signing of the Lausanne Peace Treaty in 1923 that guaranteed the independence of today's Turkey, Edirne remained as one of the cities located in the Turkish Republic's lands in the European continent.

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<sup>58</sup> Halil Sahilliođlu, “XVIII. Yüzyılda Edirne'nin Ticari İmkanları,” *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, 13, (1968): 60-68. Also see Georges Koutzakiotis, *Cavalla, une échelle égéenne au XVIIIe siècle. Négociants européens et notables ottomans* (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2009).

<sup>59</sup> Gökbilgin, “Edirne,” 426.

<sup>60</sup> Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, *Edirne'nin Uđramıř olduđu İstilalar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1968).

### 2.1.2. Demographic Picture

The city of Edirne had no more than ten thousand of people when the Ottomans captured it in the early 1360s.<sup>61</sup> Two settlement points were seen as inhabited by the fourteenth century, namely the Aina area across the Tunca River and the Kaleiçi that is the Citadel built during the Roman era.<sup>62</sup> Yunus Uğur analyzed in detail the city's spatial and demographic enlargement in the seventeenth century, and compared it to that of the previous centuries. He points out that by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the city grew in the directions of the north, east and northwest.<sup>63</sup> The spatial diffusion of Edirne was related to the increasing number of people lived there. The earliest complete Ottoman tax surveys for Edirne was from the first decade of the sixteenth century that gives a population figure of no more than 20.000.<sup>64</sup> However, as a "population pressure" was the case in the entire Mediterranean basin in the sixteenth century,<sup>65</sup> the Ottoman lands also faced a demographic boom towards the second half of the same century that has been a well-analyzed topic by the students of Ottoman history based on tahrir registers.<sup>66</sup> This "pressure" was evident in Edirne too. During the second half of the sixteenth century, the population of Edirne increased to a number of 30.000. This trend of increasing number of people continued in the seventeenth century when the city became the *de facto* capital of the Ottoman State. This increase of population in the seventeenth and early eighteenth

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<sup>61</sup> A city's description ought to be done through the wordings of the Ottomans: a place where "*bazar durur cum'a kılınur*". See Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehrindeki Yönetim Kurumlarının Niteliği Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler," in *XVIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi Bildirileri VIII*, vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1981), 1265. Also see Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlılarda Esnaf ve Devlet İlişkileri," in *Tarihte Türk Devletleri II* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1987), 627.

<sup>62</sup> See various works in *Edirne: Edirne'nin 600. Fetih Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993).

<sup>63</sup> Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles," 103. Also see Sercan Yıldırım, "Kuruluşundan XVIII. Yüzyıla Kadar Rumeli-Edirne Kent Kurgusu ve Yapı Grupları. Manzume, İmaret, Külliye İlişkisinin Çağdaş Kent ve Mimarlık İlkeleri Açısından Değerlendirilmesi," unpublished PhD Thesis (Gazi University, 1991).

<sup>64</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Survey," in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, ed. Michael A. Cook (London: Oxford University Press, 1978), 163-171.

<sup>65</sup> Michael A. Cook, *The Population Pressure in Ottoman Anatolia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972).

<sup>66</sup> That even created a name for its researchers as "defterology". For a literature review see Lowry, *Studies in Defterology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.

centuries was for sure closely linked to the Sultan's – and his entourage including crowded personnel in the Palace – existence in Edirne. In fact, this period witnessed that imperial meetings were gathered in Edirne, and the Sultan accepted the foreign ambassadors in the Edirne Palace.<sup>67</sup> In this period, its population rose to 40.000 in the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>68</sup>

The most detailed studies on the population of the city of Edirne in the late seventeenth century are based on Ottoman archival sources used by few scholars. So far, two important types of documents have been used to create an aggregate demographic picture for seventeenth century Edirne. One is a detailed *avarız* register, and the second is a surety survey prepared in 1703.<sup>69</sup> Despite these detailed works providing rather quantitative demographic figures for the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the information regarding the number of people who resided in Edirne throughout the eighteenth century comes from rather qualitative sources such as European travelers visited the city.<sup>70</sup>

Furthermore, it is hard to estimate the number of people in the nineteenth century that was changeable due to the flow of migrants and refugees escaping from their homes in Europe now captured by European and newly founded Balkan states. As the Ottoman central authorities began to undertake its first population registers documenting children as well as adults (only the males for both) with the 1831

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<sup>67</sup> Contemporary Ottoman and western writers repeatedly state this. See *Tarih-i Naima; Tarih-i Raşid*; Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar 1672-1673*; Covel. "Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covel, 1670-1679."

<sup>68</sup> Karagedikli, "Bir Payitahtı Yeniden Düşünmek."

<sup>69</sup> Gürer Karagedikli used this detailed *avarız* register of 1686 for the first time concerning the Jewish community of Edirne. Later, Yunus Uğur analyzed it in more detail regarding the interaction of the city with its neighborhoods. See Karagedikli, "In Search of a Jewish Community in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire: The Case of the Edirne Jewish Community (1686-1750)"; Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries." The surety survey was first partially discovered by Özer Ergenç. Later, Feridun Emecen mentioned shortly that it had the completing parts as well. Özer Ergenç, "XVIII. Yüzyıl Başlarında Edirne'nin Demografik Durumu Hakkında Bazı Bilgiler"; Feridun Emecen, "Tarih Koridorlarında Bir Sınır Şehri: Edirne." *Edirne: Serhattaki Payitaht*. In 2013 and 2014, two works also analyzed this surety register. These works are Karagedikli, "Bir Payitahtı Yeniden Düşünmek"; Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles."

<sup>70</sup> Edirne was similar to medium size Ottoman cities such as Bursa, Izmir, Salonika, and Sofia that had about 20.000 souls in the seventeenth century. Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles," 71.

Population Survey, we have slightly more reliable sources of demographic figures.<sup>71</sup> According to Tonta Ak's estimations, the population of Edirne (including the city centre and its villages within the four sub-districts – *nahiye*) increased from 88.906 in 1831 to 137.322 in 1870-71. This number decreased to 85.783 in 1891-92. Then again it reached to a number of 106.938 in 1898-99 and of 121.480 in 1909.<sup>72</sup> While the increase in the population was related to incoming Balkan refugees who abandoned their homes and poured into the remaining parts of the Ottoman realm as a result of the lands lost, the decrease was the result of the shifts in borders due to the independence declaration of Bulgaria.

### 2.1.3. Geography and Climate

Through a larger lens, Edirne is situated at a point surrounded by the Black Sea (*Bahr-ı Siyah*) in the West, by the Aegean Sea (*Bahr-ı Rûm*) and the Sea of Marmara (*Marmara Denizi*) in the South. Located in the intersection of three rivers (namely Meriç, Tunca and Arda rivers), Edirne is positioned on the ancient Roman road *via militaris* (or *orta kol* as the Ottomans referred to). Since the ancient times, the road system in the Balkans played a crucial role to give an opportunity for trespassing through a corridor created by the Meriç valley. This road enabled those who controlled these lands to move towards the Hungarian plains.<sup>73</sup>

While the Meriç River connects Edirne to the Rhodope Mountains, the Tunca River does the same to the Balkan Mountains. The Arda River, meeting the other two rivers in the point where the Maraş village is located, feeds the Kara Balkan part of

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<sup>71</sup> However, unlike its registration method for Muslims that counted Muslim males as children (*sıbyan*), young (*tuvana*) and old (*amel-mande*), the 1831 population survey documented non-Muslims in accordance with their poll-tax liabilities (as *a'la*, *evsat* and *edna*). Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı, 1831* (Ankara: Başvekâlet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943). For the most recent analysis of the Edirne population in the nineteenth century based on archival sources see Emine Tonta Ak, "XIX. Yüzyıl Edirne Nüfusu: Demografik ve Sosyal Bir Değerlendirme," in *Uluslararası Edirne'nin Fethi'nin 650. Yılı Sempozyumu* (Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 231-263.

<sup>72</sup> Ak, "XIX. Yüzyıl Edirne Nüfusu," 260.

<sup>73</sup> Besim Darkot, *Edirne. Coğrafi Giriş* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1964), 2.

the Rhodope Mountains. These three rivers also make the region where the fertile plains are situated around Edirne. In short, the region surrounding Edirne can be classified as follows: i) the Istranca mountains in the north ii) the Ergene basin and the Meriç valley in the south iii) the Thracian plateau and mountains. It is stated that the region had few sub-regions that had different climates, floras and economic facilities.<sup>74</sup>

Edirne's location that gave the city a strategic importance was a good reason for merchants for visiting and establishing commercial networks from there throughout the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Ragusan and French merchants had permanent trade bases in the city of Edirne showing that the city was also important for trade despite the fact that both Bursa nor Salonika were also well known with for their specific products such as silk and *çuka*. However, being the imperial seat throughout the seventeenth century and the base of the imperial army during the eighteenth century was a great impetus for merchants to have stable commercial units in the city.<sup>75</sup>

Edirne was a city that had heavy rains and snow in the winter that caused the three above-mentioned rivers to flood, which was a well-known matter occurred following the winter Ottoman archival documents and contemporaries often recorded.<sup>76</sup> Severe winters that hardened the lives of the residents in the city of Edirne and in its villages were also quite common. Some scholars tend to interpret these very extremely cold winters as an indication that the "Little Ice Age" was in fact evident in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Hamid Sadi, "Paşaeli," *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Mecmuası* 2 (1927). Also see Hamid Sadi Selen, "Bölge Plancılığımız Bakımından Edirne Şehri ve Doğu Trakya," in *Yedinci İskan ve Şehircilik Haftası Konferansları* (Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1964), 71.

<sup>75</sup> For the Ragusan activities in Edirne see Ekaterina Veceva, "Andrinople et la Commerce des Ragusains aux XVI<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Bulgarian Historical Review* 17, no. 3 (1989): 62-67. Also for the French traders in Edirne see Koutzakiotis, *Cavalla, une échelle égéenne au XVIIIe siècle*.

<sup>76</sup> Faroqhi, "A Natural Disaster as an indicator of agricultural change." For contemporaries see *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000), 5 and Abdurrahman Hibri, *Enisü'l-müsamirin*, trans. Ratip Kazancıgil (Edirne: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği, 1996), 48-49.

<sup>77</sup> For the "Little Ice Age" in the Ottoman Empire see Sam White, *The climate of rebellion in the early modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Özlem Sert, "Kelemen Mikes' in Mektuplarına Göre 1716-1758 Yılları Mevsim Takvimi," *Kebikeç İnsan*

However, scholars have noted that Edirne had changeable temperatures both in the winter and summer that was a direct result of its position surrounded by climatically transitory regions. Namely, it had a very close resemblance to climatic conditions of Central and Eastern Europe (that had heavy winters, hot summers, and rain in every season), the Black Sea coast (that had rain in every season as well) and the Mediterranean (that had hot and dry summers and, marrow and rainy winters). In other words, it was not surprising to see changeable temperatures in the Edirne region.<sup>78</sup>

#### 2.1.4. Edirne in the Ottoman Administrative System

The Ottoman administrative system consisted of two parts being the centre and the provinces. The provincial organization was made of the village (*karye*), sub-district (*nâhiye*), district (*kaza*), sub-province (*sancak* or *livâ*), and the province (*eyâlet*).<sup>79</sup> The smallest administrative unit in this system was nahiye<sup>80</sup> that I also use as an analytical tool in my analysis.

Edirne's administrative position in the Ottoman political system changed as the Ottomans furthered their conquests in the region. When the Ottomans set up a province (*eyalet* or *vilayet*) in the Balkans in the second half of the fifteenth century, Edirne, along with Vize, Çirmen and Kırkkilise, became the first sub-provinces (*sancak* or *liva*) of the Rumeli Province (*Rumeli Beylerbeyliği*).<sup>81</sup> By the thirties of

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*Bilimleri için Kaynak Araştırmaları Dergisi* 23, (2007): 79-83. Selim Karahasanoğlu, *Kadı ve günlüğü: Sadreddinzade Telhisî Mustafa Efendi günlüğü (1711-1735) üzerine bir inceleme* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013).

<sup>78</sup> Darkot, *Edirne. Coğrafi Giriş*, 9-10.

<sup>79</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi I* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1983), 503; Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 105.

<sup>80</sup> Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *XIV-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlılarda Devlet Teşkilatı ve Sosyal Yapı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995).

<sup>81</sup> On Ottoman conquests and expansion methods see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 11, (1942): 279-386; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* XI, no. 1-4 (1949-50): 524-561; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak



the sixteenth century, there were only eight provinces in the Ottoman Empire (see below map about Edirne's close surroundings).<sup>82</sup> In the Ottoman administrative system, each province had a sub-province (*paşa sancağı*) where its highest official who was responsible to govern that provincial centre resided. In the beginning, Edirne became the centre of the Rumeli Province.

However, as the Ottoman conquests moved towards the farther west, Edirne would lose its status that was to be given to other cities. During the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent Sofia became the centre of the Rumeli Province,<sup>83</sup> which consisted of 26 sub-provinces at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>84</sup> Despite its closeness to Çirmen that was another sub-province in the Rumeli Province in the sixteenth century, Edirne was shown as a district (*kaza*) in Ottoman fiscal registers as belonging to the sub-province of Paşa (*Paşa Sancağı*). According to Gökbilgin, this was due to the fact that Edirne was attached to the governor of the Rumeli Province rather than the sancakbeyi of the Çirmen sub-province.<sup>85</sup> However, though some sub-provinces were under the possession of the governor of Rumeli in the sixteenth century, Edirne was not one of them. By the early decades of the sixteenth century as shown in Ottoman fiscal registers, Edirne was not the centre of the Province. Nor was it the centre of any sub-province (i.e., the Paşa or Çirmen Sub-Provinces). In fact, Edirne's revenues were under the control of the Ottoman Sultan.<sup>86</sup>

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Sürgünler," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* XIII, no. 1-4 (1951-52): 56-78; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* XV, no. 1-4 (1953-54): 209-23. Also see Halil İnalçık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," *Studia Islamica* 2, (1954): 103-129.

<sup>82</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 17; Halil İnalçık, "The Conquest of Edirne (1361)," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 3, (1971): 185-210.

<sup>83</sup> Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 106-107; Nevin Genç, *XVI. Yüzyıl Sofya Mufassal Tahrir Defteri'nde Sofya Kazası* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1988), 15. Also see Michael Ursinus, *Grievance Administration (şikayet) in an Ottoman Province: The Kaymakam of Rumelia's 'Record Book of Complaints' of 1781-1783* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005).

<sup>84</sup> *370 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rum-ili Defteri (937/1530)* I, 4-5.

<sup>85</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 17.

<sup>86</sup> Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 108. Also see Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*.

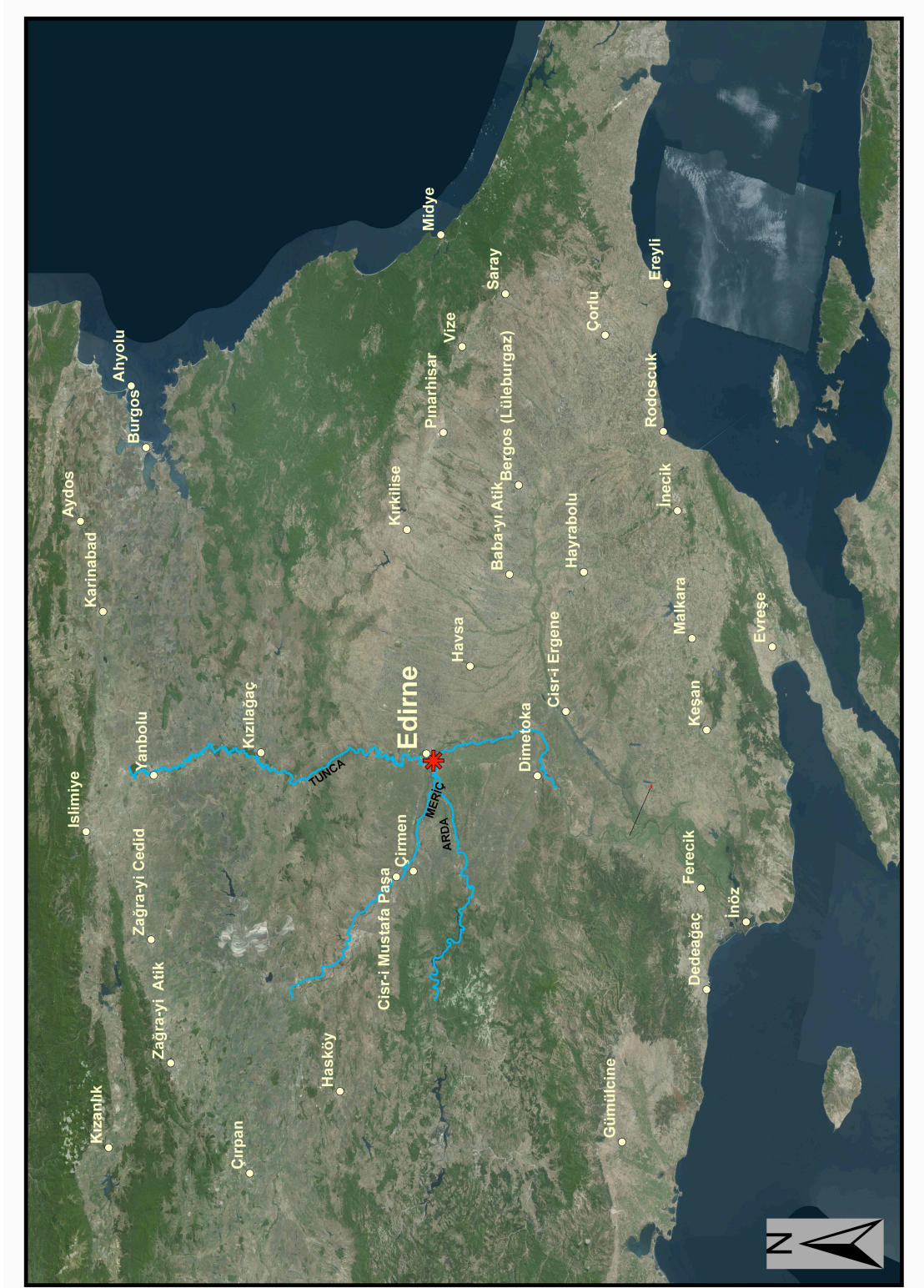


Figure 2. Towns in Edirne's close surroundings

To sum up, Edirne was not the centre of any Province by the early decades of the sixteenth century as shown in Ottoman fiscal registers. Nor was it the centre of any sub-province (i.e., the Paşa or Çirmen Sub-Provinces).

When the Ottoman Empire began retreating from its European provinces bringing about not only the dwindling of its territories but also a new administrative reorganization vis-à-vis the Tanzimat reform movement in the second half of the nineteenth century, Edirne itself became a centre of a province (*Edirne Vilâyeti*) as well as of a sub-province (*Edirne Sancağı*) that held its name. It was still also a district (*kaza*) similar to the pre-reform periods.<sup>87</sup> Despite the changes in the administrative organization in the nineteenth century, the Edirne *kaza* still kept its territorial dispersion.

Though Edirne was a district centre during the centuries this study deals with, its administrative personnel were not as though the ones in a standard district. As mentioned above, it was not under the control of the governor of the Rumeli Province since its revenues were registered as belonging to the Sultan.<sup>88</sup> Edirne may be compared to Bursa that had similar administrative governance. Bursa was a “free district” (*serbest kaza*) that had the highest official (*hâssa harc emini*) for its administrative affairs.<sup>89</sup> Hence, similar to the latter, Edirne had an imperial gardener (*bostâncıbâşı*) who was responsible to look after the city and its close rural hinterland in terms of city’s security and governance.<sup>90</sup>

## **2.2. An Ottoman *pâyitâht*: Edirne in the Seventeenth Century**

Following a background on the historical and demographic development of Edirne as well as its place in the Ottoman administrative stratum, it is now necessary to

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<sup>87</sup> Tahir Sezen, *Osmanlı yer adları (alfabetik sırayla)* (İstanbul: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2006).

<sup>88</sup> Yiğit, “XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası,” 108.

<sup>89</sup> Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*.

<sup>90</sup> Murat Yıldız, *Bahçivanlıktan Saray Muhafızlığına: Bostancı Ocağı* (İstanbul: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2010).

analyze the city in detail in the seventeenth century because contemporary political dynamics had a massive impact on the city's position in the seventeenth century. Yunus Uğur asserts that this position "can be understood as a process of becoming an imperial or capital city beyond its status as a hunting or encampment area."<sup>91</sup> Indeed, as also observed by the contemporaries, Edirne flourished by the first years of Ahmed I; however, it was during the reigns of Mehmed IV and Mustafa II, who physically resided in Edirne, that brought a "golden age" to Edirne that can be seen in contemporary chronicles.<sup>92</sup> The former Sultan gathered royal hunting expeditions in the villages of Edirne during his reign that sits in the middle of the period this thesis is dealing with.<sup>93</sup> In this *de facto* capital for the Ottomans in the seventeenth century, state officials in the city – both in office and retired – reached significant numbers in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>94</sup> Luckily, unlike many cities in the Ottoman lands, there are two official registers from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that enable us to make inferences about aggregate demographic figures for the city of Edirne.<sup>95</sup> By the late-seventeenth century, the city held a Muslim majority with a significant number of non-Muslims (Orthodox Christians, Jews and Armenians), making almost 20 per cent of the entire population.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles," 73.

<sup>92</sup> *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan.

<sup>93</sup> Derin, "Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi'-nâmesi."

<sup>94</sup> Two official surveys from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries show that 20 percent of total population was of *askeri* origin. See Karagedikli, "Bir Payitahtı Yeniden Düşünmek."

<sup>95</sup> These official figures are the detailed household tax register (*mufassal 'avarız defteri*) that was recorded in 1686 and a surety survey (*kefâlet defteri*) conducted in 1703. See the sources in Introduction of the present study.

<sup>96</sup> Gürer Karagedikli, "Bir Payitahtı Yeniden Düşünmek," 226-7; Uğur, "Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles," 167-78. Until the early seventeenth century, the city's population did not have a robust Armenian community, though it had some merchants and transients as well as some deserting from Anatolian cities due the Celali chaos that broke out in the 1590s. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Ottoman sources mention an Armenian community whose members were scattered geographically in the city. Researchers have noticed this later appearance of Armenians in big Western Anatolian and Rumelian cities (i.e. Edirne and Tekirdağ). Rhoads Murphey, "Population Movements and Labor Mobility in Balkan Contexts: A Glance at Post-1600 Ottoman Social Realities," in *South East Europe in History: The Past, the Present and the Problems of Balkanology*, ed. Melek Delilbaşı (Ankara: Ankara University Press, 1999), 90-92. Also see Emecen, "Tarih Koridorlarında Bir Sınır Şehri," 62.

Both Western and Ottoman contemporaries underline Ottoman sultans' long stays in Edirne that motivated many foreign envoys to stay in the city.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, it was this very same inducement making many high-ranking state officials to own residences both in the city and in the near-by villages of Edirne. Recent studies show that more than 20 per cent of the city dwellers were of askeri origin in the late seventeenth century, a very good number being of high statuses.<sup>98</sup> Along with the bostancıbaşı, high-ranking officials were very a routine for the city life in Edirne in the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century, when the Ottoman sultans were residing there, it was under the governance of the eminent state officials. Evliya Çelebi writes the contemporary administrative position of Edirne as follows: “Süleymân Hân-ı Kanûni tahrîri üzere Şehr-i Edirne Rumeli eyâletidir. Ammâ taht-ı sâni olmağıla bir hâkim müdâhale edemeyüb cemî'i salb u siyâseti ve cürm [ü] cinâyeti Edirne bostancıbaşılıarı hükûmetindedir.”<sup>99</sup>

Having in mind that these men had also their households residing in Edirne, the city's demographic rise makes more sense. The city's population rose to 40.000 in the late seventeenth century based on official Ottoman documents. However, considering the shortcomings of these sources, this number was most probably higher as shown in other contemporary sources. By taking into account the effect of the Ottoman sultans' physical existence in Edirne, Francesco Careri, for instance, estimated the number of people residing in Edirne around 100.000 in the last decade of the seventeenth century.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Abdülkadir Özcan et al., eds., *Tarih-i Raşid* (İstanbul: Klasik, 2013), 533, 583, 628, and passim; Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekâyat: Tahlil ve Metin (1066-1116/1656-1704)*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995), 418, 604, 680, and passim; Careri, *A Voyage Round the World*, 60.

<sup>98</sup> Karagedikli, “Bir Payitahtı Yeniden Düşünmek.”

<sup>99</sup> The other high-ranking men officials were as follows: “İkinci hâkimi ... Mevleviyyetdir ... üçüncü hâkim-i Şer’î mezheb-i Hanefiyye Şeyhül-islâmı ... Dördüncü hâkimi ... nakîbü’l-esrâfdir ... Beşinci hâkimi ... ayak nâ’ibidir ... Altıncı hâkimi sipâh kethüdâyeridir ... Yedinci hâkimi dergaâh-ı âli’ tarafından bir oda neferâtıyla yeniçeri çobracısı [*sic*] zâbitdir ... Sekizinci hâkimi yeniçeri ocağından kal’a dizdârı ... Tokuzuncu zâbiti şehir voyvadasıdır kim bostancıbaşı tarafından ... Onuncu vâlisi muhtesib ağadır ... On birinci zâbiti gümrük emînidir ... On ikinci hâkim harâccı ağadır kim onüç bin re’s kefereden cizye-i Ömer’i alır ... On üçüncü zâbiti hâne-i avârız ağasıdır ... On dördüncü hâkimi Şâhbender olan bezzâzistân kethüdâsıdır...” See Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* III, 236-237.

<sup>100</sup> Careri, *A Voyage Round the World*, 56. A similar demographic observation is provided by a French document. For that see Sahillioğlu, “XVIII. Yüzyılda Edirne’nin Ticari İmkanları.”

By accepting that to fully explain Edirne's political-administrative status requires more research, Yunus Uğur asserts that Edirne became an appealing destination for Istanbul's political and social elites after the 1680s due to the general crises of the seventeenth century.<sup>101</sup> Yet, this explanation is partly related to the period of Uğur's research focus based on certain archival materials and contemporary observations. However, we need to analyze the city prior to the 1680s, especially the long reign of Mehmed IV whose presence was a great motivation for many who preferred to reside in Edirne. In other words, the city of Edirne indeed faced a great demographic rise throughout the seventeenth century having a population somewhere between 50-100.000. But how did the city tolerate this much "population pressure"? How did it feed its residents? More importantly, can we conceivably understand the city by solely focusing on its city-based internal structure?

Obviously, we cannot understand the city without taking into consideration its interaction with rural surroundings that were allocated as fiefs to eminent political figures in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, rural surroundings were to feed the city's residents. This is why we emphasize the period of Mehmed IV during which not only the city's administrative structure was re-shaped vis-à-vis the topography of the city but also the spatial organization of Edirne's rural spheres were re-formed in a way that it could be sufficient for the city's population. Hence, it is imperative for us to understand the rural dimension of the Edirne district in the seventeenth century that was not the same with that of the preceding century. Below, I analyze land and landholding in Edirne's rural hinterland in the late seventeenth century.

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<sup>101</sup> Uğur, "Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles," 94.

## CHAPTER 3

### LANDHOLDING IN THE EDİRNE REGION

#### 3.1. Source for Empirical Data

The evaluations and analyses in this section are mostly based on the *mufassal* survey register will be detailed below.

##### 3.1.1. Survey registers in a period of Post-Classical *tahrirs*

Before going into interpreting the raw data that the Edirne survey provides, it will be helpful to introduce the 1670 detailed register (*defter-i mufassal*) as a separate sub-part. This is justified because, despite its similarities, the register being presented in this study is not a replica of the classical detailed *defters* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Enabling the Ottoman state apparatus to control its economic and human supplies, the classical surveys, as Halil İnalcık points out, were the basic tool of the Ottoman state.<sup>102</sup> Despite this advantage, though, these surveys did not conceal all the taxable units as they omitted various categories of tax-paying population that were free from paying taxes like *derbendci*, *lağımçı*, as well as *vakıf* villages that were not within the *miri* system.<sup>103</sup> Although there were exceptions related to the new sultans' enthronements and other reasons such as the introduction of new taxes,

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<sup>102</sup> İnalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest."

<sup>103</sup> Kołodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca.1681)*, 11-12.

these registers were prepared every thirty years during the sixteenth century.<sup>104</sup> Darius Kolodziejczyk, in his meticulous analysis of the detailed register of Kamanıç prepared in 1681, writes the following:

The *defter-i mufassal* listed the following basic categories of information: the names of settlements with the districts they belonged to; the names of all tax-paying inhabitants; the types of taxes and other sources of revenue attached to each locality and their annual amounts; totals for the numbers of tax payers; and the aggregate expected revenue. After all provincial incomes were registered, they were divided among the sultan's domains (*havass-i hümayun*), revenues of high functionaries (*hâss*), and military "fiefs" (*zeamets* with annual income of 20,000 akçe or more and *timars* with incomes less than that amount).<sup>105</sup>

By the end of the sixteenth century, preparing these sorts of detailed registers were not in common practice any more due to various reasons such as the changing military and fiscal priorities.<sup>106</sup> Furthermore, new extraordinary taxes called *avarız* were in more demand by the state and traditional taxes no longer formed the most indispensable portion of state income.<sup>107</sup> However, Ottoman fiscal registers did not completely cease as the central state began to be forming different registration techniques in relation with the changing necessities. Detailed household tax registers (*mufassal avarız defterleri*) were to be implemented in the seventeenth century that were not similar to classical *tahrir* surveys.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca.1681)*, 11. Also see İnalçık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," and İnalçık, *Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arnavid*.

<sup>105</sup> Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca.1681)*, 11.

<sup>106</sup> Halil İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6, (1980): 283-337.

<sup>107</sup> For the changing structure of the Ottoman financial as well as military structures see Halil İnalçık, "The Socio-Political Effects of the Diffusion of Fire-arms in the Middle East," in *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, ed. Vernon J. Parry and Malcolm Yapp (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 195-217; İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire"; Douglas Howard, "The Ottoman Timar System and Its Transformation, 1563-1656," unpublished PhD Thesis (Indiana University, 1987); Muhsin Soyudoğan, "Reassessing the *Timar* System: The Case Study of Vidin (1455-1693)," unpublished PhD Thesis (Bilkent University, 2012).

<sup>108</sup> Özel, "17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Demografi ve İskân Tarihi İçin Önemli Bir Kaynak: Mufassal Avarız Defteri"; Süleyman Demirci, "Complaints about Avârız assessment and payment in the Avârız-tax system: An aspect of the relationship between centre and periphery. A case study of Kayseri, 1618-1700," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46, no. 4 (2003): 437-474.



When implementing this new tax survey practice of *avarız*, the Ottoman state was in the period of a series of new conquests that brought the central state the requirement to register the human and fiscal resources of the newly conquered lands such as Uyvan, Crete and Kamañiçe. By the second half of the seventeenth century, the detailed register of Uyvar was compiled in 1664.<sup>109</sup> Furthermore, when the Ottomans finally completed the conquest of Crete, they were to compile a *mufassal defter* in 1669.<sup>110</sup> The Ottomans had prepared another survey for Crete in 1650. These new surveys were not prepared under one single form, having similarities with and differences from classical survey registers of the earlier centuries.

The first Crete survey prepared in 1650 certainly had similarities with the classical tax registers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, the 1669 one compiled following the final conquest of the island in 1669 cannot be regarded as a classical tax register (*tapu tahrir*), though it contained the jargon of the earlier periods. According to Molly Green, it was “no doubt out of a desire to preserve the appearance of continuity with the past.”<sup>111</sup> Since the survey recorded the land and population of the island dissimilar to the earlier *tahrirs* that prioritized the tax responsibilities of villagers within the *timar* system, Green further claims that it was not this survey’s goal to implement the classical *çift-hane* system in the rural sites of Crete.<sup>112</sup>

In the example of the Cretan survey of 1669, the register penned the name of the village first, and then listed the names of the landholders. Furthermore, the details of how much land, vineyard, orchard and so on were possessed by each villager were

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<sup>109</sup> Original defter is in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul under the catalogue number TT 698. For more information see Kołodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca.1681)*, 12 footnote 50.

<sup>110</sup> Kolovos, “Beyond ‘Classical’ Ottoman Defterology: A Preliminary Assessment of the Tahrir Registers of 1670-71 Concerning Crete and the Aegean Islands”; Greene, “An Islamic experiment? Ottoman land policy on Crete.” Also see Greene, *A shared world: Christians and Muslims in the early modern Mediterranean*.

<sup>111</sup> Green, *A Shared World*, 23.

<sup>112</sup> Green, *A Shared World*, 23-24. For further details about the Crete Survey and its kanunname see Green, *A Shared World*, 23-29. Also see Balta and Oğuz, eds., *Livâ-i Resmo Tahrir Defteri*. Elias Kolovos also analyzed the Cretan survey as well as those instigated in the Aegean islands in the same period. Kolovos, “Beyond ‘Classical’ Ottoman Defterology.”

also documented. At the end of each record, the landed property the village had in total (in *cerîb*) along with the taxes (both in cash and kind) to be paid was given.<sup>113</sup>

The Edirne survey, which was eventually compiled in 1670 and which will be detailed below, was realized at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Crete in 1669, after which date the central state authorities undertook in order to figure out the revenue it would bring (people, land, and produce as taxable units) and to integrate it to the Ottoman regime.<sup>114</sup> Furthermore, the Edirne survey of 1670 was designed in the same fashion with that of the Cretan survey of 1669, albeit with differences. The overlapping village boundaries entailed all sorts of contentions between dwellers from neighboring villages.<sup>115</sup> Hence, the surveyors of the Edirne register of 1670 were very vigilant in recording the village boundaries. At the beginning of the entry of each village, its physical lines were clearly drawn by using natural markers (i.e., lake, forest, river etc) or other human made markers (i.e., a rock located as a line between villages) in order to clarify the village boundaries.

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<sup>113</sup> Green, *A Shared World*, 24. Also see Balta and Oğuz, eds., *Livâ-i Resmo Tahrir Defteri*.

<sup>114</sup> Scholars have extensively studied the survey of Crete. Though its kanunname overtly states the registration date as 1669-90 (H. 1080), Molly Green introduces the survey undated as authorities highly likely brought them together sometime between 1669 and 1673, because a page contains a marginal note dated 1673-74. See Green, *A Shared World*, 23, 38n. However, this argument is refuted by Evangelia Balta and Mustafa Oğuz, who published the transcription of the survey that is stored in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi in Istanbul under the cataloguing number of Tapu Tahrir, 825. See Balta and Oğuz, eds., *Liva-i Resmo Tahrir Defteri*.

<sup>115</sup> Michael Nizri, "Defining Village Boundaries at the Time of the Introduction of the Malikane System: The Struggle of the Ottoman State for Reaffirming Ownership of the Land," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 2, no. 1 (2015): 37-57.

### 3.1.2. Introducing the *Tahrîr-i Cedîd* of 1670

“...re‘âyânın defteri dahî dîvan-ı defterhânesinde mazbût olub otuz senede bir tahrîr olub mürde ve marîzleri ifrâz ve hâric ez defter olanı müceddeden deftere kayd ittirmek lâzımdır”<sup>116</sup>

Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa

An Ottoman bureaucrat himself from the finance department, Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa expressed what had been the ideal regarding the preparation of tax surveys (*tahrîr*) in the Ottoman Empire throughout the periods prior to the seventeenth century. Such an explanation, however, was by no means the case for all regions, as surveys were prepared every 30 years in some provinces while every 50 in others.<sup>117</sup> When looking at the tax surveys of the Edirne district, it seems like the region was registered every 45 or 50 years.<sup>118</sup> The last of the classical tax surveys was prepared for the Edirne district during the first years of Ahmed I’s reign, which witnessed serious military and financial upheavals giving way to the fiscal experimentations of the Ottoman state in preparing new surveys.<sup>119</sup>

The Edirne survey of 1670 under consideration was prepared in this period during which the Ottomans were having new fiscal experimentations that I just mentioned above. It has similarities as well as differences both with the classical survey registers of the sixteenth century and surveys of the seventeenth. The Survey

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<sup>116</sup> Defterdar Sarı Mehmet Paşa, Devlet adamlarına öğütler: Osmanlılarda devlet düzeni: *Nesâ-yihü’l-vüzerâ ve’l-ümerâ*, ed. Hüseyin Ragıp Uğural (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1969), 77.

<sup>117</sup> Ömer Lûtfî Barkan, “Türkiye’de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri ve Hakana Mahsus İstatistik Defterleri,” *İÜ İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 11, no. 1 (1940): 20-59; Ömer Lûtfî Barkan, “Türkiye’de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri ve Hakana Mahsus İstatistik Defterleri,” *İÜ İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 11, no. 2 (1941): 214-247; İnalçık, *Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*. Also see Öz, “Tahrir Defterlerinin Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmalarında Kullanılması Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler.”

<sup>118</sup> Consecutive tax surveys for the district of Edirne can be counted as TT 20 (1485), TT 77 (1517), TT 370 (1570), TT 648 (1613?). Yiğit, “XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası.” Also see Stefan Dimitrov, “Naselenie i selishta v Sakar planina i prilezhashtiya y rayon prez XV-XVI vek,” [Population and settlements in Sakar Mountain and its adjacent area in XVth-XVIth centuries] unpublished PhD Thesis (Sofia, 2014) [in Bulgarian].

<sup>119</sup> Kermeli, “Caught in Between Faith and Cash: The Ottoman Land System in Crete, 1645-1670.”

consisting of two parts makes it clear that it is a detailed one (*mufassal defter*) and will be used here for the first time.<sup>120</sup> In the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archive in Istanbul, the two parts of the Edirne survey were not bound in one single volume.<sup>121</sup> When I first discovered the MAD 133,<sup>122</sup> which begins with the title that it was the register of the district of Edirne (*defter-i kaza-i Edirne*), I realized that it did not include the settlements and other revenue means of the sub-district of Çöke that made a significant portion of the Edirne district territorially. This was rather disappointing, because without the villages of the Çöke sub-district I would not be able to analyze the entire Edirne region. When I further plowed in the Ottoman archive in Istanbul, I found out that the missing part of MAD 133 that included the villages of Çöke nahiye were brought together under another catalogue numbered MAD 556. This part of the survey starts with an entry indicating that it was the "new detailed register of the sub-district of Çöke belonging to Edirne the Protected" (*mufassal defter-i tahrîr-i cedîd-i nâhiye-i Çöke tâbi '-i Edirne el-mahrûsa*).<sup>123</sup>

In the first part of the survey that compiled the details of landed property in four sub-districts (the sub-districts of Ada, Üsküdar, Manastır and Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa), there is no note clearly stating the date of registration. On the marginal notes, though, it is stated that new "sales" (*fürûht*) took place or were registered in 1080/1669. However, concerning the registration date, MAD 556 offers rather clear references. It is stated that the register of the Çöke nahiye was prepared in 1670 following an imperial order (*bâ fermân-ı 'âli el-vâki' fi 24 Şevvâli'l-mu'azzam sene 1081*).<sup>124</sup> Regarding the registration practices of villages and their details, and the village residents and their land possessions, MAD 133 and MAD 556 by all means make the two completing parts of the same survey. The completion of this survey highly likely took more than one year.

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<sup>120</sup> The first and the second parts are catalogued under the cataloguing numbers of BOA MAD 133 and BOA MAD 556 respectively.

<sup>121</sup> It is highly likely that when the first part was being catalogued the personnel of the archive were not aware that it had missing parts because it did not include all the nahiyes of the Edirne kaza.

<sup>122</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Maliyeden Müdevver (hereafter BOA MAD), 133, [undated], pp. 1-185.

<sup>123</sup> BOA MAD 556, 1081/1670, pp. 6-211.

<sup>124</sup> MAD 556, p. 6.

Furthermore, along with the separate catalogings of the two parts of the same survey, the MAD 133 was not carefully bound either. Hence, the first part of the survey was not paginated correctly; a clear observation that can be made from pages containing Arabic numbers in two types.<sup>125</sup> Moreover, some pages end abruptly. The sudden termination of the village of Kafır Dođancı is of this sort, which makes it seem like the villages of the Ada sub-district end. However, as the details of the Kafır Dođancı village appear on later pages,<sup>126</sup> surely it was not the end of the Ada nahiye.<sup>127</sup> Hence, I carefully read each page in order to find the survey's correct form.<sup>128</sup>

Having said that no other scholar ever used the Edirne survey of 1670 before, based on the documents she found at the Sts. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, Stefka Parveva analyzed 21 villages (as well as two separate *mezra'as*' and two *müsellem çiftliks*') in Edirne that contain some fragmented parts of the detailed survey this study deals with. Evidently, the details of these 21 villages make a very small portion of the Edirne district in the seventeenth century. However, the Edirne Survey of 1670 that I found in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archive in Istanbul contains comprehensive data that further allows us to understand the actual situation of the villages in the Edirne district (for the comparison of pages for the village of Büyük İsmailce see Figure 3).<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> MAD 133, p. 30 (with Arabic number).

<sup>126</sup> MAD 133, p. 92 (31 with Arabic page number). The rest of the village of Kafır Dođancı is on page 92b (31 with Arabic page number) and 93a (32 with Arabic page number).

<sup>127</sup> Between page 92 and page 121, we see the rest of the villages of the Ada nahiye. Between the pages of 31 and 92, we see the Üsküdar nahiye's villages.

<sup>128</sup> For the villages of the Ada nahiye see MAD 133, pp. 1-31 and pp. 92b-121. For the villages of the Üsküdar nahiye see MAD 133, pp. 32-82 and pp. 122-123. The data are prepared after correcting this binding error. For the villages of the Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye see MAD 133, pp. 83-92a. The villages of the Manastır nahiye were on between page 127 and page 185 of MAD 133. The villages in the Çöke nahiye are in MAD 556.

<sup>129</sup> For Stefka Parveva's a few articles on the same subject see Stefka Parveva, "Villages, Peasants and Landholdings in the Edirne Region in the Second Half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century," in *Regions, Borders, Societies, Identities in Central and Southeast Europe, 17<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> Centuries Collected Studies*, ed. Penka Peykovska and Gabor Demeter (Sofia and Budapest, 2013), 17-33; Parveva, "Rural Agrarian and Social Structure in the Edirne Region during the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century"; Stefka Parveva, *Land and People during the Seventeenth -First Decades of the Eighteenth - Century. Reclamation and Organization of the Agrarian and Social Space in the Central and Southern Balkans under the Ottoman Rule* (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2011) [in Bulgarian] Also

The marginal calculations, which are not observed in the Edirne survey of 1670 used in the present study, indicate that the fragmented documents Parveva analyzed were the initial registers listing the rural sites of the district of Edirne. Hence, the documents she used are most likely the drafts that were penned during the actual registration process in the field. The rest of the registers were probably lost or destroyed. The documents Parveva found in the Bulgarian archives concern the villages of Mihaliç, İflahanlı, Maraş, Hasköy, Büyük İsmailce, Sökün, Pavlikan, Yürücekler, Koyunlu, Yürüş, Kaba Öyük, Ayntablı, Omurca, Kafır Hacı, Karaağaç Kemal, Glavanlı, Akpınar, Düdükçi, Düdükçi Yenicesi, Etmekçi and Saltıklı. Parveva has analyzed these villages in a number of articles and in one of her books, as she discovered some villages during her archival research in the Bulgarian archives later.<sup>130</sup>

The Edirne survey of 1670 that I found in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archive in Istanbul (hereafter BOA) provides detailed accounts of almost 350 rural settlements (villages, hamlets and *müsellem çiftliks*), which made the entire district of Edirne in the late seventeenth century. Moreover, when the drafts were then sent to Istanbul where the new figures would be compared with those of the old registers (*defter-i atik*), they would be brought together as one single register. Another hint that makes me think that the fragmented Bulgarian documents prepared during the actual surveying procedure is that landed property sizes (in *cerib*) are written on the margins of pages on the Bulgarian documents that made the total area of a village. In the pages of the Edirne Survey, however, this was not the case because only the total regional size of a village is given at the bottom of the page (see Figure 3).

The Edirne survey of 1670 was the final register, which was prepared by comparing the details of landed property registered in the fragments penned during the actual surveying procedure that were most likely the ones Parveva worked on. The comparison of the details of villages (or *çiftliks* or *mezraas*) in the old registers to those of the new one is not extant in the documents Parveva analyzed. For instance,

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see Stefka Parveva, *Village, Town and People in the Ottoman Balkans 16<sup>th</sup>-Mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century* (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2009), 11-60.

<sup>130</sup> The documents Parveva used have other differences from the ones I found in the Başbakanlık Archive in Istanbul. Compare MAD 133 and MAD 556 with the Bulgarian ones in Parveva's studies.

as for the village of Büyük İsmailce (see Figure 3 of the two images of the same village from the Bulgarian and Prime Ministry's Archives above), the Edirne Survey has additional information that we do not see in the other; the village of Büyük İsmailce, which was recorded in the Edirne Survey as belonging to the endowment of Sultan Bayezid, had revenue of 13672 *akçes*.<sup>131</sup> The documents from the Bulgarian archives do not contain this latter information.

Moreover, unlike the details given in the previous century's tax surveys, though, the new survey provides hints about the current fiscal developments of the time when the survey was realized, i.e., the Ottomans' more frequent use of a system that brought a few villages under one revenue unit (*mukataa*) became a common practice in the late seventeenth century.<sup>132</sup> Pertaining to the dating of the Edirne Survey, since there is no clear indication in the documents she analyzed and hence relying upon the marginal notes on the "sales" (*fürûht*) of villages in the register, Parveva assumes that it must have been registered in the autumn of 1669.<sup>133</sup> Her assertion regarding the dating of the actual surveying process might be right. However, we see the actual compilation date of the entire *defter* in 1670. The only date in the entire register regarding the compilation date is viewed in the part that concerns the sub-district of Çöke.<sup>134</sup> However, there is no information of dating in the other part of the survey comprising four *nahiyes*.<sup>135</sup> Hence, one may conceivably speculate that the initial registration took place – at least in some parts of the *kaza* of Edirne – after the sowing season of 1669.

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<sup>131</sup> The both texts read: "*Karye-i Büyük İsmailce tabi'-i nahiye-i Üsküdar 'an evkaf-ı Sultân Bâyezid der Edirne*"

<sup>132</sup> Both texts refer to this situation. It reads: "*karye-i mezbûr İsmâ'ilce mukâta'ası tevâbi' ile ma'an iki yük yirmi bin [220,000] akçeye fürûht olunagelmîşdir. Bâ-ihbâr-ı karye-i m[ezbûr]'*" MAD. 133, p. 50 and Sts Cyril and Methodius National Library (NLCM) F.1, a.u. 15114, p. 4. I would like to thank Kayhan Orbay for providing me with the copies of the Sts Cyril and Methodius documents.

<sup>133</sup> Parveva, "Villages, Peasants and Landholdings," 20.

<sup>134</sup> MAD 556, p. 6.

<sup>135</sup> MAD 133.

The Edirne survey of 1670 registered the villages and other components of rural landscape in the Edirne district (*kaza*) that had five sub-districts (*nahiyes*) in the seventeenth century. In this period, based on the model set up in the sixteenth century, the district of Edirne was still a part of the administrative division of the European lands of the Ottoman Empire. Edirne was still within the sub-Province (*sancak* or *livâ*) of Paşa in this period whose seat (*paşa sancağı*) in the period under question was Sofia.<sup>136</sup>

There is a clear indication that the city of Edirne, being one of the largest Ottoman cities in the seventeenth century, was the centre of the Ottoman realm in the Eastern Rumelia providing various services to other smaller towns and receiving the produce they supplied. This superior position of the city of Edirne among other small or medium-size towns in the region is not only supported by the Ottoman archival sources providing sturdy population data. Contemporary observers like Abdurraman Hibri also noted that Edirne was the centre in this part of the Ottoman country where the dwellers in the neighboring towns were coming to sell and buy goods.<sup>137</sup>

This administrative organization did not change until the late nineteenth century. Though it is meaningful to say that each sub-district had a varying number of villages because not all of them were recorded over time under the boundary of the same nahiye, I will use the administrative unit of nahiye in this study employing the way of Ottoman registration practices in order to better explain the landscape of Edirne and visualize the changing topographical position of villages.

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<sup>136</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Pasa Livâsı*.

<sup>137</sup> İlgürel, “Enîsü’l-müsâmirîn (Abdurrahman Hibri’nin) Tahlîli ve Tenkitli Neşri.”



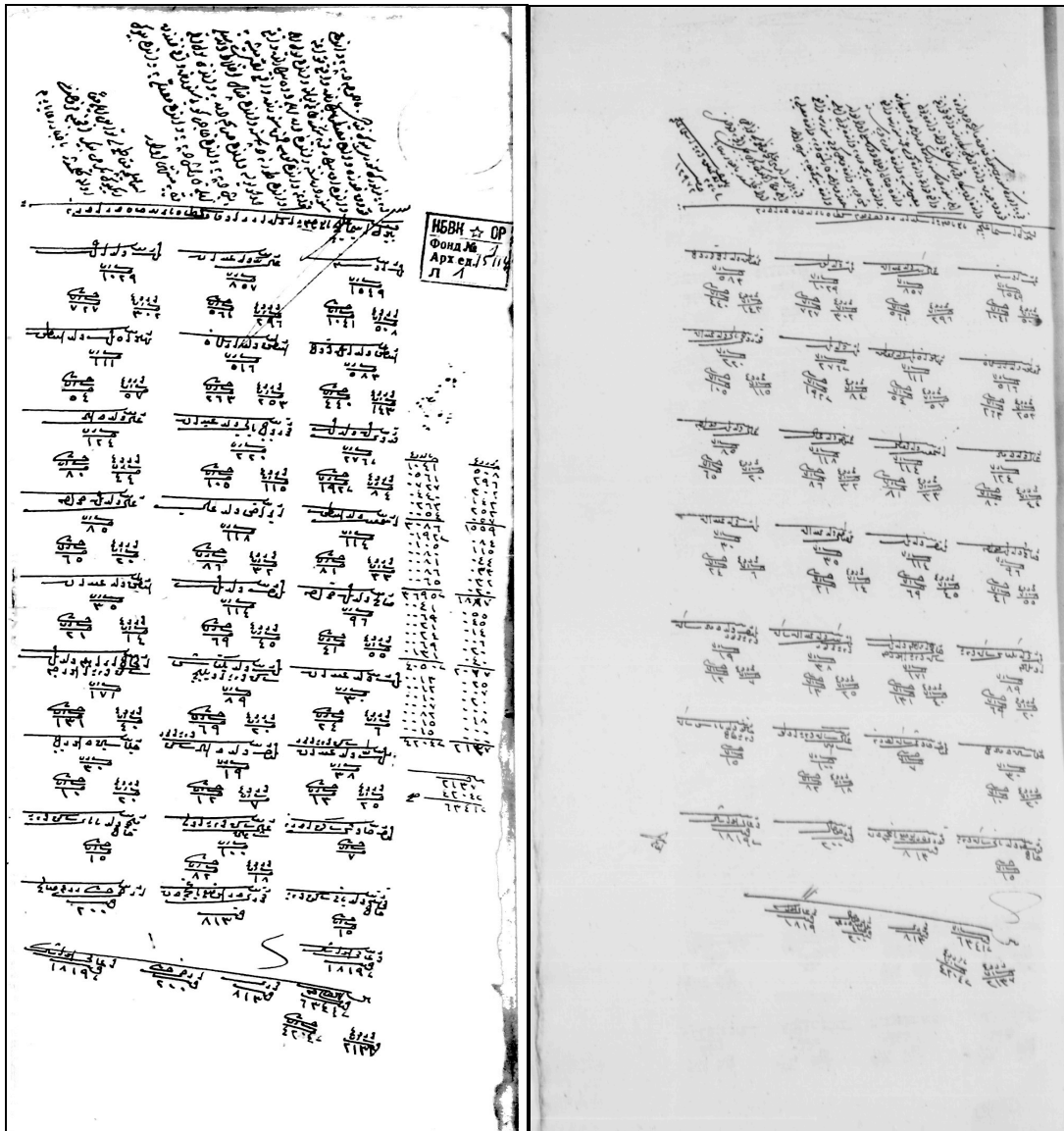


Figure 3. Two records of the same village. The one on the left is from the Sts Cyril and Methodius Archive (Sofia), and the one on the right is from the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archive (İstanbul).

As can be seen from Figure 4, by the end of the seventeenth century, the district of Edirne reached to the borders of four neighboring districts (*kaza*), namely Kırkkilise in the east, Yanbolu in the north, Dimetoka in the south and Harmanlı in the west. The district of Edirne had five sub-districts in the late seventeenth century. The majority of the villages were in two sub-districts – Çöke and Üsküdar *nahiyes*. The sub-district of Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa, the smallest *nahiye* in the district, became a *nahiye* of Edirne in the century under study, while it was a district centre during the earlier centuries (for the incomplete distribution of villages within these five *nahiyes*, see Map on the *nahiyes* below).

The map does not show all the villages recorded in the 1670 survey register because it was impossible to pinpoint all the villages' coordinates based on geo-referencing them from historical maps and other contemporary and modern sources. As can be seen from the Edirne survey, the Ottoman fiscal register compilers definitely had a sense of location that brought together many villages under the jurisdiction of a *nahiye* in a specific location, which was done based on previously implemented registers in hand. Following the new administrative re-organization of the Edirne district in the seventeenth century that was different from the one set up in the preceding century. While the Çöke sub-district was roughly located between the city of Edirne and the city of Kırkkilise (modern Kırklareli), the sub-district of Ada was located in the southeast of Edirne towards Dimetoka. The other three *nahiyes* were roughly in the region between Edirne, Yanbolu (modern Yambol) in the north and Harmanlı or Hasköy in the West.

### **3.1.3. Terminology**

The Edirne survey of 1670 employs terms both similar to and different from the classical tax registers. In terms of the administrative definition of rural settlements, it used the same definitions that the surveys of the previous centuries had done such as *karye*, *mezraa*, and *müsellem*. The latter units were recorded under the term *nahiye*. In this study, I use the term “*nahiye*” as an administrative sub-division employed by the

Ottomans within its state jargon that defines an area comprising a number of rural settlements – i.e., villages, müsellemler lands, and hamlets. The term, however, did not only denote to sub-divide rural hinterlands of cities. As shown by Yunus Uğur, both contemporaries (like Abdurrahman Hibri of the seventeenth century) and modern scholars (like Osman Nuri Peremeci of the twentieth century) utilized from this phrase for defining the city districts (*semt* or *nahiye*).<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles,” 100-101.

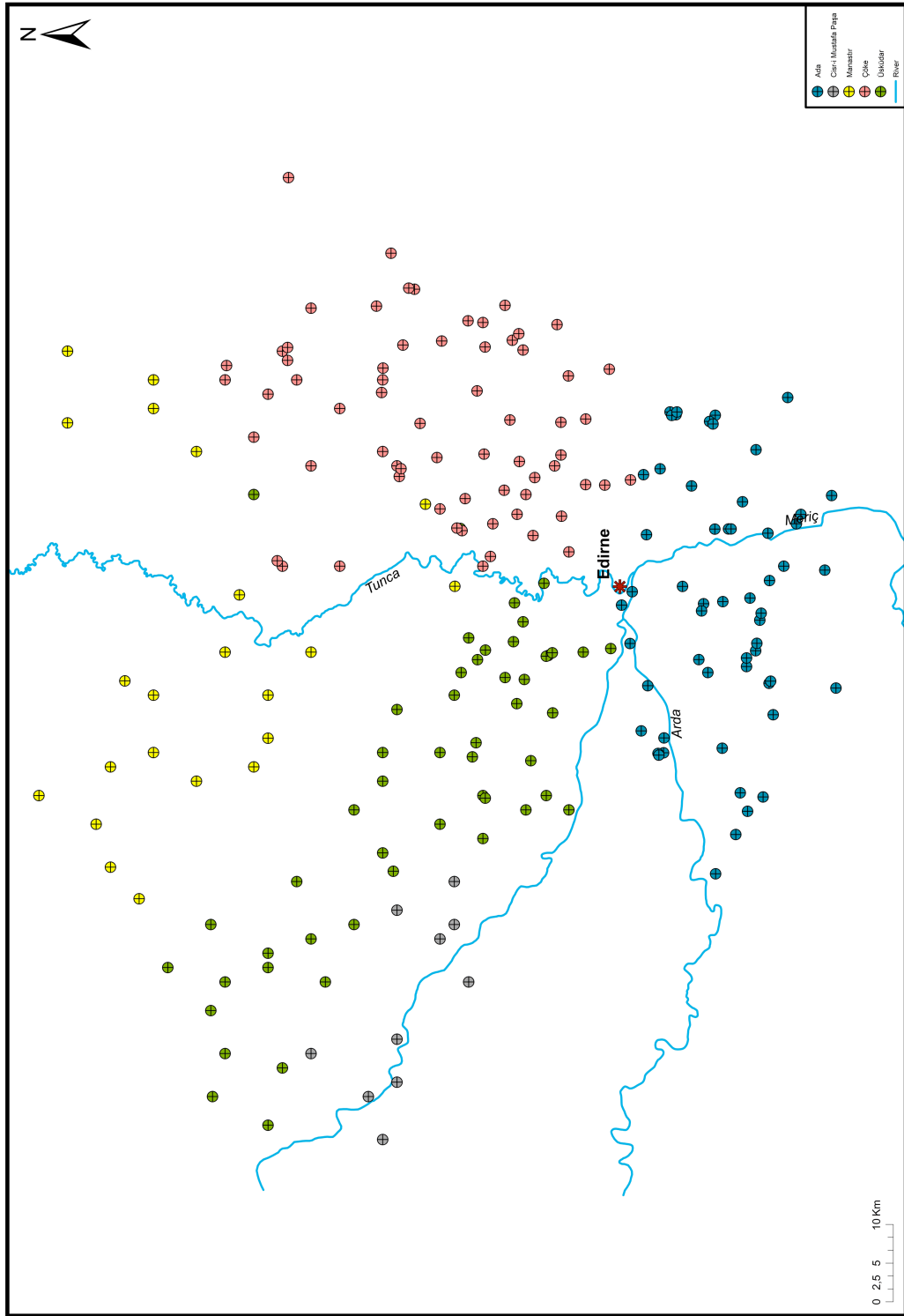


Figure 4. The *nahiyes* in the district of Edirne

Nevertheless, within the state's registration practices, the nahiye signified mostly the sub-district of a district (*kaza*) consisting of a number of villages.<sup>139</sup> The village was registered in the *deFTER* in a way that it was an inhabited settlement where its residents as well as the dwellers of neighboring villages had agricultural activities and possessed landed property. While the residents in the particular village were not overtly registered as residing there, those from the neighboring villages who possessed some sorts of landed property were explicitly recorded in a way (*sâkin-i* such and such village) that reveals they were living somewhere else. For instance, when the registrar penned the landed property in the village of Şahinci of the sub-district of Ada, among many, Ibrahim son of Veli, a resident of the neighboring village of Keniseli, was recorded as one having 15 *cerîb* of arable land (*tarla*) and his current status as a dweller in another village.<sup>140</sup> Moreover, if there were others from the same neighboring village possessing landed property in the village recorded, the registrar would record the person by mentioning his residential affiliation with the same location.<sup>141</sup>

Furthermore, the Edirne survey of 1670 did not register the landed property under dwellers' use or possession in one single form. As for the sub-districts of Ada, Üsküdar, and Cîsr-i Mustafa Paşa that were highly likely recorded by the same registrar (a fact that is obvious from his hand-writing), the landed property possessed by the dwellers was penned in the same way "the land of such and such". Likewise, the sub-district of Çöke that was registered by another registrar recorded the landed property of dwellers in the same way.<sup>142</sup>

Contrary to these four sub-districts, however, the nahiye of Manastır, which must have been registered by someone else, contains a slightly different way of recording for the landed property there. In this part of the survey, the registrar penned the

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<sup>139</sup> İlhan Şahin, "Nahiye," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 32 (İstanbul: Türk Diyanet Vakfı, 2006), 306-307.

<sup>140</sup> "zemin-i İbrahim bin Veli sâkin-i karye-i Keniseli 15 cerîb tarla". MAD 133, p. 9.

<sup>141</sup> For instance, "zemin-i Deli Hüseyin Buzakçızade sâkin-i karye-i Keniseli" is followed by "zemin-i Mustafa veled Safer sâkin-i karye-i m[ezbûr]". MAD 133, p. 9.

<sup>142</sup> For example, "zemin-i Seyyid Mehmed bin Halil" MAD 556, p. 1.

dwellers' possessions as "the land in the hands of such and such."<sup>143</sup> Yet, some landed property was under the possession (*tasarruf*) of some people who were of *askerî* origin. The lands associated with these men and women were penned down as "the land possessed by such and such".<sup>144</sup> When the same men controlled landed property in villages of the other sub-districts, his name would appear with the name of the village where he resided (*sâkin-i* such and such).<sup>145</sup>

In the recordings of the residents of a given village, the Edirne survey of 1670 made distinctions between those who were originally living there and those that later became the residents there. One term specifically used for those new comers was *yabancı* (literally "outsider"). This is another clue that makes us consider rural settlements as dynamic entities that received new residents from other villages or towns to physically live.<sup>146</sup>

The status of the village (whether it is a *vakıf* or *timar* village) was checked through the old registers (*defter-i atîk*). Similar to classical tax surveys of the sixteenth century, most of the villages were documented according to the revenue they would yield (*hâsıl*) obtained from the old registers. For instance, when the lands of the village of Etmekçi in the nahiye of Üsküdar were recorded, the Finance Ministry added the supplementary information coming from the "old register."<sup>147</sup> Albeit undetailed productions recorded as aggregate amounts in the old registers, the present revenue that was provided by the people of the village was added to the

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<sup>143</sup> For example, "*zemîn der yed-i Yorgi veled Yanî*". "*Nahiye-i Manastır tâbi'-i kaza-yi Edirne der Liva-yı Paşa*" MAD 133, pp. 127-185.

<sup>144</sup> Two examples of these are "*zemîn der tasarruf-ı Sinan Ağa ser-Bostâniyân*" or "*zemîn der tasarruf-ı Ümmühan Hatûn bint Kuyucu Mehmed Bey*". MAD 133, p. 127.

<sup>145</sup> Surely, we do not see these differences in sixteenth century registers. Halil İncalcık states that the miri lands were divided into two as tapulu and mukataalu. İncalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Also see Öz, "Tahrir Defterlerinin Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmalarında Kullanılması Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler."

<sup>146</sup> I read this word as "yabancı". Stefka Parveva also reads it as "yabancı". See Parveva, "Rural Agrarian and Social Structure in the Edirne Region during the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century."

<sup>147</sup> For instance, regarding the landed property in the village of Yarbuz Tatar (or Erbuza Ata), the text reads: "*bi-ihbâr-ı re'âyâ temlik-i Aişe ve Fatıma hatun 'an evlâd-ı Yarbuz Tatar hâsıl 23000 akçe*" MAD 133, p. 30.

survey.<sup>148</sup> Then the survey recorded the village as reflected in the old register and determined the updated value at which it was “sold.”<sup>149</sup>

All villages, *müsellem* lands and hamlets were recorded in metric measurements in *cerib*.<sup>150</sup> The Ottomans generally used the unit of *dönüm* for evaluating the size of landed property (land, vineyard, and so on).<sup>151</sup> Although the law (*kanunname*) attributed to Süleyman the Magnificent mentions the unit of *cerib*,<sup>152</sup> it was not in common use in the Ottoman lands until the reign of Mehmed IV (Avcı), whose period witnessed a few survey implementations in newly conquered lands. The only other register employed this metric unit for measuring landed property was the 1669 survey of Crete.<sup>153</sup>

What this survey recorded regarding the landed property included the arable lands (*tarla*), vineyards (*bağ*), gardens (*bağçe*), meadows (*çayır*), common pasture (*mer‘a-i mevâşi*), as well as vacant lands that are neither in use in any way nor possessed by anyone, yet in good condition to cultivate (*arz-ı hâli bilâ-sâhib zer‘a sâlih*).<sup>154</sup> The latter sometimes also contained empty lands with mountainous portions that are not cultivated at all (*dağlık*). At the end of the list of each settlement recorded, the total territory including arable lands and others is given.

Moreover, unlike the classical tax registers, the Edirne survey of 1670 defined the village (hamlet and *müsellem* lands also) boundaries in detail. This allows us to make confirm the locations of villages on GIS maps, because some villages contain

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<sup>148</sup> “*bi-ihbâr-ı ahâli-yi karye-yi mezbûr.*” MAD 133, passim.

<sup>149</sup> As for the village of Etmekçi, the text reads: “*ber mucib-i defter-i atık Vakf-ı Timurtaş Bey 3663 [akçe]*” followed by “*bi-ihbâr-ı ahali-i karye-i mezbûr fûrûht 10,000 [akçe der sene 1080].*” MAD 133, p. 32.

<sup>150</sup> Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen, *Hukuk-ı İslamiyye ve Istılahat-ı Fikhiyye Kamusu* vol.4 (İstanbul: Bilmen Yayınevi, nd), 130.

<sup>151</sup> On Ottoman metric units see Halil İnalçık, “Introduction to Ottoman Metrology,” *Turcica* XV, (1983): 311- 342.

<sup>152</sup> *Milli Tetübbalar Macmuası* vol. 1, no. 2, 314.

<sup>153</sup> Balta and Oğuz, eds., *Livâ-i Resmo Tahrir Defteri*. In the introduction part of the book, the authors think that the *cerib* was equal to the *dönüm*. However, the former was in actual fact almost 3 times bigger than the latter. See footnote 48 and 50.

<sup>154</sup> For a discussion of landed property that were orchards and vineyards see Colin Imber, “The Status of Orchards and Fruit Trees in Ottoman Law,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 12, (1982): 763-774.

the same names that otherwise make it difficult to determine the exact location of the settlement. For one example, the boundaries of the village of Ahi, in the *nahiye* of Üsküdar, is defined with the following details:

*Karye-i mezburun [Ahi] hudud-ı sınuru Batkonsaz'da gün batısında dikili sınır taşına ve andan yine dikili taş ve andan Azimceli mezarına andan Üsküdar'dan gelen dereye andan dik aşağı Evce kavağa ve andan gün batısına giden yüksek yere ve andan dik aşağı İsakçı mezra'asına ve andan dik aşağı Çuka Sekban demek ile ma'ruף olan dikili taş ve andan dudub gün doğusundan dikili kayaya andan Maldepe'ye andan dereye inüb dereden dik yukarı Üsküdar'dan gelen Yumuk taş köprüye ve andan dik yukarı yine Batkonsaz'a müntehi olur"<sup>155</sup>*

Village boundaries in the Ottoman country of the early modern period were not specifically recorded in the tax surveys of the sixteenth century. However, this does not mean that the Ottomans had no awareness of the territorial coverage of rural settlements. Some scholars claim that it was not until the nineteenth century that the Ottomans became aware of drawing boundaries for rural sites in a modern sense.<sup>156</sup> Although the matter of village boundaries is a field that needs further empirical investigation, few scholars state that archival documents clearly show the opposite.<sup>157</sup> Furthermore, boundaries were clearly defined when a village was endowed as a revenue unit to a pious endowment.<sup>158</sup> When rural dwellers had contention over landed property, it was a common practice to determine the exact boundary of the land through the information provided by the witnesses.

However, as the villagers often had problems over the use of common pastures that were in the possession of more than one neighboring village, it was necessary to

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<sup>155</sup> MAD 133, p. 44.

<sup>156</sup> Yücel Terzibaşođlu, "Struggles over Land and Population Movements in North-Western Anatolia, 1877–1914," in *Sociétés rurales ottomanes Ottoman Rural Societies*, ed. Mohammad Afifi et al., eds. (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2005), 297-308. Also see, Alp Yücel Kaya and Yücel Terzibaşođlu, "Tahrir'den Kadastro'ya: 1874 İstanbul Emlak Tahriri ve Vergisi: Kadastro tabir olunur tahrir-i emlak," *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 9, (2009): 7-56.

<sup>157</sup> Nizri, "Defining Village Boundaries at the Time of the Introduction of the Malikane System." Also see Özer Ergenç and Hülya Taş, "Assessments on Land Usufruct and Ownership in Anatolia during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries."

<sup>158</sup> Very few scholars have mentioned village boundaries in their works. For example see Michael Nizri, "Defining Village Boundaries at the Time of the Introduction of the Malikane System."



solve the problem and rightly draw the boundaries of villages, which was a matter in times of a quarrel. The Edirne survey of 1670 in detail drew the boundaries of rural settlements in the three nahiyes of the Edirne district. The physical boundaries of the rural sites within the sub-districts of Ada, Üsküdar and Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa were clearly defined in the register, highly likely by the same registrar's close attention. However, it was not the case for the sub-districts of Manastır and Çöke. This was probably so because the census taker did not pay attention to this specific issue in the nahiyes he was recording.<sup>159</sup>

Combining the information of village boundaries with the metric measurement as *cerib* provided in the Edirne survey, it can be seen that the Ottomans were aware of the village boundaries well before the implementations of the nineteenth century reforms. As stated above, in case of a contention between village dwellers concerning arable lands or meadows, it was a common practice to determine the boundaries of lands under investigation. However, as the tax-farming (*iltizam*) system that created all sorts of quarrels was more in use in the seventeenth century, it became a common practice to draw the borders of villages as a whole to determine the boundaries within which the tax-farmer would receive his revenue and would not clash with the other settlements that could be under a *sipahi's* or *vakıf's* control. Otherwise, disagreements continued between different groups of people who were either the *timar* holder or a tax-farmer who were having a certain part of a revenue unit. So, in order to end these conflicts, the Ottoman authorities needed a new solution that would provide more concrete data of settlement boundaries – be a village, a *mezra'a* or *müsellem*.<sup>160</sup>

Furthermore, unlike the tax surveys of the earlier centuries that did not rely upon metric measurement of landed property in the concerned region, the Edirne survey of 1670 *did* measure the landscape of the Edirne district in a way that would provide more concrete and reliable information in terms of the village boundaries. In the

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<sup>159</sup> For the nahiyeh of Manastır see MAD 133, pp. 123-185 and MAD 556 for the Çöke nahiyeh.

<sup>160</sup> Nizri, "Defining Village Boundaries at the Time of the Introduction of the Malikane System."

classical *tahrirs*, the land a peasant family cultivated was recorded as a *çift*.<sup>161</sup> A çift was the peasant farm ploughed by a pair of oxen and was considered according to its productivity (*ala*, *evsat*, and *edna*).<sup>162</sup> In the Edirne survey of 1670, though, the lands (arable land, vineyard, and so on) that the peasant families possessed in the Edirne district were measured in a different form of unit (*cerîb*). A *cerîb* was almost three times of a *dönüm* that the Ottoman laws and jurisprudential authorities would normally use when referring to arable lands.<sup>163</sup> As stated before, the only survey registered the land in a similar way was the survey of Crete realized in 1669 following the conquest of the island. The arable lands possessed by Cretan families were incredibly small varying between 1-10 *cerîb*.<sup>164</sup> The lands that the peasants possessed in the villages within the Edirne district were significantly higher that I will further analyze below.

Following a long description of the 1670 Edirne survey register in the previous chapter that constitutes the backbone of the present study, in this chapter, I will focus on the rural sites of the Edirne district by understanding its rural society vis-à-vis the landscape, land, and landholding in the seventeenth century. In doing so, I will initially draw the land cover of the Edirne district as reflected in the Edirne survey of 1670. This portrays for us the landscape of the Edirne region providing in return certain data for each village's topographical specifications. This is yet another important set of information giving an opportunity to understand the investment patterns of urbanites in the rural hinterland of Edirne. Consequently, I will analyze the land regime in the Edirne region. Finally, I will combine these two in order to provide a better sense of the socio-economic depiction of the region. The latter will facilitate noting the differences between villages in terms of land use and land possession vis-à-vis religious and social segmentations/differentiation of people in society.

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<sup>161</sup> İnalçık, "Osmanlılarda Raiyyet Rüşümü." Also see Halil İnalçık, "Çift-Hane Sistemi ve Köylünün Vergilendirilmesi," in *Doğu Batı: Makaleler II* (İstanbul: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2016), 96-110.

<sup>162</sup> Halil İnalçık, "Köy, Köylü ve İmparatorluk," in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Toplum ve Ekonomi* (İstanbul: Eren, 1996). Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*.

<sup>163</sup> A fetva issued by Ebussud Efendi states the following: "*Ve cerîb dedikleri, tûlen ve arzen altmış zira' olmaktadır ki, misâhada 3600 zira' olur ... dönüm ki, tûlen ve arzen 35 zira'dır; misâhada 1225 zirâ' olur. Cerîb-i şer'inin sülüsünden 25 zirâ' zâid olur*" Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri I*, 150.

<sup>164</sup> For the survey's transliteration see Balta and Oğuz, eds., *Livâ-i Resmo Tahrir Defteri*.

### 3.2. Land cover in the Edirne district

The land cover did not only include arable land but also meadows, forests, common pastures, and the like. In this regard, what proportion of this landscape was available for human use and what other options rural society benefited from it will be given prime importance. As the Edirne survey of 1670 allows me to draw physical boundaries of the rural settlements in metric measurement, I will include the location variable in understanding the data accompanying the settlement types described in the previous chapter. Finally, with the above-mentioned analyses, the survey register done for the kaza of Edirne in 1670 will be the one drawn upon most heavily, albeit other archival sources such as detailed *avarız* registers and probate inventories from the same period and other contemporary accounts considered in order to further enhance the arguments offered in the present study. One of the most original aspects of the present study is that it deals with land use and landholding in the early modern Ottoman Empire based on a new survey register that provides a set of data enabling us to test for location variable.

The present study will also treat the rural settlements under different groupings in accordance with their positions as revenue units. The data that the Edirne survey supplies gives a glut of information for the last quarter of the seventeenth century in terms of ethno-religious composition, land cover, land use of the settlements. Majority of the studies approaching land use in the early modern Ottoman period base their area of research based on data that does not provide spatial information revealing metric measurements. However, in the Edirne survey of 1670 for the first time in Ottoman rural and land studies, space is taken into account and allows us to use both historical and geographical data.<sup>165</sup> The data that the Edirne survey register provides was as follows:

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<sup>165</sup> Very few studies in Ottoman historiography used location information on maps to enhance their research, though the tendency of benefiting from this is on the rise. However, many of these works have focused on different cities per se. See Nina Ergin, "Mapping İstanbul's hammams of 1752 and their employees," in *Bread from the Lion's Mouth: Artisans Struggling for a Livelihood in Ottoman Cities*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (New York: Berghahn, 2015), 108-35; Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles"; Sokrates D. Petmezas' recent work on Vostizza through Venetian registers seems to be the only study employing GIS tools on land use in the early modern Ottoman Empire. See Sokrates D. Petmezas, "Land Tenure and Land Settlement in Vostizza from Ottoman to

All the information supplied by the Edirne survey register for each settlement point in the Edirne region was entered in Excel spreadsheets by using different columns such as the name of the settlement, names of the land holders including their religion and gender, types of land they possessed, and the like. Furthermore, I used software called ArcGIS program to locate the rural settlement points on maps.<sup>166</sup> In order to do that, I initially determined the coordinates of each village or *mezra'a* by using modern geo-referencing methods. In locating the villages on maps through their “actual” coordinates, I used a number of sources such as primary and secondary sources, historical maps from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as online data providers that locate settlement points on maps not only with today’s village names but also with other name(s) used during the Ottoman times.<sup>167</sup>

Currently, it is possible to portray the boundaries of the villages and *mezra'as/müsellem çiftlik*s as the 1670 register provides the total sizes of settlements (i.e., arable lands, meadows, gardens, vineyards, empty lands etc.). There are many advantages of the 1670 Edirne register that allows me to show various aspects of rural life on maps. Thus, the boundaries that I showed in maps refer to actual sizes of villages.

Despite all these barriers blocking the visual mapping of historical data through modern tools, it is still possible to find out where the settlement points were actually located by bringing together historical location data, historical maps, Geographic Information System (GIS) technologies, and modern geographic tools. However attractive it seems to be, to use GIS technologies in historical inquiry has some obstacles to spot exact locations. The first problem to locate settlement points is that we have no maps from the periods prior to the nineteenth century that enable the researcher to combine historical data with location data. Secondly, even though many settlement points are indicated in nineteenth century maps, their exact sites

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Venetian Rule: G.I.S. Mapping of the Venetian *Cadaastro* of 1700,” in *Ottoman Rural Societies and Economies Halcyon Days in Crete VIII A Symposium Held in Rethymno 13-15 January 2012*, ed. Elias Kolovos (Crete: Crete University Press, 2015), 423-459.

<sup>166</sup> I would like to thank Shehram Yusufzade and Necibe Altun for helping me to visualize the historical data on maps.

<sup>167</sup> I benefited from websites like the followings: <http://www.fallingrain.com/world/index.html>; <http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/digkonyv/topo/200e/44-42.jpg>.

may not be true, since it is known that villages get emptied, re-inhabited, re-named and/or physically moved to other locations over time. Furthermore, some villages may have disappeared totally.

To summarize, in this study I do not offer a classical treatment of Ottoman survey registers as did the previous generation of scholars of Ottoman history. On the contrary, in order to better comprehend the rural life and structure of the early modern Ottoman Empire, I propose to treat one *nahiye* – the smallest rural administrative unit – having different characteristics from another meaning that topographical position and status of each *nahiye*'s villages mattered.

When registering the village, as the survey recorded landed property in metric measurement, all those people possessing arable land, vineyard and so on were recorded in such a way making us to infer that the majority of the dwellers in the village must have been recorded. This is yet another feature of the Edirne survey of 1670 that we do not see in other sorts of tax registers from the previous centuries. In fact, this did not become a common practice until the preparations of nineteenth century *temettüat* registers that would record landed property of rural dwellers in order to calculate their income from the lands worked on.<sup>168</sup> We can also see with the data providing each village's total land cover. What was this land cover? Which units of landed property did the registrars pay attention to record?

The most apparent one was the arable land (*tarla*) from which the Ottoman central government extracted the most significant portion of state revenues. The survey also recorded the vacant lands (*arz-ı hâli bilâ-sâhib zer'a sâlih*) that were also suitable for sowing but not currently worked on by anyone (*arz-ı hâli bilâ-sâhib zer'a sâlih*), pastures (*mer'a*), meadows (*çayır*), vineyards (*bağ*), and gardens (*bağçe* and *bostan*). As far as the Edirne survey of 1670 reveals regarding the total area of the Edirne district, we see that the rural hinterland of Edirne covered an area of more than 2.2 million *cerîb*<sup>169</sup> in the late seventeenth century (see Table 1). In other words, the

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<sup>168</sup> Fadimana Çelik worked on the sub-district on Çöke based on the nineteenth century *temettüat* registers. See Fadimana Çelik, *Çöke Nahiyesi'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (Temettüat Defterlerine Göre)* (Edirne: Edirne Valiliği, 2013).

<sup>169</sup> 1 *cerîb* equals 2.9 *dönüms*, and 1 hectare equals 10 *dönüms*.

rural space of Edirne would conceal an area of almost 6.5 million *dönüms* that would mean 663.897 hectare (see Figure 5). This metric data of land cover allows us to study the Edirne region in a more analytical way based on GIS techniques.<sup>170</sup>

As can be seen from the Table below, the portion of arable lands in the Edirne district in overall made 25% of all land cover. In terms of the proportion of arable lands in different sub-districts, the Ada nahiye comes forward with 35% followed by the Manastır nahiye with 31%. While agricultural lands were pretty large in the former, they were significantly smaller in the latter, which will be analyzed below. The shares of arable lands in the nahiyes of Çöke, Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa, and Üsküdar were 15%, 17%, and 23% respectively. The former two had the smallest arable land percentages among the five sub-districts.

The Ada sub-district in this respect offers rather explanatory data. In a total area of 585.000 cerib, 209.000 cerib of land was cultivated for grain production in the sub-district of Ada. In other words, the total area of arable lands comprised 35% of all land cover in this nahiye. This surely ought to be treated in line with the topographical advantages of this part of the Edirne region. One had to keep in mind that the Ada nahiye's villages were located on the fertile plain between the rivers of Arda and Meriç. This is also observed in the Map above on which we can see intensified red color in the Ada sub-district.

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<sup>170</sup> One has to keep in mind that the locations on the GIS Maps do not include all the settlement points we have in the Edirne survey of 1670. Dots on the Maps only show those settlements that I was able to spot by georeferencing their coordinates.

Table 1. Land types in the Edirne district in 1670

<i>Nâhiye</i>	Total land cover ( <i>cerîb</i> )	Tarla ( <i>cerîb</i> )	Hâli ( <i>cerîb</i> )	Mer'a ( <i>cerîb</i> )	Bağ, bağçe and bostan ( <i>cerîb</i> )	Çayır ( <i>cerîb</i> )
Ada	585.850,25 (100%)	209.245 (%35)	114.698,5 (%19)	194.980,5 (%33)	11.847 (2%)	17.230 (%2,9)
Üsküdar	914.604,5	216.636 (%23)	90.458 (%9,8)	469.648 (%51)	10.872 (1,1%)	2.559 (%0,2)
Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	176.480	31.103,5 (%17)	16.812,5 (%9,5)	94.946,5 (%53)	268 (0,1%)	8.949 (%5,0)
Manastır	119.191,5	37.443,5 (%31)	29.016 (%24)	54.800 (%45)	774 (0,6%)	127,5 (%0,1)
Çöke	493.177	78.861 (%15)	176.222,5 (%35)	224.833 (%45)	10.590 (2,1%)	2.388 (%0,4)
TOTAL	2.289.303,25	573.289	427.207,5	1.039.207	34.351	31.253,5

Sources: MAD 133; MAD 556

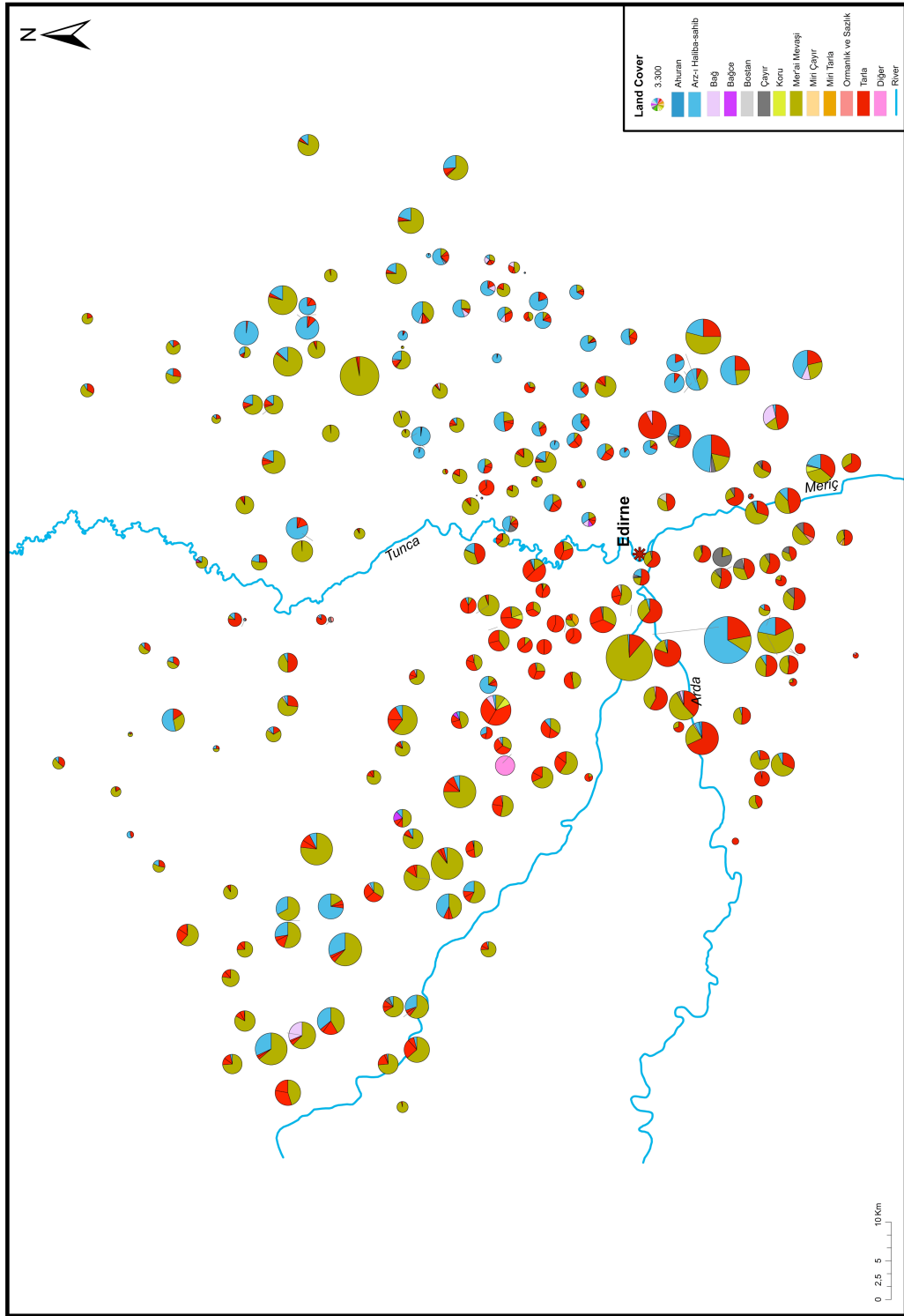


Figure 5. Land Cover in the Edirne district in 1670



Another good example that needs attention is the sub-district of Manastır in the Edirne district. Having the smallest portion of land cover in the Edirne region with only 119.00 cerib, this nahiye had 37.000 cerib of arable lands that made 31% of all its land cover. Keeping in mind that the villages in this nahiye were located in places of high altitude, it is still interesting to see high proportion of arable lands in this mountainous region of the Edirne district. However, as will be further elaborated below, this might be related to possessed lands being rather small in villages in the villages of this nahiye. This is of significance because, though mountainous, people might have been more eager to open more arable lands for cultivation in order to produce more surpluses for themselves and for meeting taxes the state demanded in the period.

The Çöke nahiye also deserves also attention due to its interesting figures that the Edirne survey of 1670 provides. Although it has the third largest total land cover in the Edirne region with 493.000 cerib (1.109.000 *dönüm* making 110.000 hectare), the portion of arable lands in this nahiye is rather insignificant. With 78.000 cerib, the Çöke nahiye had the smallest portion of arable lands (15% of all land cover) in the Edirne district. Similar to the nahiye of Çöke, the Cizr-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye also had a small portion of arable land. As far as what the survey recorded is concerned, the total area of the nahiye was around 176.000 cerib. Only 17% of this total land cover (31.000 cerib) was arable land.

One of the fascinating observations we make from Table 1 is the significant portion of pastures in different nahiyes allowing us to make inferences regarding the animal husbandry in the region. In fact, the pastures had the highest proportion of total land cover in all the nahiyes. In the Üsküdar and Cizr-i Mustafa Paşa sub-districts, the portion of pastures was 51% and 53% respectively. Likewise, both the Çöke and Manastır nahiyes had pastures consisting of 45% of the entire land cover. The only sub-district having relatively low share of pastures in the region is the Ada sub-district. The latter nahiye's pastures made 33% of its entire rural land. As the villages get far away from the city of Edirne, we see that the portion of green color gets intensified that can be interpreted in a way that animal husbandry was a way of living within these villages that had higher altitudes. Keeping in mind that pastures

were in joint use of the village community, it is safe to say that the villages where pastures made a significant part of total land cover were very suitable for animal husbandry but not for grain production. This is also obvious from the Edirne survey that provides quantitative data for large estate formation that I will further elaborate in the part sub-headed by the large *askerî* farms (*ekâbir çiftlikleri*).

Another point in relation with landholding in the Edirne district that needs to be mentioned here is the meadows (*çayır*). Although very insignificant in comparison with arable lands and common pastures, landholders were also in possession of meadows used for animal feeding. The Ada sub-district comes forward with the highest proportion of meadows that was more than 17.000 cerib. This was more than 8.000, 2.500, and 2.300 cerib in the sub-districts of Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa, Üsküdar and Çöke respectively. It was only 127 cerib in the Manastır nahiye. Considering that commoners did not generally possess meadows, it makes sense that the most significant meadow distribution was to the Ada nahiye. One ought to keep in mind that the villages in the Ada nahiye had a significant number of sultanic allocations where a good number of state officials resided. Lands in many of these sultanic allotments were also worked on by way of sharecropping (*ortakçı*). The state provided the seed to landholders that were to work on and cultivate the land. When harvest time arrived and the produce was collected, the seed given would be spared and the rest would be shared.<sup>171</sup> Furthermore, these villages also had state-owned barns (*miri ahur*) that needed straw for animals of state use.<sup>172</sup>

The only landed property that could be bought, sold, and/or inherited – that are vineyards, orchards, and gardens – needs to be analyzed under a separate paragraph. Within the boundaries of the Edirne district, as far as the aggregate data that the Edirne survey supplies is concerned, around 28.000 cerib of vineyard was owned

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<sup>171</sup> On the ortakçı villages see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Toprak İşçiliğinin Organizasyonu Şekilleri,” *İktisat fakültesi Mecmuası* I, no. 1 (1939): 29-74; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Toprak İşçiliğinin Organizasyonu Şekilleri,” *İktisat fakültesi Mecmuası* I, no. 2 (1940): 198-245; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Toprak İşçiliğinin Organizasyonu Şekilleri,” *İktisat fakültesi Mecmuası* I, no. 4 (1939): 397-447.

<sup>172</sup> On the animals as transportation means see Ümit Ekin, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Nakliye Hayvanlarının Bakımı ve Masrafları,” *Kebikeç İnsan Bilimleri İçin Kaynak Araştırmaları Dergisi* 9 (2004): 327-334.

both by villagers and urban dwellers. The most striking examples in this regard are the Ada and Çöke sub-districts, both of which had around 10.000 cerib of vineyards. Moreover, following these two nahiyes, the Üsküdar sub-district had more than 7.000 cerib of vineyards in the late seventeenth century. The lowest vineyard coverage seems to be evident in the sub-districts of Manastır and Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa having only around 750 and 250 cerib of vineyard respectively. Considering the fact that most villages in the Ada nahiye were located on the plains around the rivers of Arda and Meriç, it makes sense that this sub-district had a significant area of vineyards. The Çöke and Üsküdar sub-districts' villages had good vineyards watered by the Meriç River. The physical closeness of villages in these nahiyes has to be associated with the city of Edirne where there was a large consumer demand for vegetables.<sup>173</sup>

Along with arable lands and pastures, vacant lands also made a significant part of land cover in the Edirne district in the late seventeenth century. What the areas of vacant lands show us is that land not yet worked on was still available for cultivation in Edirne's rural hinterland. The Çöke and Manastır nahiyes had the highest percentages of vacant lands that were 35% and 24% respectively. What was the reason for this? The Edirne survey of 1670 supplies interesting definitions that allow us to interpret the high percentage of vacant lands. Such lands in the Ada nahiye made only 19% of the entire rural land cover. In the Üsküdar and Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa sub-districts, however, empty lands seem to have the lowest proportion. The vacant lands made just more than 9% in the both sub-districts. This can also be seen from Figure 5. When we look at the Çöke nahiye, the blue color seems to get intensified towards the plains. This can be interpreted in a way that vacant lands still made a good portion in plains. What were these lands that were "vacant and not owned" (*hâli bilâ sâhib*)? Considering the significant proportion of this sort of land, its meaning and implication in the Edirne region needs to be clarified.

The definition of the survey clearly shows that these lands were not owned (*bilâ sâhib*). Yet, this does not mean that they were no man's land that could be usurped by whomever wished to do so. The second part of the definition is about these lands' suitability for agriculture (*zer'a sâlih*). As can be clearly seen from Table 1, the

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<sup>173</sup> Parveva, "Villages, Peasants and Landholdings," 26.

villages in the Edirne district had good percentages of vacant lands, which testify to the abundance not to the scarcity of the land in this region. They were highly likely the lands rented out by the state (*mukataalu arazi*) as elaborated by Halil İnalçık.<sup>174</sup> When people from the cities wanted to possess lands in villages, they probably rented out these *mukataalu* lands, as well as bought from villagers who sold their right of possession on arable lands by the consent of the “landowner” (*sahib-i arz*), which was a “legitimate business method.”<sup>175</sup> This will be further analyzed in the next section about the peasant holdings as well as about large estates.

All in all, by closely analyzing Table 1 and Figure 5, we can say that the Ada sub-district had the highest proportion of arable lands among the five nahiyes. This was closely related to the topographical characteristics of this sub-district that was a plain located on fertile soil encircled by the rivers. It is not surprising to see that the *hâss* domains of the sultans were mostly located in this area. Furthermore, the villages that located on the Üsküdar and Çöke nahiyes’ plain parts had also larger proportions of arable lands. In the mountainous parts of the Edirne district close to the mountainous part covered by the Manastır district, however, it seems like common pastures made the majority of the land cover. This was especially the case in the hilly parts of the sub-districts of Manastır, and Cısr-ı Mustafa Paşa.

### 3.3. Land Distribution in the Edirne Region

The Ottomans, similar to previous Islamic states, arranged land distribution under three categories in accordance with people. These were the “arz-ı oşriyye” for Muslims, “arz-ı haraciyye” for non-Muslims, and “arz-ı emiriyye” for the residents of the lands that the Ottomans conquered. Land, on the other hand, was divided into five units: land as property (*mülk*), lands left for pious endowments (*vakıf*), abandoned (*metrūk*) lands, empty lands that were of no use for agriculture (*mevat*), and lands as property of the state (*mîrî*). The latter making the largest portion of land

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<sup>174</sup> İnalçık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* v. 1.

<sup>175</sup> Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, 37.

in the Ottoman Empire belonged to the state and the people cultivating them were merely renters.<sup>176</sup> The centre of the land system the Ottomans employed was the *timar* regime that the Ottomans established in the earlier centuries. That was not in use in all lands of the Ottoman country throughout centuries.<sup>177</sup>

This land regime that the Ottomans established in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did not allow individuals to formally own agricultural land because it was only the state that actually could have the ownership of the land. However, individuals or institutions were granted land by the state. In practice, it was a “two-fold system of with those who legally and practically controlled the land on behalf of the state (the *timar* system and the *waqf*, especially the so-called sultanic *waqfs*) and those who actually held and worked on it, that is, the peasants.”<sup>178</sup>

Similar to the case of Bursa where the majority of the land was controlled by the sultanic *waqfs*, the Edirne region was also under the control of many *waqfs* that received the taxes from and watched over the villages via *waqf* managers. The *timar* system, on the other hand, though not negligible, was not in charge of many villages in the Edirne region. The *timar* holders’ names not registered in 1670, as it was evident in the sixteenth century surveys. This was partially related to the dissolving nature of the *timar* regime vis-à-vis the increasing application of the tax-farming system.<sup>179</sup> Moreover, as the *timar* regime was in considerable change, the state was more involvement in managing the abandoned fiefs as is evident in the Edirne survey of 1670.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Halil Cin, *Miri Arazi ve Bu Arazinin Özel Mülkiyete Dönüşümü* (Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1987).

<sup>177</sup> Halil İnalçık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ (1300-1600)* (İstanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayınları, 2004), 109-111.

<sup>178</sup> Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, 19-20.

<sup>179</sup> İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire.” Despite the fact that the names of the fief holders were registered in other documents produced by the state. See Erhan Afyoncu, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatında Defterhane-i Amire (XVI.-XVIII. Yüzyıllar)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014).

<sup>180</sup> Taş, *XVII. Yüzyılda Ankara*, 61-63. On the changes that took place in the Ottoman fiscal system see Yavuz Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi* (İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık, 1986).

As far as the data provided by the 1670 survey is concerned, the classical land system seems to have endured in the late seventeenth century, though management and distribution of villages as fief allocations show changing patterns. What I mean by this is that it was mostly the peasants holding varying portions of lands. However, unlike the classical period's definition in terms of land portions as *çift* between 60 and 150 *dönüms* (one *dönüm* being almost 1.000 square meters), land possessions of peasants in the late seventeenth century Edirne region were registered in a different method, i.e., their actual physical coverage. How should we evaluate these agricultural land sizes? Whether it testifies to the inability of the system that could not avoid the rapid partition of the land<sup>181</sup> in the seventeenth century shall be elaborated below.

The data in hand also shows that the rules in law books such as “simple succession” (*intikal-i 'âdi*) that did not include the payment of a tax continued.<sup>182</sup> However, land was also exchanged or transacted. Within the boundaries that the law books underlined, lands with trees on them that could not be plowed were sold, bought and inherited. The probate inventories from the seventeenth century show that non-arable lands (i.e., *bağ*, *bağçe*, and the like) of both urban rural deceased dwellers were inherited by the legal heirs.<sup>183</sup> Furthermore, sicil collections also prove that these assets were open to transaction.<sup>184</sup>

Unlike vineyards and gardens, though, arable lands could not be left to legal heirs as their property. In thousands of documents concerning the probate inventories of deceased Edirne residents both from the city and villages, I did not come across a single case of a possessed agricultural land passed to the legal heirs during the owner's lifetime. The transaction, however, was still possible but it could only be done with the consent of the “landowner” (*sahib-i arz*), i.e., the waqf manager or

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<sup>181</sup> Gerber observes this phenomenon in the Bursa region. See Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*.

<sup>182</sup> Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, 22.

<sup>183</sup> For a few studies based on probate inventories see Barkan, “Edirne Askerî Kassamı'na Âit Tereke Defterleri (1545-1659)”; Oğuz, “Bir Osmanlı Kentinde Taşınır ve Taşınmaz Mal Varlığına Dayalı Servet Analizi: Edirne Örneği.”

<sup>184</sup> Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*; Ergenç and Taş, “Assessments on Land Usufruct and Ownership in Anatolia during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries.”

*timar* holder, etc.<sup>185</sup> Similar to Haim Gerber's observations for the region of Bursa in the seventeenth century, what the peasants in the Edirne villages did this in regards to selling the arable lands under their possession was that they were selling the right of possession of the land.<sup>186</sup> Another point supporting the state's full ownership of the land is that agricultural lands were not endowed like other sorts of property owned.<sup>187</sup>

One of the most fascinating features of the Edirne survey of 1670 is that it recorded the landed property in the Edirne district in metric measurements. What I mean by metric measurement is that land possessions of villagers were recorded in a measured way (*ber mûceb-i mesâha*) that was not the case in earlier tax surveys. As stated above, unlike the classical tax surveys of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, this survey recorded the land under peasants' control by measuring them in the unit of *cerîb* that will be further analyzed below.

In classical tax surveys, arable lands were associated with the term *çift* referring to the size of land according to its productivity. As Ottoman kanunnames underlined, a *çift* was 60 *dönüm* if the land was in good ability, 100 *dönüm* if medium, and 150 *dönüm* if its productivity was not good.<sup>188</sup> Halil İnalcık framed this as the *çift-hane* system whose key element was a male peasant who held a certain portion of arable land and ploughed with a pair of oxen. In other words, it was a unit that made

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<sup>185</sup> This is the usual reference we see in the eighteenth century sicil collections of Edirne. Whenever a plot of agricultural land was sold, the "landowner" consented giving a *tapu*. Ergenç and Taş, "Assessments on Land Usufruct and Ownership in Anatolia during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries."

<sup>186</sup> Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, 23. Though this was refuted by some scholars working on the island of Crete eventually conquered by the Ottomans in 1669. See Greene, "An Islamic Experiment"; Kermeli, "Caught in between Faith and Cash."

<sup>187</sup> It has been argued that the agricultural land in Crete was in full possession of the local peasants as property (*mülk*), so that they could sell or buy it at the shari'a court. However, despite the court cases from Crete used by these scholars as a proof for ownership, it seems that there was no Cretan peasant that turned his landed "property" to waqf. On the Ottoman land policy applications see Greene, "An Islamic Experiment"; Eugenia Kermeli, "Caught in between Faith and Cash."

<sup>188</sup> Barkan, *XV ve XVI ncı Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları. Kanunlar I.*

produced to fulfill the needs of the family and it consisted of the household's labor with the oxen.<sup>189</sup>

Some state-owned lands were distributed as *timars* consisting of *çiftlik*s. In the classical period, each *timar* was generally controlled by the sipahi. The latter did not own the land, but managed it for the ruler who had the *rakabe* of the whole lands in the empire. Among these state-owned lands (*mîrî*), a fief holder (*sipahi* or *timar*-holder as most common terms) was to gather dues on the land he was overseeing and to keep its safety. The tithe (*öşür*) was the main revenue of the fief holder who was in turn obliged to supply soldiers during war times.<sup>190</sup>

According to Halil İncılık, an agrarian empire itself, the Ottoman Empire had a fiscal system based on the taxation of land, termed as the *çift-resmi* or *çift-tax*. Peasants could manage the peasant farm that provided the means of the livelihood for the family, but the state regulated his use of the land. Furthermore, they had to relinquish a certain percentage of the income fixed at that time. A peasant household was considered a single taxable unit within this taxation system, and the position of each peasant household was determined according to the size of land and the work capacity of the family. The state apparatus watched over the system with tax surveys prepared every twenty or thirty years via registering each piece of *çift*.<sup>191</sup>

### 3.3.1. Village dwellers and “others”

Before analyzing land distribution in the Edirne region, I will provide a brief survey of the landholders dwelling both in villages and cities. What I mean by this is that people were not only possessing lands that were within the boundaries of the given

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<sup>189</sup> İncılık, “Çift-Hane Sistemi ve Köylünün Vergilendirilmesi”; İncılık, “Osmanlılar’da Raiyyet Rûsûmu.” For a recent study on the *çift-hane* system see Kayhan Orbay, “Osmanlı Çift-Hane Sistemi,” unpublished MA Thesis (Ankara University, 2011).

<sup>190</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Timar,” in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 12 (İstanbul: MEB Basımevi, 1979), 286-333. Also see İncılık, “Çift-Hane Sistemi ve Köylünün Vergilendirilmesi”; Orbay, “Osmanlı Çift-Hane Sistemi.”

<sup>191</sup> İncılık, “Çift-Hane Sistemi ve Köylünün Vergilendirilmesi.”



village. On the contrary, some villagers seem not to have possessed lands in the village they dwelled, yet did so in neighboring villages. This is something that we would not see in the previous centuries during which the classical *timar* regime would have its heydays. However, as the classical *timar* regime began to dissolve or gained different forms in the early decades of the seventeenth century, both villagers and urbanites began to mobilize horizontally by acquiring landed property in different locales. In other words, at least based on the data the Edirne survey provides, landed property seem to have been allocated to different people not only residing in a given village, but also to others living in other villages as well as in cities. This was something that probably began before, yet its intensification was immense by the seventeenth century.

Unlike the tax surveys of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that did not record peasant holdings in relation with their residential affiliations, the Edirne survey of 1670 recorded the landholders in relation with their residential identities, i.e., whether they resided in neighboring villages or in cities. As can be seen from the table below, the villages in the Cizr-i Mustafa Paşa sub-district had a significant number of people who resided elsewhere. In total, 33 per cent of the landholders seem to have dwelled either in neighboring villages, in district centers or cities like Cizr-i Mustafa Paşa or Edirne.

Table 2. Landholders in the *nâhiye* of Cizr-i Mustafa Paşa

Village name	# of land possessors residing in the village	# of land possessors residing else where	Total
Karaođlanlı	20	16	36
Saruhanlı	19	12	31
Hacı Obası	23	6	29
Süleymanca	10	3	13
Hisarlı	41	19	60
Süle	12	7	19
Otlu Hacı	13	6	19
Derzi Pare	11	16	27
Aladađ	45	30	75
Habibce	51	0	51
Bunaklı	23	6	29
Akova	13	26	39
İflahanlı	31	1	32
TOTAL	312 (67%)	148 (33%)	460 (100%)

Source: MAD 133, pp.83-93

The existence of landholders who were not residents in a given village is a rather tricky matter. Since the landholder possessing property in another village would concern the revenue owner (*sâhib-i arz*) of the village where he resided as well as the *sahib-i arz* of the village where he possessed land, unless there was a smooth situation that contended both there would be a contention. This would be even more evident during the seventeenth century when the iltizam system's intensification gave way to the ongoing land based disagreements between the tax farmer and the peasant, and/or between the revenue holder (i.e., sipahi, *vakıf* manager, etc.) of a neighboring village and the tax farmer of another. It seems that all villages in the Cizr-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye had different numbers of non-residents holding landed

property in those villages varying between 1 and 30 households. In the village of Ifkahanlı, for instance, the only person who possessed a plot of agricultural land was a Christian man named Dimitri. A resident of the neighboring village of Aladağ in the same nahiye, Dimitri had 29 cerib of agricultural land in the Iflahanlı village. In the village of Aladağ where he resided, he possessed 71 cerib of arable land and 1/4 of the vineyards. In the religiously mixed village of Iflahanlı, the land Dimitri possessed was a significant portion that he must have owned with the consent of the *sâhib-i arz* (the *vakıf* manager of the village, i.e., the *mütevelli*) since the village belonged to a *vakıf*. The village of Aladağ where he was dwelling was a *timar* village, however. How did the sipahi of the village of Aladağ and the mütevelli of the village of Iflahanlı solve this dual matter? Did this create a disputation between the two *sahib-i arzes*? Was it rather a win-win matter? Or did it not concern them at all? Could it be considered as an evidence for the dissolution of the *timar* system or the less effective sipahis in the seventeenth century?

Unfortunately, we do not know whether Dimitri's land possession in a neighboring village created some sorts of contentions between the sipahi of the village of his residence and Dimitri. Since we do not have the ilams and hüccets from the city's Muslim court registers in the seventeenth century, it is impossible for us to trace this case in the Muslim court records of Edirne. The case of Dimitri was also applicable to other villages in the same nahiye. Except for the village of Habibce where all landholders were residents in the same village, villagers holding landed property in other villages seem to be a common trend in the Edirne region. All dwellers holding lands in other villages were either from neighboring village or close towns.

Table 3. Landholders in the *nâhiye* of Manastır

Village name	# of land possessors residing in the village	# of land possessors residing else where	Total
Fikele	37	38	75
Vakf-1 Derbend	156	45	201
Kozluca	155	36	191
Dođanođlu+Sirem	107	96	203
Kavaklı	55	68	123
Yavuz Dere	12	0	12
Manastır-1 kebîr	69	11	80
Bađçe Pınarı	30	5	35
AzizHalifa (Vakıf)	20	1	21
Dermanlı	11	3	14
Kayacık	29	1	30
İskender Pazarı	20	10	30
Koyun Pınarı	19	3	22
Derviş	17	2	19
Drama	28	50	78
Köse Kulfallı	34	54	88
Aziz Halifa	34	17	51
(Delüceli)			
Şahlı	49	93	142
Sinekli-yi Gebran	26	4	30
Kırcal Obası	9	0	9
Sinekli-yi Müslim	13	32	45
Manastır-1 sagîr	57	18	75
Çakal Pınar	15	0	15
(Çatma)			
Akalan	25	0	25
Pare	11	1	12

Table 3. (Continued)

Mişeli	28	36	64
Danişmendlü	18	10	28
Şah Melik	17	12	29
Işıklı	97	1	98
Defterdar	27	0	27
Tura Bey Obası	29	0	29
Yusuflu	33	12	45
Papas	31	16	47
Saltıklı	15	3	18
Beşayaklı(Davud Beğlü)	19	21	40
Gacel Ova	43	0	43
TOTAL	1395 (69%)	699 (31%)	2019 (100%)

Similar to the sub-district of Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa, quite a few people residing in other locations possessed landed property in the villages in the Manastır nahiye of the Edirne district. As can be seen from Table 3 on the Manastır nahiye, 31 per cent of the landholders in this nahiye were dwelling elsewhere. Similar to the land proportions of village dwellers that were rather in small sizes, those possessing lands in neighboring villages also had very small amounts of lands or vineyards. The preacher and the resident of the village of İskender Pazarı in the sub-district of Manastır, Ali Hoca (*müezzin*), possessed only 7 cerib of arable land in the village of his residence. Ali Hoca seems to have owned arable lands in other neighboring villages. He had 5 cerib of land in the village of Koyun Pınarı and 2 cerib of arable land in the village of Derviş, both being in the very close vicinity of the İskender Pazarı village.

The division of an existing village to two separate ones seems to have also been a reason for the peasants' land possession in neighboring villages. When the Muslim

and Christian dwellers of the village of Sinekli began living among their own kinds, they could not give up their agricultural lands that now remained within the boundaries of the other village. Having separated their villages according to religion that was most likely based on tax disputation, both villagers had lands in the other village. The two Muslim men, Mustafa Ağa and İvaz son of Hüseyin, had 45 and 53 cerib of agricultural land respectively in the Muslim village of Sinekli (*karye-i Sinekli-i Muslim*). They both had half a cerib of land in the Christian village of Sinekli (*karye-i Sinekli-i Gebran*) also. However, the Christian residents of the village of Christian Sinekli owned larger arable lands that remained in the Muslim village of Sinekli. All of the residents now dwelling in the village of Sinekli-i Gebran had good amounts of land varying from 1 to 50 cerib.

Table 4. Landholders in the *nâhiye* of Üsküdar

Village name	# of land possessors residing in the village	# of land possessors residing else where	Total
Etmekçi	16	2	18
Karabulut	20	1	21
Yahşi Fakih	23	16	39
Akpınar	17	1	18
Uzgaş	15	3	18
Köse Hamza	15	11	26
Avarız	31	12	43
Ulu Şahin	3	3	6
Kafir Hacı	31	8	39
Nefs-i Üsküdar	298	123	421
Kayı	93	18	111
Nusretli	23	27	50
Ahi	10	16	26
Doğancı	20	7	27
Dimitri	57	13	70
Avcılar	45	27	72
Kara Hızır	44	17	61
Kafir Pınarca	54	49	103
Umurca	15	1	16
Sökün	18	44	62
Büyük İsmailce	17	8	25
Pavlikan (Donuz Dere)	17	7	24
Hasköy	19	9	28
Yörücekli	19	6	25
Mihaliç	64	0	64
Lefke	65	33	98
Yahşi Beğlü	47	7	54
Derviş Depe	106	67	173
Soğucak	48	83	131
Koca Yakublu	41	3	44
Küsti	31	3	34

Table 4. (Continued)

Kerastal Hacı	18	4	22
Timurhanlı	33	10	43
Türk Pınarca	22	6	28
Kerume	36	68	104
Emrudlu	36	6	42
Kafıralan	25	32	57
Arablı	12	2	14
Hayreddince	27	3	30
Menacılar	40	21	61
Hızır Ağa	12	8	20
Kara Pelid	17	9	26
Kurdcalı	27	12	39
Obruklu	23	3	26
Yenice	10	3	13
Çingane Paşa	2	14	16
Geredeli	16	25	41
Galavanlı	17	33	50
Salihli	16	14	30
Yumuklu	12	37	49
Gülsuret	16	8	24
Sadıklı	25	16	41
Çaraklı	8	56	64
Halifa	41	0	41
Uğuralan	15	1	16
Simavnalı	40	14	54
Hıdır Yörük	12	0	12
Resullü	10	7	17
Pirinççiyad	9	10	19
Kara Pınar	18	18	36
Elhac İbrahim	10	32	42
Obası			
Yeni Yayla	24	50	74
Durmuşlu	21	14	35
(Arabacı)			
Kırk Paşa	32	1	33
Akça İbrahim	27	2	29
Koyunlu	22	13	35
Evriş	31	17	48
Maraş	70	39	109
Kemal	41	7	48
Kırşehir	20	11	31
Hatun	40	31	71
TOTAL	2255 (63%)	1282 (37%)	3537 (100%)



The nahiye of Üsküdar provides similar figures regarding the non-resident landholders in villages. Table 4 on the Üsküdar nahiye shows that 37 per cent of landholders were dwelling in neighboring villages and/or towns. Like the case of Sinekli residents dividing their villages according to their religion, a village in the Üsküdar nahiye seems to offer a similar picture. The village of Pınarca was divided into two, one called as “Turkish” Pınarca (*karye-i Türk Pınarca*), the other as “infidel” (*karye-i Kâfir Pınarca*). The only difference was that the residents of the both villages were Christians. Most probably, village dwellers had tax-based disputes causing the division of the village eventually. Similar to the villages of the Manastır nahiye where neighboring villagers had small amounts of arable lands, in the villages of the Üsküdar nahiye, village dwellers residing certain villages also possessed agricultural lands of small amounts from neighboring villages.

A very striking example in this regard is the Ada nahiye where almost half of the landholders were the residents of other rural locations as well as of the city of Edirne. As pointed out in various parts of this study and shown in maps, the villages in this sub-district were in physical propinquity with Edirne. Initially, this physical proximity of villages to Edirne created a safer zone for dwellers that helped to sustain their agricultural activities. Secondly, as high-ranking state officials also possessed landed property in most of these villages, villagers seem to have access to political power via these landholding elites who had close connections with the Palace that was then in Edirne.

Table 5. Landholders in the *nâhiye* of Ada

Village name	# of land possessors residing in the village	# of land possessors residing else where	Total
Ahur+Hırvat	79	2	81
İneoğlu	73	10	83
Keniseli	71	8	79
Şahinci	47	29	76

Table 5. (Continued)

Ömerbeğli	69	32	101
Sofular	59	22	81
Ece Sultan	25	31	56
Bosna	39	0	39
Yundbergos+Tatarlı	66	36	102
Karaağaç	55	38	93
Çörek	67	26	93
Düdükcü Yenicesi	70	10	80
Düdükcü	9	13	22
Saltıklı	31	11	42
Ayntablı	30	26	56
Kulaklı	37	124	161
Doğanca Arzı	92	13	105
Bazarlı	81	19	100
Yarbuza Ata/Tatar	50	4	54
Kafir Doğanca	125	19	144
Kaba Öyük	37	24	61
Türk Doğanca	10	18	28
Kara İshaklı	17	100	117
Küramidli	60	98	158
Timurtaş	28	13	41
Polad	55	253	308
Azadlı	117	240	357
Şarabdar (Keşanlı)	106	141	247
Daye Hatun	45	54	99
Köse Doğanca Murad	21	28	49
İlbeği Bergos	27	27	54
Eymirli	58	6	64
Bulaklı	28	0	28
Karakasım	29	5	34
Sazlıdere	15	7	22

Table 5. (Continued)

Abalı	23	31	54
Oğul Paşa	37	1	38
Öyüklü Tatarı	9	14	23
Elçili	25	7	32
Sığırçalı	37	2	39
Çeke Tatarı	23	3	26
İskender	179	63	242
TOTAL	2161 (53%)	1608(43%)	3769 (100%)

It seems that peasants possessing arable lands and/or vineyards in neighboring villages was becoming a trend in the Ottoman Empire. At least, it was a seeming trend in the Edirne region.<sup>192</sup> The first possible explanation for this is that peasant holdings were becoming small plots as a result of the initial holder's death that gave way to the division of the land among the legal heirs. Some of the heirs probably sold their right of possession to other villagers who were residents of neighboring villages, as well as to those who were residing in towns. Alternatively, some of these villagers migrated to neighboring villages or to cities without abandoning their lands. Hence, they were recorded in the survey of 1670 as residents of such locales.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>192</sup> In another geographical context shown in the Cretan survey of 1669 that was prepared in a similar way to the Edirne survey, for instance, we do not see peasants holding landed property in neighboring villages. We have to keep in mind that the island was taken after a long siege, which had a massive effect on the island. On the raw data of this survey see Balta and Oğuz, eds., *Livâ-i Resmo Tahrir Defteri*.

<sup>193</sup> In fact, this would become another trend that we see in the Edirne region, which must have started before. The eighteenth century Edirne court registers provide an abundant number of cases regarding the prebend holder's attempt to bring villagers who had resided in other locales back to their original place of residence where they held arable lands and had tax obligations.

### 3.3.2. Single vs. joint landholders

The second point that needs to be underlined is the land possession status that is whether villagers possessed lands individually or jointly. This is also related to the parceling of agricultural lands in the Edirne region. What is evident in the Edirne survey of 1670 is that the vast majority of landholders possessed lands individually. In other words, joint possession was not a widespread phenomenon in the rural hinterland of Edirne. This is yet another proof on the parceling of the lands between the legal heirs who inherited after their father died. When the land possessor died, his son inherited the land on simple succession (*intkal-i adi*). If the deceased had more than one son, the brothers would inherit the land jointly (*ber vech-i iştirâk*) on simple succession again that did not require a deed payment (*resm-i tapu*). However, the land would later be divided between the successors with the consent of the *sahib-i arz*.<sup>194</sup>

As stated before, the Edirne survey of 1670 shows that joint land possession of brothers was not a common practice in the region. In the Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa sub-district's villages, almost all of the village dwellers possessed the land individually (that is the land was registered under the name of one single person). In other words, the data in hand suggests that the villagers of the Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa sub-district (see Table 6) did not have joint possession of the land.

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<sup>194</sup> Eighteenth century court records provide a number of cases in which we see brothers coming to the kadi's court for getting their own share (*hisse*) with the consent of the *sahib-i arz*.

Table 6. Land possession statuses of dwellers in the Cizr-i Mustafa Paşa *nahiye*

Village name	# of single landholders	# of joint landholders	Total
Karaoğlanlı	20	0	20
Saruhanlı	19	0	19
Hacı Obası	23	0	23
Süleymanca	10	0	10
Hisarlı	41	0	41
Süle	12	0	12
Otlı Hacı	13	0	13
Derzi Pare	11	0	11
Aladağ	45	0	45
Habibce	51	0	51
Bunaklı	23	1	23
Akova	13	0	13
İflahanlı	31	0	31
TOTAL	312	1	313

In the part of the Edirne survey of 1670 concerning the Cizr-i Mustafa Paşa sub-district, we find only one entry registering a joint land possession, which was in the village of Bunaklı. In this case, we see Mustafa and Halil who seem to have jointly possessed a plot of arable land that was 64 *cerîb*. This entry suggests that they were brothers from the same father (*zemîn der yed-i Mustafa ve Halil veledân-ı Yayla tarla 64 cerîb*). Other than this unique entry confirming the joint landholding of the two brothers, villagers possessed the entire landed property in the Cizr-i Mustafa Paşa sub-district individually that deserves further examination.

Regarding single or joint use of lands, a similar picture is also evident in the villages of the Manastır sub-district. A vast majority of villagers in this *nahiye* seem to have possessed the land as one. Among the villagers in this *nahiye*, we see only two

entries in the village of Fikele and one in the village of Mişeli referring to joint use of arable lands. In the former village, we see Esteyano and Levando possessing 30,5 *cerib* of agricultural land, and Tolo and Mito possessing 57,5 *cerib* of land. In the both cases, the two men were brothers (*birâderân*) and in possession of the land jointly (*ber vech-i iştirak*).<sup>195</sup>

In the latter village that was a religiously mixed one with Muslim and Christian residents, only one entry is seen in the Edirne survey of 1670 that suggests the land was in possession of two village dwellers jointly. In this example, we see Süleyman and Neste having 4 *cerib* of land.<sup>196</sup> This entry allows us to make some basic – yet necessary – assumptions about the changing trends of the seventeenth century vis-à-vis the land regime. As the entry does not underline the two men’s familial connection (i.e., having the same father), the two men seem not to be brothers (unless Süleyman was not a convert) unlike the two entries from the village of Fikele that I just mentioned above. Contrarily, their names suggest that one of them was Muslim and the other Christian. Moreover, the land possessed by these two men is significantly small (4 *cerib* only). In this confessionally mixed village, for joint investment, Süleyman and Neste were highly likely neighbors who bought the use right of the land from the landowner (*sâhib-i arz*) of the village.

Table 7. Land possession statuses of dwellers in the Manastır nahiye

Village name	# of single landholders	# of joint landholders	Total
Fikele	35	2	37
Vakf-ı Derbend	156	0	156
Kozluca	155	0	155
Doğanoğlu+Sirem	107	0	107
Kavaklı	55	0	55

<sup>195</sup> “*zemîn der yed-i Esteryano ve Levando birâderân veledân-ı Andriya ber vech-i iştirak tarla 30,5 cerib*” and “*zemîn der yed-i Tolo ve Mito birâderân veledân-ı Duka ber vech-i iştirak tarla 57,5 cerib*” MAD 133.

<sup>196</sup> “*zemîn der-yed-i Süleyman ve Neste ber vech-i iştirak tarla 4 cerib*” MAD 133.

Table 7. (Continued)

Yavuz Dere	12	0	12
Manastır-1 kebîr	69	0	69
Bağçe Pınarı	30	0	30
Aziz Halifa ( <i>Vakıf</i> )	20	0	20
Dermanlı	11	0	11
Kayacık	29	0	29
İskender Pazarı	20	0	20
Koyun Pınarı	19	0	19
Derviş	17	0	17
Drama	28	0	28
Köse Kulfalı	34	0	34
Aziz Halifa (Delüceli)	34	0	34
Şahlı	49	0	49
Sinekli-yi Gebran	26	0	26
Kırcal Obası	9	0	9
Sinekli-yi Müslim	13	0	13
Manastır-1 sagîr	57	0	57
Çakal Pınar (Çatma)	15	0	15
Akalan	25	0	25
Pare	11	0	11
Mişeli	28	1	28
Danişmendlü	18	0	18
Şah Melik	17	0	17
İşıklı	97	0	97
Defterdar	27	0	27
Tura Bey Obası	29	0	29
Yusuflu	33	0	33
Papas	31	0	31
Saltıklı	15	0	15
Beşayaklı (Davud Beğlü)	19	0	19
Gacel Ova	43	0	43

Regarding the joint land possession, a similar picture in the villages of the Üsküdar sub-district is evident. The vast majority of landholders possessed their lands individually. Only in five villages in this nahiye, we come across 6 entries confirming villagers' joint possession of land. These villages were the Maraş, Glavanlı, and Nusretli where the villagers in joint possession of the land were brothers. In the village of Nusretli, Hacı and Abdullah sons of Yusuf had 25 *cerib* of land (*zemîn-i Hacı ve Abdullah veledân-ı Yusuf tarla 25 cerib*); in the village of Glavanlı, Kırала and Görđi sons of Perdevan had 151,5 *cerib* of land (*zemîn-i Kırала ve Görđi veledân-ı Perdevan tarla 151,5 cerib*); and in the village of Maraş, Mustafa and Ahmed sons of Hüseyin had 142 *cerib* of land and 17 *cerib* of meadow jointly (*zemîn-i Mustafa ve Ahmed veledân-ı Hüseyin tarla 142 cerib çayır 17 cerib*).

Unlike these brothers who jointly possessed lands in the above written villages where they resided, the village of Yahşi Fakih in the Üsküdar nahiye had two entries suggesting a different trend in terms of land possession. These two cases show that the joint landholders were not brothers but partners (*iştirâk*). In the first case, four men owned a small portion of arable land that was only 11 *cerib* (*Mısırlı Mehmed ve Mahmud ve Kara Ahmed ve Kel Ali ber vech-i iştirâk tarla 11 cerib*). In the second case, 13 men possessed 180 *cerib* of land jointly (*zemîn-i Kör Ahmed ve Ömer ve Mısırlı Mehmed ve Ahmed ve Mahmud ve Mustafa ve Kopçalı Ali ve Kel Ali ve Veli ve Kenan Bey ve Hasan beşe ve Mustafa Beşe ve Talafar Hüseyin ber vech-i iştirâk tarla 180 cerib*). In fact, three of the former four landholders holding 11 *cerib* of land were among the 13 men of the latter case. Not only had they possessed landed property together with others, some of these men individually possessed some lands as well.<sup>197</sup> However, similar to the case of Süleymand and Neste who had a small portion of arable land together in the village of Mişeli of the Manastır nahiye, it seems that some villagers held lands together with some others dwelling in the same village. They most likely combined their capital and bought the use right of arable lands (*hakk-ı tasarruf*) from the “landowner” (*sahib-i arz*) of the village. In this case,

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<sup>197</sup> For example, Hasan Beşe had 8 *cerib*, Kel Ali had 2,9 *cerib*, Mısırlı Mehmed 2,5 *cerib*, Kopçalı Ali 9 *cerib*, Talafar Hüseyin 9 *cerib* of land on their own. See the village of Yahşi Fakih in MAD 133, p. 33.



it was the manager of the Yahşi Fakih endowment who was controlling the lands of this *vakıf* village.

An interesting observation regarding the joint use of landed property in the Edirne district can be made from the data on the Çöke sub-district. As stated earlier, this nahiye was not registered similar to other four nahiyes, that is, landholders were not differentiated in accordance with their residential affinities. Keeping this in mind, though, the data in hand allows us to underline that a good number of landholders seem to have enjoyed the use right of landed property jointly. Table 8 shows the names of the villages in the Çöke nahiye where we encounter multiple landholder-ships. Considering the fact that the total number of village dwellers holding lands must have been around 3350 (see Chapter II on the population of villages), the number of joint landholders in this nahiye is not significant. However, compared to other sub-districts where only very few of the villagers held the land jointly, the register that concerns the rural dwellers in the villages of the Çöke sub-district show that 29 entries included more than one name as landholders.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> MAD 556.

Table 8. Dwellers jointly possessing land in the Çöke nahiye

Village name	# of joint landholders	Names of joint landholders	Type of land (in <i>cerib</i> )
Musabeyli	1	Rabia ve Fatima ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	bağ 2 c.
Kara Yusufllu	1	Hüseyin ve Hasan ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	tarla 67 c. bağ 1,5 c.
Eşkinçi	1	Yusuf ve Ahmed ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	tarla 70 <i>cerib</i>
Süle	2	Ali ve Mustafa ( <i>iştirâk</i> ) Şaban ve Mustafa ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	bağ 1,5 c. Bağ 1,5 c.
Donuzculu	3	Hüseyin ve Hızır ( <i>iştirâk</i> ) Mehmed ve Zülfikar ( <i>iştirâk</i> ) Mehmed ve Hızır ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	tarla 32 c. tarla 75 c. tarla 27c.
Tatarlar	4	Mehmed ve Ahmed ( <i>iştirâk</i> ) İbrahim beşe ve Hamza ( <i>iştirâk</i> ) Hamza ve Bilal ( <i>iştirâk</i> ) Abdullah ve Musa ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	bağ 1 c. Bağ 6 c. Bağ 1,5 c. Bağ 4 c.
Süleyman Danişmend	2	Ahmed ve Ayşe (N/A) Ahemd ve Resul ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	çayır 2 c. Bağ 1,5 c.
Ömer Obası	1	İlya ve Miko ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	tarla 12 c.
Don	1	Yorgo ve Nikola ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	bağ 1,5 c.
Fakih Derbend	1	Gorki ve Kiro ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	tarla 42,5 c.
Çiğilli	2	Mehmed ve Mustafa <i>biraderân</i> Nikola ve Kogo ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	tarla 15 c. Tarla 22 c.
Hacı Danişmend	2	Mehemd ve Şahin ( <i>iştirâk</i> ) İbrahim ve Halil ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	tarla 19 c. Bağ 3,5 c.
Sarı Danişmend	1	Timur ve Habib ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	bağ 1 c.
Akbınar	1	Havva ve Gevher ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	tarla 7 c.
Yünlüce	1	Mehmed ve Musa ( <i>iştirâk</i> )	bağ 1,5 c.

Table 8. (Continued)

Pravadi	2	Minko ve Dutlu Aklagöz <i>iştirâk</i> <i>Yuvan ve Atnaş (iştirâk)</i>	tarla 25 c. Tarla 16 c.
Karaca	2	Hasan ve Hüseyin <i>iştirâk</i> Mehmed ve Bostanizade ve Mustafa ve Süleyman ve Mehmed <i>iştirâk</i>	tarla 58 c. çayır 13 c.
Taşcı Arnavud	1	Ali ve Mehmed <i>iştirâk</i>	bağ 1 c.
TOTAL	29		

As can be seen from the Table 8, 18 villages had dwellers possessing arable lands, meadows, and/or vineyards jointly. Only in one entry, we see the two villagers who held a plot of arable land in the hamlet of Çiğilli of the Çöke sub-district due to their familial relations (*zemîn-i Mehmed ve Mustafa birâderân ber vech-i iştirâk tarla 15 cerîb*) jointly. Mustafa and Mehmed were the only men in this nahiye whose land was recorded in relation with their family ties. When their father died, they must have jointly held the land with simple succession most likely because they were the only sons of their deceased father. At the time of the Edirne survey of 1670, the land was still under their joint possession. Probably living in the same house, they were working on the land together without dividing it.

Other than this entry, one interesting example that we encounter in the Çöke sub-district is related to a plot of meadow possessed by one certain Ahmed and Ayşe. The two holders of the meadow were not registered in relation with any affiliation. They may be spouses. However, they were probably not from the same father. If such family ties ever existed between the two, we can assume, the registrar would underline it.

Other than these two examples, the rest of the villagers who had joint use of landed property in the Çöke nahiye were recorded as having shared land or vineyards. In other words, assuming that they were not relatives that would otherwise be panned, we can speculate that they later began possessing these lands by buying them from the former owner (in cases of vineyards) or from the *sahib-i arz* (in cases of arable

lands or meadows). One of the interesting observations we can make from the Edirne survey of 1671 is women's involvement in acquiring landed property in the rural hinterland of Edirne. The entry of the two women, Havva and Gevher, is a good example in this regard. As the entry does not reveal whether or not these two women were sisters, we can also assume that they might have bought the right of use for the agricultural land from the *sahib-i arz* of the village of Akbınar. Alternatively, they could be sisters who acquired the use right of the land by making the payment (*resm-i tapu*) to the *sahib-i arz*.

Overall, it seems that the villagers were buying and selling vineyards as well as their right of use through the consent of the *sahib-i arz* in the Edirne region in the seventeenth century, which was the result of various reasons. I will further elaborate this below. Following this detailed description of village residents and non-residents, as well as single and joint landholders that in rural sites of Edirne in this rather changing period, we can now analyze the landholding distributions. In the following part, I will consider the peasant farm (*ra'ıyyet çiftliği*) and large estates (*ekâbir çiftliği*) as two concepts of land analyses. The former is essential for our understanding of the continuing – yet changing – structure of peasant holdings, while the latter is important to comprehend the completing part of this picture that has so far been analyzed without providing sufficient empirical data.

The horizontal mobility of rural dwellers from one village to another or from villages to cities, and the urbanites from cities to villages by way of acquiring landed property (agricultural land, vineyard, meadow, and so on) brought about the development of two trends: i) the partitioning of peasant farms ii) accumulation of lands in the hands of urban elites by way of establishing *çiftlik*s. What we see in the Edirne region based on the data that the Edirne survey of 1670 supplies is these two trends, which were evident in the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century yet to be intensified in the eighteenth.<sup>199</sup> The first of these two is the diminishing land possession of the villagers. The second trend is the increasing land accumulation of the elite of official origin. Though underlined by Ottomanist historians for a long

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<sup>199</sup> Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, 43-65. Also see McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*.

time, as far as I am aware of, none of them empirically and quantitatively proved this, which was a result of the shortcomings of extant sources that did not allow the previous generation of scholars to do such empirical analyses. What I will do in the following pages is to show these two trends quantitatively for a specific region based on a unique survey prepared for the district of Edirne in 1670.

### 3.4. *Çiftlik*s in the Edirne Region

Ottomanist historians now believe that the phenomenon did not remain unchanged throughout the long history of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>200</sup> The first meaning of the term that the historian comes across in many written documents is its relation to peasant farm deriving from the so-called “*çift*”, a land worked on by a family with the help of a pair of oxen.<sup>201</sup> The second meaning is related to a particular aspect such as the formation of the *çiftlik*s that the existing literature has mainly focused on.

As Haim Gerber rightly states, by the seventeenth century, a *çiftlik* began to “designate an estate - that is a large house adjacent to arable land of varying size, which could consist of less or much more than one *chift*.”<sup>202</sup> Keeping in mind this changing meaning of the term, there have been different hypotheses about the reasons for the foundation of *çiftlik*s. One was, as argued by Mustafa Akdağ, the Celali revolts of the late sixteenth century that brought about the abandonment of villages that were usurped by military men.<sup>203</sup>

This side of the story has been related to market-oriented agricultural production. Below, I will initially deal with the term’s first meaning that is peasant holdings. Then, I will turn my attention to the second meaning that *çiftlik* has been most

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<sup>200</sup> Çağlar Keyder, “Introduction: Large-scale Commercial Agriculture in the Ottoman Empire?” in *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East*, ed. Çağlar Keyder and Faruk Tabak (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 1-13.

<sup>201</sup> İnalçık, “Çift-hane sistami ve Köylünün Vergilendirilmesi.”

<sup>202</sup> Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, 36.

<sup>203</sup> Mustafa Akdağ, “Celali Fetreti,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 16, no. 1-2 (1958): 53-107.

generally linked with. The first part of this double consideration is crucial for our understanding of landholding in the agrarian Ottoman Empire where the vast majority of lands were basically in the hands of the peasants. Yet, the second part of the story is also important that makes it possible to better understand how agricultural economy was organised and transformed in the Ottoman Empire.

### 3.4.1. Peasant farms (*ra'ıyyet çiftlik*s)

In the Ottoman jargon, there were two words for the peasant farm that were “çiftlik” and “baştina”.<sup>204</sup> The former was a plot of arable land that a peasant family worked on in order to produce grain. Arable lands held by reaya legally belonged to the state.<sup>205</sup> The latter, on the other hand, had two types. First was the military baştina that was private property, and the second one was the peasant baştina that was equal to the peasant çiftlik.<sup>206</sup> The Edirne Survey of 1670 recorded only one village where the dwellers were registered having arable lands that were defined as “baştina.” It was the village of Polad some of whose dwellers’ lands were recorded as *baştina*.<sup>207</sup> It was a *vakıf* village with a majority of Christian reaya. However, not all the Christian dwellers from this village were recorded based on the same registration practice. Why only some villagers residing in this village were recorded in such a way is not clear. However, one can only speculate that those dwellers might have met certain obligations such as *voynuk*, *doğancı*, *yuvacı*, or *martolos*.<sup>208</sup> The village of Polad was in the very close proximity of Edirne. In fact, it was one of the stops

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<sup>204</sup> İnalçık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı*; Halil İnalçık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar I* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1954), 171-175; Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1986), 54-90.

<sup>205</sup> İnalçık, “Çift-hane sistami ve Köylünün Vergilendirilmesi.”

<sup>206</sup> İnalçık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid*.

<sup>207</sup> MAD 133, p. 99-102.

<sup>208</sup> As is well known, the peasant farms possessed by such Christians of askeri titles were different from the ordinary raiyyet çiftlik. See Feridun Emecen, “Baştina,” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 5, (İstanbul: Türk Diyanet Vakfı, 1992), 136.

(*menzil*) where the imperial army gathered when the army was proceeding towards the war zone.<sup>209</sup>

Ottomanist historians working on agricultural activities and land possessions of peasants have long made their assumptions based on two sorts of documents, i.e., the tax surveys (*tahrir defterleri*) and Muslim court registers (*kadı sicilleri*).<sup>210</sup> Though providing a massive mine of data, classical *tahrirs* prepared in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries registered land sizes as *çift/nim-çift* that is a rather vague term despite its strict definition in law books.<sup>211</sup> Muslim court registers, on the other hand, refer to the agricultural land generally in cases of legal disputes. These cases refer to the field size of the concerned landed property brought to the attention of the *kadı*.<sup>212</sup> Very rarely, though, in cases of transactions or land partitioning between brothers, agricultural lands are mentioned in relation with the seed it absorbed.<sup>213</sup> The basic formula we see in Muslim court registers is “the plot that absorbs such and such *kîle* or *müdd* seed” (such and such *kîle/müdd tohum isti‘ab ider tarla*).<sup>214</sup> Though offering basic explanations to some issues, neither classical tax surveys that provide aggregate data but not land sizes nor Muslim court registers’ entries that offer scanty amount of information allow historians to reach convincing conclusions about the two trends.

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<sup>209</sup> Derin, “Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi’-nâmesi,” 301.

<sup>210</sup> İnalçık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, 103-178; Amy Singer, *Palestinian peasants and Ottoman officials: Rural administration around sixteenth-century Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600-1700*; Ze’evi, *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s*; Ergenç and Taş, “Assessments on Land Usufruct and Ownership in Anatolia during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries.” Very recently, some historians began using vakıf account books for analyzing agricultural production in the Ottoman Empire. See Kayhan Orbay, “16. ve 17. Yüzyıllarda Bursa Ekonomisi: Sultan Çelebi Mehmed Yeşil İmaret’inin Mali Tarihi (1553-1650),” *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi OTAM* 22, no. 22 (2007): 125-158.

<sup>211</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Çiftlik,” in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 3, (İstanbul: MEB Basımevi, 1977), 392-397; İnalçık, “Çift-hane sistemi ve Köylünün Vergilendirilmesi”; Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanûnnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri* vol. I-IX, (İstanbul: FEY Vakfı Yayınları, 1990).

<sup>212</sup> Özer Ergenç and Hülya Taş, “Assessments on Land Usufruct and Ownership in Anatolia during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries.” Also Ergenç, “18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Anadolu’sunda Tarım Üretiminde Yeni Boyutlar.”

<sup>213</sup> Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, 25.

<sup>214</sup> I have come across a good number of cases in eighteenth century Edirne sicils.

As stated before, the peasant farmhouse system (the *çift-hane* system) was a concept that is essential to analyze village micro economy in general and peasant holdings in particular.<sup>215</sup> In this system, a peasant household had a certain amount of land under his possession worked on by a pair of oxen. Defined as *çift* in the law books of the sixteenth century, the land that the peasant possessed in this system varied between 60 and 150 *dönüms* depending on the fertility of the land.<sup>216</sup> The term *çift*, however, did not have an unequivocal meaning as far as the land sizes are concerned. Regarding the land size, *çift* was not the only concept the Ottoman fiscal departments employed. While the periodical tax surveys employed this concept as a means of defining the land sizes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, more specific measurements were also used to define landed property. What was the size of land the peasant possessed? Was it the same throughout the periods? Was the land divided between the heirs, which came into being as the result of the death of the head of household?

For the Edirne region, we have in hand a unique survey that recorded the landed property in a measured way. The present study is the first attempt to make a map of arable land sizes in a more definite way for an entire region in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>217</sup> Some scholars have attempted to do this for other regions but in a rather intuitive way based on a number of sources. Haim Gerber calculated that an average peasant landholding was 0.4 *çift* in the Bursa region in the late seventeenth century based on the records of Bursa sicils. However, his calculation did not provide precise

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<sup>215</sup> İnalçık, “Çift-hane sistemi ve Köylünün Vergilendirilmesi”; Halil İnalçık, *The Middle East & the Balkans Under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy & Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

<sup>216</sup> Barkan, *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları*; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanûnnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*.

<sup>217</sup> Having read the original tax survey of TT 821 for Crete and its transcription showing that land sizes are extremely small compared to the Edirne region, we can confidently say that the Cretan survey would not allow the historian to analyze the same issues that the present study does. However, the two surveys can be compared in term of shanging registration practices in the seventeenth century and so on. For the Crete survey see Balta and Oğuz, eds., *Livâ-i Resmo Tahrir Defteri*.



land areas as the author himself admits.<sup>218</sup> Bruce McGowan has also provided some tentative information on peasant landholdings in the Bitola district.<sup>219</sup>

The Edirne survey of 1670, though, supplies a massive data mine in terms of revenue units, prebendal allocations, land size, peasant profiles, urban involvement in rural spheres of Edirne, and so forth. However, as far as the available data is concerned, peasants possessed varying size of lands that was related to different reasons. Undoubtedly, geography was an important reason in this changing land size. This was also a motive for urbanites and/or those wishing to invest in landed property in the hinterland of Edirne.

Unfortunately, the Edirne survey of 1670 does not reveal any information about the landless villagers. It registered the residents of a given village according to their landed property such as arable land, meadow, garden, and/or vineyard. In other words, if a villager was entered onto the survey, it meant that she/he was in possession of some sort of landed property. Furthermore, sometimes villagers were in possession of both arable lands and vineyards. Yet, in some cases they were recorded as having only one of them. Hence, unlike the case of Bursa, the Edirne survey does not represent the landless villagers at all.<sup>220</sup> This does not mean that there was no landless peasant in the villages of in the Edirne district in the late seventeenth century. Nonetheless, as far as the land cover of the Edirne district is concerned, what we can confidently say that there was indeed no scarcity of land. On the contrary, villagers were living in a world of abundant land. This does not mean that villagers lived in a landscape offering the exactly same components of land cover.

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<sup>218</sup> Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, 27.

<sup>219</sup> McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*.

<sup>220</sup> In Bursa, 50 per cent of the villagers were landless as claimed by Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, 28.

### 3.4.1.1. Average peasant holdings in the Edirne region

Can we conceivably treat one village in the same way we do another in terms of land sizes and peasant holdings? Were there differences between villages and peasant possessions? How significant were they? However basic they seem to be, these questions are still unanswered for different regions in the early modern Ottoman Empire, especially for the post-classical years at which period empire-wide tax surveys were not being prepared. As expressed in the above pages, even the classical tax surveys did not offer sufficient answers to these questions, though the previous generation of historians had to rely upon them heavily.<sup>221</sup>

How the Edirne survey of 1670 differs from the registration techniques of classical tax surveys can be explained by measuring the actual lands possessed by peasant households within and outside the village boundaries. It seems apparent that villagers possessed arable lands from as small as half a *cerib* (just more than 1 *dönüm*) to as big as 300 *cerib* (more than 600 *dönüm*). In other words, what we see in the Edirne region is that there was a significant number of village dwellers possessed very small size of lands, as well as very big ones (at least a lot bigger than what law books defined as peasant farms on which modern scholarship relied). This is definitely a conflicting observation with the scholars who analyzed the same matter for different regions.<sup>222</sup> I will empirically consider this by analyzing the villages of each sub-district in order to better comprehend the entire Edirne district in a holistic way.

When analyzing each peasant holding in the villages, I classified the lands for every 10-*cerib*-range until the land size reach 50 *cerib*. This was done in order to be able to see whether villagers' land possession remained within or diminished from the land barriers determined by law books in the sixteenth century. Considering the fact that Ottomanist historians have regarded 100 *dönüm* (almost 50 *cerib*) as the average

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<sup>221</sup> For an extensive list of regional studies based on the tax surveys see Öz, "Tahrir Defterlerinin Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmalarında Kullanılması Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler," 429-430 footnotes 1 and 2. Also see Lowry, *Studies in Defterology*.

<sup>222</sup> On the European soils of the Ottoman Empire see McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*. On the Anatolian lands of the Ottoman Empire see Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*.

peasant land holding, the range between 1 and 100 *cerib* would allow us to better study villagers' land holdings.<sup>223</sup> Keeping in mind that villagers in fact possessed varying sizes of landed property in the Edirne region, this range selection is a sound method to empirically test for the continuity or discontinuity of the *raiyyet çiftlik* system in one area of the Ottoman core lands.

On the other hand, the three range selections (from 100 to 250, from 250 to 500, and from 500 to 1000+ *cerib* of land) are imperative for the analysis of the other end of the land possession that is the so-called large estates in the Ottoman Empire. Being a debated area of research in Ottoman studies, some historians have argued that *çiftlik* formation was a common phenomenon in the Ottoman lands by the eighteenth century. This range selection will also allow me to re-consider the phenomenon by providing a more solid set of data.

Having employed this method of range selection, below I will analyze peasant holdings in the villages of the Edirne district on sub-district (*nâhiye*) level. This "location-specific approach"<sup>224</sup> is essential to better comprehend the peasant holdings at the micro-level since each sub-district and its villages might have dissimilar specifications. Hence, I use the sub-district as an analytical frame initially for the sake of convenience of analysis. Additionally, each *nahiye* comprising a group of villages had different topographical characteristics, and socio-economic and political realities. Hence, by analyzing each sub-district making a certain part of the Edirne district, it would be easier to geographically analyze land possessions in the Edirne region in the early modern period.

Each sub-district had similarities with and differences from others, which will be grouped in the way I make below. In this respect, I treat the Cısr-ı Mustafa Paşa *nahiye* on its own due to the land amounts possessed by the peasants, and the disinclination of the *askeri* group members to invest in this *nahiye*. Moreover, I analyze the Manastır and Çöke *nahiyeler* together since they seem to provide

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<sup>223</sup> Compare Parveva, "Rural Agrarian and Social Structure in the Edirne Region during the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century" with McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, 74.

<sup>224</sup> McGowan underlined the importance of this approach in order to better comprehend the phenomenon in the Ottoman Empire. See McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, 74.

similarities with regards to very low land amounts that the villagers held. Likewise, the Üsküdar and Ada sub-districts resemble in a parallel way that peasant land amounts were extremely large in these two sub-districts. This rather deeper “location-specific approach” will allow me to understand the process of landholding, as well as re-consider some long prevailing assumptions regarding peasant farms and estate formation in the in the early modern Ottoman Empire.

#### **3.4.1.1.1. The Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye**

The Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye had one of the smallest areas in terms of the land cover. Demographically speaking, it was the smallest sub-district under the jurisdiction of the Edirne district. Within its boundaries, there were 14 villages, 8 hamlets (*mezra‘a*), and 1 müselleme çiftlik recorded in the Edirne survey of 1670. Total land cover of this nahiye was more than 176.000 cerib (almost 400.000 *dönüm* making 40.000 hectares). Only 31.000 cerib (almost 70.000 *dönüm*) of this total area was of agricultural land character that more than 750 people possessed in the late seventeenth century.

Within this general picture, the land distribution among landholders in the villages of this nahiye was provided in the below table. Based on basic mathematics, the average land held by peasants would be around 41 cerib (around 93 *dönüm*) of arable land, which is a land size within the brackets of the so-called *raiyyet çiftlik*.<sup>225</sup> However, what the above Table on land distribution in the villages of the Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye shows that the arable land sizes the landholders possessed varied from 1 cerib (2,25 *dönüm*) to 100 cerib (225 *dönüm*) in this nahiye. The below table provides is the summative version of the above table enabling us to see land possession within various brackets.

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<sup>225</sup> McGowan argues that 100 *dönüms* or one *çift* was an area of arable land that one man could work to cultivate by using draught animals. See McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, 75.

Karye Adı	1--10 (cerib)	11--20 (cerib)	21--30 (cerib)	31--40 (cerib)	41--50 (cerib)	51-100 (cerib)	101-250 (cerib)	251--500 (cerib)	500--1000 (cerib)	1000+ (cerib)
Karye-i Kara Ođlanlı	4	5	5	1	2	10	8			
Mezra'a-i Gökpinar Başı		1	5							
Mezra'a-i Kara Veli Çayır	2	3			1					
Karye-i Koyunlu										
Karye-i Saruhanlı	8	1	4	2	3	7	4			
Karye-i Hacı Obası	4	1	6	1	2	4	8			
Karye-i Süleymanca	2	1						1		
Karye-i Hisarlı	11	6	5	2	4	13	15	1		
Karye-i Süle	2	4	2	4		4	3			
Karye-i Otlı Hacı	5	1	1	2		4	6			
Karye-i Derzi Pare?	5	9	4		1	5	3			
Karye-i Aladađ	14	12	14	7	3	13	4			
Karye-i Habıbee	14	17	10	4	5					
Mezra'a-i İlyasca	7	5	5	2	3	9	1			
Mezra'a-i Karamanlı	5		1	1	1					
Karye-i Bunaklı	7	6	1	1	2	8	5			
Mezra'a-i Evekli?	15	6	6	2	1	1	2			
Karye-i Akova	6	11	5	3	3	10				
Mezra'a-i Rumşah	8	6	4	5	4	14				
Mezra'a-i Oyacak	5	4	1	3	1	7	5			
Müsellem Çiftlik										
Mezra'a-i Mensal	16	5	9	1	3	8	5	2		
Karye-i İflahanlı	4	4	3	3	3	10	5			

Figure 6. Land distribution in the Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye

Table 9. Land sizes in the Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa sub-district

1-10 <i>cerîb</i>	11-20 <i>cerîb</i>	21-30 <i>cerîb</i>	31-40 <i>cerîb</i>	41-50 <i>cerîb</i>	51-100 <i>cerîb</i>	101-250 <i>cerîb</i>	251-500 <i>cerîb</i>
144	108	91	44	42	127	83	4
(22,3%)	(16,7%)	(14,1%)	(6,8%)	(6,5%)	(19,7%)	(12,9%)	(0,6%)

With the total of the first five columns on the above table, what we see in the Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa sub-district regarding land amounts that villagers possessed is that almost 65% of all landholders' possessions were within the brackets of the so-called *raiyyet çiftlik* size. The generally accepted land size for the latter was 100 *dönüm*, which was a peasant family's maximum land amount that a man with his family by using animal power worked on. As repeated above, both Bruce McGowan and Haim Gerber asserted that the land amount a peasant family could cultivate in the early modern Ottoman Empire did not exceed 100 *dönüms* (or one *çift* as they defined).<sup>226</sup>

Having said this, the data for the Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa district we get from the Edirne survey of 1670 offers a different picture for peasant land holdings. The last three columns on the above table show that villagers' holdings were much bigger than the standard peasant *çiftlik* size (i.e., 100 *dönüms*). In fact, 35% of the villagers' holdings in this nahiye were bigger than 100 *dönüms*. In the village of Kara Oğlanlı, two Christian men who were most likely brothers (an inference made both from their father's name and them being registered one after another) had around 660 and 300 *dönüm* of land respectively.<sup>227</sup> They most likely had the use right of the land jointly when their father passed away. Then, they must have divided the land unevenly that might happen due to various reasons. Moreover, Todori son of Gergi from the same village had 560 *dönüm* of land.<sup>228</sup> Muslim men living in the neighboring villages also possessed large amounts of land. Halil son of Hasan, and Hüseyin son of Sefer, both

<sup>226</sup> McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*; Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600-1700*. Also Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*.

<sup>227</sup> “*zemin-i Kozo? veled-i Velço*” and “*zemin-i Balaban veled-i Velço*” MAD 133.

<sup>228</sup> MAD 133.

residing in the village of Süleymanca, possessed 650 and 519 *dönüm* of land respectively.<sup>229</sup> The rest of the dwellers of the same village were no different. The land amounts they possessed varied between 250 and 300 *dönüm*.

### 3.4.1.1.2. The Manastır nahiye

The Manastır nahiye lied on the smallest area in the Edirne district. The total the land cover of this sub-district was almost 120.000 *cerib* (almost 270.000 *dönüm* making 27.000 hectares). Villagers used almost 31 percent of this total land cover for agriculture. The land amounts under the possession of villagers in the Manastır sub-district offer a striking picture of landholding. As can be seen from from the below table with the, an extremely large majority of land under villagers' possessions were less than the "standard" peasant farm that was considered to be maximum 100 *dönüm*. Almost 95 percent of landholders possessed a plot of land that was equal or less than that amount. An extreme observation among this population is that almost half of the villagers possessed a plot of land between 1 and 5 *cerib* (between 2 to 20 *dönüm*). Only 5 percent of all landholders had lands exceeding the area of 100 *dönüm*. This is an important observation that supports Çağlar Keyder's argument saying that peasants in the Ottoman Empire held very small proportions of landed property.<sup>230</sup>

Table 10. Land sizes in the Manastır sub-district

1-10 <i>cerib</i>	11-20 <i>cerib</i>	21-30 <i>cerib</i>	31-40 <i>cerib</i>	41-50 <i>cerib</i>	51-100 <i>cerib</i>	101-250 <i>cerib</i>	251-500 <i>cerib</i>
1069	534	261	149	85	84	12	1
(48,7%)	(24,3%)	(11,8%)	(6,7%)	(3,8%)	(3,8%)	(0,5 %)	(0,04%)

<sup>229</sup> MAD 133.

<sup>230</sup> Keyder, "Introduction."

Almost 50 percent of landholders held less than one fifth of the standard raiyyet çiftlik. Moreover, almost 25 percent had less than two fifth. The land amounts prove that villagers possessed significantly low amount of land testifying to a production level for household consumption. As explained above, lying on a hilly region, the Manastır sub-district was an area of great pastures that were most likely used by village communities for animal husbandry. Hence, we see a less inclination or specialization of peasants in grain production in this sub-district. This was not due to villagers' enthusiasm for profit maximization by raising animals rather than producing grain. The small amount of lands held by villagers was a direct inducement of the landscape, which did not allow peasants to possess large farms.

Only 13 people seem to have had land exceeding the size of one peasant farm. The tendency of relatively large landholdings in this sub-district happens to appear in the village of Fikele, which was closer to the plains in the southern part of this nahiye. In this village, 11 people had the right of possession (*tasarruf*) of agricultural lands larger than 100 *dönüms*. This is yet another proof for elite motivation in investing in rural spheres of urban centers by acquiring agricultural land. However, unlike the elite men's large holdings covering large amounts of land, which were called as "çiftlik" in the other nahiyes, the massive land amounts of urban elites of state origin in the village of Fikele were not associated with the term çiftlik. This may be the disinterest of the scribe who might have registered the large estate-like landed property in this part of the Edirne district in a different way. As explained in Chapter III, the Manastır sub-district's surveyor did not pay attention to some specifications of villages that the surveyors of other nahiyes did. Maybe the surveyor's disinterest in writing the çiftlik status of the property was one of them. All in all, other than these few men and women some of whom with very high political status such as Sinan Ağa the Chief Gardener (*ser-Bostaniyan*) of Edirne, the land amounts in this sub-district were very close to the standard peasant farm sizes.



### 3.4.1.1.3. The Çöke nahiye

What we observe for the villages of the Manastır nahiye regarding the land amounts is also applicable to the Çöke sub-district as well. The villages with extremely small land amounts in this nahiye also deserve attention. Almost 90 percent of the landholders in this nahiye had agricultural land not exceeding 100 *dönüm*. More than 50 percent of villagers possessed land one fifth of the standard peasant farm maximum. Most villagers in the nahiye of Çöke did not possess large land amounts because villages were mostly in forests and hilly regions.

Table 11. Land sizes in the Çöke sub-district

1-10 <i>cerîb</i>	11-20 <i>cerîb</i>	21-30 <i>cerîb</i>	31-40 <i>cerîb</i>	41-50 <i>cerîb</i>	51- 100 <i>cerîb</i>	101- 250 <i>cerîb</i>	251-500 <i>cerîb</i>	501- 1000 <i>cerîb</i>	1000+ <i>cerîb</i>
1770	736	371	177	119	190	72	15	1	3
(51,2%)	(22,3%)	(10,7%)	(5,1%)	(3,4%)	(5,5%)	(2%)	(0,4%)	(0,02%)	(0,08%)

Only around 7 percent had land amounts between 110 and 225 *dönüm*. Very small peasant landholding amounts in the Çöke nahiye that is a situation similar to the Manastır sub-district notwithstanding, land plot sizes between 225 and 550 *dönüm* seem to be more evident in Çöke. The landholders of this sort seem to be state officials who were most likely either residing in those villages such as Yakub Ağa and Ali Ağa who possessed 306 *cerîb* (688 *dönüm*) and 279 *cerîb* (630 *dönüm*) of arable land respectively in the village of Timurhanlı.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>231</sup> Contemporaries complained about the askeri men residing in villages in the Edirne region. Görüceli Koçi Bey, *Koçi Bey Risâlesi (Eski ve Yeni Harflerle)*, ed. Yılmaz Kurt (Ankara: Ecdad, 1994).

Ahmed Bey who seems to have had 492 cerib (1107 *dönüm*) of land in the village of Habiller that was a *zeamet* village. It seems that half of Ahmed Bey's land was sown (*mezru'*) and the other half was fallow (*keleme/gelembe*).<sup>232</sup> Considering that villagers possessed extremely small land amounts and Ahmed Bey's possession was a significant land amount, Ahmed Bey most likely tilled his land with sharecroppers from the same village or neighboring ones by way of *müzara'a* contracts.<sup>233</sup> Sinan Ağa the *bostancıbaşı* had the entire lands of the village of Hacı Doğan that was 1800 cerib.<sup>234</sup> The village was an abandoned one that had no dweller (*Karye-i Hacı Doğan, tâbi'-i Çöke hâli ez-ra'ıyyet*). Like Sinan Ağa, a certain Ali Ağa, another man of askeri origin, had the entire lands of the village of Çaşnigir that was 625 cerib. He might be the former *bostancıbaşı* of Edirne yet we have not indication about it.<sup>235</sup> An interesting entry that recorded two men named Abdullah ve Abdurrahman who had 1044 cerib of land in Hızır Ağa village, which had 2165 cerib of total arable land.<sup>236</sup> That means almost half of the land cultivated was in the possession of these two men.

#### 3.4.1.1.4. The Üsküdar nahiye

In the sub-district of Üsküdar, we see a similar picture to that of the Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye regarding the landholding proportions of villagers, particularly the ones having standard lands. However, regarding the vast lands possessed by men of askeri origin, we see a different panorama. A nahiye having villages on the plain soils between the Tunca and Meriç rivers, which were similar to Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa villages, rural dwellers had both small and large lands.

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<sup>232</sup> For fallow lands in the Edirne district, we encounter different definitions most due to different land surveyors. We see the term *keleme* in the Çöke nahiye and *hali* in the Üsküdar and Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa nahiyes. The agricultural lands in the Ada and Manastır nahiyes were not recorded as sown and fallow.

<sup>233</sup> Ergenç, "18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Anadolu'sunda Tarım Üretiminde Yeni Boyutlar."

<sup>234</sup> "zemîn der yed-i Sinan [Ağa] Ser-Bostaniyan-ı Edirne." MAD 556.

<sup>235</sup> "zemîn der yed-i Ali Ağa, Karye-i Çaşnigir, tâbi'-i Çöke Vakf-ı merhûm Sultân Bâyezîd, der-Edirne." MAD 556.

<sup>236</sup> MAD 556.

Table 12. Land sizes in the Üsküdar sub-district

1-10 <i>cerib</i>	11-20 <i>cerib</i>	21-30 <i>cerib</i>	31-40 <i>cerib</i>	41-50 <i>cerib</i>	51-100 <i>cerib</i>	101-250 <i>cerib</i>	251- 500 <i>cerib</i>	501-1000 <i>cerib</i>	1000+ <i>cerib</i>
729	568	396	292	212	714	380	69	30	11
(21,4% )	(16,7% )	(11,6% )	(8,5%)	(6,2%)	(20,9% )	(11,4 %)	(2%)	0,8%	(0,3%)

As can be seen from the table above, almost 65 percent of villagers had land amounts varying from 1 to 100 *dönüms*. Furthermore, more than 30 percent of villagers possessed lands between 100 and 550 *dönüms*. The rest of the landholders in this nahiye (with 3 percent) had the largest land sizes. The land amounts of these men varied from 550 to 2.250 *dönüms*. Very rarely, though, few men had exceptionally large land amounts in ten villages, which will be analyzed in detail in the following pages.

In the villages of the Üsküdar sub-district, too, peasants had various amounts of lands both extremely large and small. The former can be shown based on peasant landholdings from the village of Kafir Hacı, which was an exclusively Christian village. Christian peasants in this village possessed agricultural land amounts as large as 600 *dönüms*, as was the case for Kosta son of the priest (of the village?). Furthermore, two brothers, Yorgo and Boghos sons of Loska, had 510 and 477 *dönüms* of land, which testifies to an almost even partition of the land they inherited as the legal heirs by way of simple succession (*intikal-i adi*). However, this also shows that some peasants must have possessed even larger amounts of land a few decades earlier.<sup>237</sup> Yorgo and Boghos' father, a certain Loska, had evidently had almost 1000 *dönüm* of arable land in the village of Karif Hacı, which is way above a

<sup>237</sup> MAD 133.

standard peasant farm accepted to be around 100 *dönüm*.<sup>238</sup> What is inferable from the data is that peasant farms must have shrunk as a result of the partitioning of the land between the heirs following the death of the landholder.

#### 3.4.1.1.5. The Ada nahiye

The land amount proportions in the sub-district of Ada very much resemble those in the Üsküdar nahiye. Almost 63 percent of landholders in the villages of the Ada nahiye were in possession of villagers attesting to lands of standard peasant farm sizes. Only almost 5 percent of landholders possessed incredibly big agricultural plots (over 250 *cerib* or 560 *dönüm*).

Table 13. Land sizes in the Ada sub-district

1-10 <i>cerib</i>	11-20 <i>cerib</i>	21-30 <i>cerib</i>	31-40 <i>cerib</i>	41-50 <i>cerib</i>	51-100 <i>cerib</i>	101-250 <i>cerib</i>	251- 500 <i>cerib</i>	501- 1000 <i>cerib</i>	1000+ <i>cerib</i>
484	402	327	254	214	479	379	93	25	11
(18,1%)	(15%)	(12,2%)	(9,5%)	(8%)	(17,9%)	(14,2 %)	(3,4%)	0,9%	(0,4%)

<sup>238</sup> Both tahrir studies and later works underlined this. Halil İncik, “The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftlik: State, Landlords, and Tenants,” in *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East*, ed. Çağlar Keyder and Faruk Tabak (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 17-34; McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*; Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*.

One of the fascinating observations we make from the data on the Ada nahiye is that common peasants large farms way above 100 *dönüm*. One Muslim man named Ali son of Mehmed, and a Christian called Kirane son of Kiryaki, both residents of the village of Sığırçalı, possessed 207 *cerib* (465 *dönüm*) and 102 *cerib* (229 *dönüm*) of arable land respectively. These two men of reaya origin were not the only examples that prove the so-called “standard” peasant farm size should be reconsidered. Vasil son of Yani from the village of Karakasım holding a land amounted 235 *cerib* (528 *dönüm*); Osman son of Abdullah and Çaker Abdullah, both were probably new converts having 238 *cerib* (535 *dönüm*) and 438 *cerib* (783 *dönüm*); Pola son of Üstoyan from the village of Bunaklı possessing 135 *cerib* (531 *dönüm*) of arable land are only a few among very many men of reaya status possessing much larger lands that Bruce McGowan would have considered large estates. None of these men, however, were not big landowners involved in massive agricultural activities with export orientation or other sorts. This seems to be the case for other names in the Edirne region who seem to have owned large arable lands attached to large houses and storages, which the Edirne survey of 1670 deliberately and overtly recorded as *çiftlik* that I will in detail analyze below.

All in all, one should be cautious to employ the assumption that the amount of up to 100 *dönüm* was a standard land size cultivated by one peasant family. The same also applies to the assumption on more than one peasant family on behalf of someone else probably cultivated other lands that exceeded this standard amount, which might be another indication testifying to large estate formation.<sup>239</sup> Empirical evidence in hand from the Edirne region shows a drastically different picture. Instead of a vague land size definition such as a *çift* accepted to be 100 *dönüms* maximum, having recorded the amount of lands as *cerib* that was 2,25 times bigger than the *dönüm*, what the Edirne survey of 1671 proves is that peasant holdings in the Edirne district exceed the standard peasant holding size, which were not large estates

If I were to treat these land sizes according to McGowan’s frame, I would have to say that there was a massive process of *çiftlik*ization in this part of the Edirne district. Nonetheless, this is by no means the case. These land amounts were in actual fact

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<sup>239</sup> McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, 77.

peasant holdings worked on and cultivated by reaya. Both Muslim and non-Muslims of *reaya* origin alike had large lands under their possession. I am able to say this because none of the Muslims “holding land in their hands” (*zemin der yed-i*) were registered based on their *askeri* titles; no need to mention the non-Muslims who were of no *askeri* origin. As shall be further elaborated in the later pages of this study under the sub-heading called “ekâbir çiftlik”, the Edirne survey of 1671 overtly defined those large estates mostly owned by urban elites as “çiftlik” that covered massive arable lands and as well as edifices with agricultural tools.

For now, the evidence in hand regarding land amounts of peasants testify to a great divergence from what Bruce McGowan asserted for Ottoman Europe in general and for the Bitola district in particular. Similar to the doubts of late Gilles Veinstein who rightly underlines that one has to be cautious when using land proportions based on the term of *çift* for large estates,<sup>240</sup> the data for the Edirne district proves the existence of large reaya farms that were much bigger than the presumed raiyyet çiftlik sizes long defended by scholars.

### 3.4.2. Large *askeri* estates (*ekâbir çiftlik*s)

In 1991, Çağlar Keyder, surfacing his doubts about the concept of çiftlik, wrote the following:

[T]he expansion of the çiftlik was unpredictable and most haphazard; in practice it became a collection of unlikely money-making practices that were in a particular moment possible. This is precisely the reason why ‘çiftlik’ has remained so elusive and confusing a concept; it has been described phenomena so diverse that it might be best to avoid the term altogether for purpose of clarity.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Gilles Veinstein, “On the çiftlik debate,” in *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East*, ed. Çağlar Keyder and Faruk Tabak (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 35-53.

<sup>241</sup> Keyder, “Introduction,” 13.

Though Keyder's warning is a fair one in a way that the term carries more than one meaning, Ottomanist historians have not relinquished to employ the term *çiftlik* in their analyses to better understand large estates and their formation. Moreover, a good proportion of the extant literature has mainly focused on the *çiftlik*s and the process of *çiftlikization* in different regional contexts in relation with the market-oriented agricultural production in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>242</sup> Indeed, *çiftlik* did not have a unified meaning throughout the long history of the Ottoman Empire. Also depending on the source material found in the archives, the term describes landownership types on one hand, and agricultural production in landed property on the other. However, in a vast agrarian political entity like the Ottoman Empire, the phenomenon of *çiftlik*s deserves further attention since its existence intensified as the time passed. Moreover, looking into the rural society and economy from the vantage point of the term will surely enable us to comprehend how agricultural economy was organized in the Ottoman Empire in general and in the Edirne region in particular.

It was Bruce McGowan, who in 1981 pointed out the existence of large estates in the Bitola (Manastır) region in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, asserted that a standard peasant farm consisted of maximum 100 *dönüms* so any land exceeding that amount should not be considered a reaya farm.<sup>243</sup> Following the book of McGowan, historians further elaborated the term for different regions. Haim Gerber states that peasants' land amounts did not exceed 100 *dönüms* in the Bursa region confirming in a way the observation of McGowan.<sup>244</sup> However, a peasant family farm was not

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<sup>242</sup> For some examples in the literature on big farms see Halil İnalcık, "Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of Economic History* 29, (1969): 97-140; İnalcık, "The Emergence of Bir Farms, *Çiftlik*s: State, Landlords, and Tenants"; McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*; Yuzo Nagata, "Documents on the Big Farms (*çiftlik*s) of the Notables in Western Anatolia," *Studia Culturae Islamicae*, no. 4 (Tokyo, 1976); Veinstein, "On the *çiftlik* debate"; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Land Transfer, Land Disputes and Askeri holdings in Ankara (1520-1650)," in *Memorial Ömer L. Barkan*, ed. Robert Mantran (Paris: Libr. D'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 1980), 87-99; Michael Ursinus, "The *Çiftlik* Sahibleri of Manastir as a Local Elite, Late Seventeenth to Early Nineteenth Century," in *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos, (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2005), 247-257; Gerber, *Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, 20-66; Kokdas, "When the Country is Free: Urban Politics, Local Autonomy and the Changing Social Structure in Ottoman Salonika, 1740-1820."

<sup>243</sup> McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*.

<sup>244</sup> Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*.

necessarily 60-150 *dönüms*.<sup>245</sup> In fact, as rightly underlined in his work on the Middle Danube, Nenad Moacanin states that 4-hectare (40 *dönüm*) holdings were more common in the region he analyzed. However, despite this observation on a rather small raiyyet çiftlik portions, he asserts that a çiftlik of 10 hectares should be labeled as “estate” not simply a farm.<sup>246</sup>

Halil İnalçık’s contribution to the çiftlik debate is of interest for the present study. İnalçık, believes that plantation-like large estates producing for the market were usually founded on abandoned (*mevat*) lands not within areas under the çift-hane system. Moreover, he also puts forward that they were among the members of the ruling group establishing these estates on waste or abandoned lands before the eighteenth century.<sup>247</sup> Despite İnalçık’s close attention to the çiftliks, he did not elaborate the connections between the çiftliks as landed estates and spatial distribution of land use and so forth. These sorts of allocation of waste or abandoned lands to high-ranking state officials were also visible in the Edirne district that I will analyze below in detail.

An area that could be regarded as the immediate hinterland of Istanbul, the Edirne district is an intriguing case study for understanding the çiftlik phenomenon in what can be said to be the early stages of the process of çiftlikization. The involvement of the members of the ruling class in this matter by establishing estates in rural spheres of Edirne in the seventeenth century is quite evident. This is contrary to the argument of Bruce McGowan who put forward with question mark that çiftliks seem not to be visible towards the east of Salonika. I will empirically analyze this below through a

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<sup>245</sup> Indeed, archival sources for other regions in the Ottoman realms show that a çift was far lower than the 60-150 bracket. A detailed household survey (*avârız*) for the Kütahya sub-province (*livâ*) shows that a çift was considered around 30 *dönüm* in the Uşak district. For instance, the arable land of two bothers in the village of Damlalı of the Uşak district was recorded as follows: “çiftlik-i İvaz Efendi ve İsmail Çelebi birâderân 4 çift be-her çift fi 30 dönümdür.” The same survey recorded another piece of land in the village of Dul Arslan of the Uşak district as 300 *dönüm* equaling 10 çift. In other words, one çift was accepted being equal to 30 *dönüm*. Another entry in the very same survey recorded the lands of a zaviye as 500 *dönüm* equaling 17 çift that makes one çift almost around 30 *dönüm*. For respective cases see BOA MAD 2498 (H.1088), 14, 21, 71. This definition of çift size supports the estimation of Nenad Moacanin. I would like to thank Mehmet Ali Çelik for taking my attention to this survey and providing me the original documents.

<sup>246</sup> Moacanin, *Town and Country in the Middle Danube*, 222.

<sup>247</sup> İnalçık, “The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftliks,” 19.



“location-specific” method on the Edirne region, a region that is under very close surveillance of the Ottoman state. In fact, the imperial court itself was in Edirne during most of the seventeenth century and the first years of the eighteenth.

As explained above, villagers had different land amounts under their possession depending on the topographical specifications and political positions of the village where they dwelled. Though a significant number of peasants’ landholdings were between 60-150 *dönüm* that is within the bracket of the so-called reaya farm, many possessed much smaller or much larger land amounts as well. Likewise, not all land amounts that the askeri class members held covered large areas. Usually, these askeris’ lands were modest in size that they possibly acquired the right of possession from a peasant who sold it by the consent of the “landowner” (*bâ izn-i sâhib-i ‘arz*).

Nonetheless, the villages in the Edirne district had very large arable lands in the hands of urban dwellers most of whom were among the ruling elite. Previously stated above, most of the time such large possessions of askeri class members were recorded by overtly making its çiftlik status that was most likely the ones founded on the mevat lands granted by the state as elaborated by Halil İnalçık.

The case of Sinan Ağa will be illuminating to understand the involvement of men of askeri origin in possessing large estates established on vacant or abandoned fields. As the most prominent political figure in Edirne, in addition to his other duties, he was involved in reclamation of vacant and abandoned villages that were granted to him as çiftliks in the seventeenth century supporting the argument of Halil İnalçık. This is not surprising, nonetheless. At the time of the Edirne survey of 1670, Sinan Ağa was the “Chief imperial gardener” in this center of government (*Ser Bostâniyân-ı Hâssa der Edirne*).<sup>248</sup> Being the highest official in the city from which he would provide security to 48 districts by “quickly reaching to those places like a centipede.”<sup>249</sup> The governors of Rumeli could not interfere the city’s protection.<sup>250</sup> The city of Edirne, one of the three seats (*tahtgâh-ı selâse*) of the Ottoman Empire,

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<sup>248</sup> For the bostancı ocağı in Edirne see Murat Yıldız, “15-19. Yüzyıllarda Edirne’de Asayışı Sağlayan Bir Kurum: Edirne Bostancı Ocağı,” *History Studies* 3, no. 3 (2011), 386.

<sup>249</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* III, 236.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*

enjoyed the very long sojourns of the Ottoman sultans throughout the seventeenth century. Hence, important figures also chose to reside in the city of Edirne throughout the seventeenth century. The then sultan Mehmed IV also known as the “hunter (Avcı)” was residing in Edirne most of the time busy with royal hunting expeditions in the rural hinterland of Edirne.<sup>251</sup>

As the man with lots of responsibilities in the Edirne region, Sinan Ağa would by all means be aware of the availability of vacant lands and abandoned villages, which would be improved by reclamation. When the village dwellers abandoned (*hâli ez raiyyet*) the village of Hacı Doğan in the Çöke sub-district, in a way that Halil İnalçık described, the chief gardener Sinan Ağa was granted a massive area of arable land that would highly likely attract other villagers to settle there. The land was 1800 cerib (more than 4000 *dönüm*), 300 of which were sown and 1500 was fallow.<sup>252</sup>

Sinan Ağa’s involvement in holding the entire land amount of a village was not unique to him. Küçük Mehmed Paşa from the village of Saruhanlı-yı Kebir in the Çöke nahiye was of this sort as well. Apparently, the entire village with almost 9000 *dönüm* arable land was in the possession of the said man as a çiftlik.<sup>253</sup> The below table shows the çiftliks in the Ada and Üsküdar sub-districts registered as such in the Edirne survey of 1670. In other words, the large landed estates associated with their owners were recorded as “çiftliks”. How should we read these people whose names were associated with large çiftliks? Were they the ones who established large estates on vacant or abandoned lands as argued by Halil İnalçık.

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<sup>251</sup> For details on Mehmed IV’s royal hunting expeditions see Derin, “Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi’-nâmesi”.

<sup>252</sup> MAD 556.

<sup>253</sup> “çiftlik der-Tasarraf-ı Küçük Mehmed Paşa der-Karye-i Saruhânlı-i kebir.” MAD 556.

Table 14. *Çiftlik*s in the Edirne district in 1670

Çiftlik owner ( <i>çiftlik-i</i> )	Title	Village	Village status	Nahiye	Tarla ( <i>cerib/dönü m</i> )	Çayır ( <i>cerib</i> )	Ağıl ( <i>cerib</i> )
Mustafa Paşa	Paşa/vezir	Timurtaş	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	42/94,5	18	
Mustafa Paşa	Paşa/vezir	Polad	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	175/393,5	4	
Ali Bey	Bey/cüdi	Köse Doğancı Murad	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	686,5/1544		
Kapucu Hasan Bey	Bey	Köse Doğancı Murad	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	273/614		
Sinan Ağa	Ağa/Bostan ncıbaşı	Sazlıdere	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	3162/7114	625	2116
Zülfikar Ağa	Ağa/Kaim makam	Karakasım	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	786/1768	130	
Hüseyin Paşa	Paşa	İskender	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	1600		
Mehmed Efendi	Efendi	Uzgaş	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	1147/2580		
Mustafa Çelebi Nakibzade	Çelebi/Nak ibzade	Nefs-i Üsküdar	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	908/1043		
Seyid Mehmed Ağa v. Hasan	Ağa	Nefs-i Üsküdar	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	1174/2641		
Abdullah Ağa	Ağa	Kırk Paşa	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	253/569		
Mustafa Ağa v. Abdullah	Ağa	Akça İbrahim	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	454/1021		
Mustaf Ağa	Ağa	Akça İbrahim	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	320/720		
Güher Hatun	Hatun	Kemal	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	530/1192		

Table 14. (Continued)

Ali Ağa	Ağa	Kemal	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	461/1037
Ali Ağa	Ağa	Kemal (mezra)	Tımar	Üsküdar	140/315

As can be seen from the names of the people holding çiftliks, they were all bearing askeri titles such as paşa, ağa, bey, and efendi. Also, the definition of these men's farms was directly associated with the term, çiftlik (*çiftlik-i* such and such). The çiftlik sizes they possessed varied from 100 *dönüm* to 7000 *dönüm*. By looking at the amounts of lands that were all one piece rather than many pieces, it can be argued that these lands may have been formed on lands that were once abandoned, so that the state allocated them to these officials for reclamation. One would possibly think that once men with good fortune reclaimed these abandoned lands, they might have the "ownership" of them.

However, it was the çiftliks they erected on the land that were freehold property not the land itself. Hence when we look at the probate inventories of the men owning çiftliks in the villages, we see that the legal heirs inherited these properties not the land. In fact we have one exceptional example in hand showing that a large amount of land registered as "çiftlik" in the village of Köse Doğanlı Murad of the Adana nahiye was endowed by its holder. Kapucu Hasan Bey, who possessed 273 cerib of arable land (614 *dönüm*), seems to have turned this land to revenue for the Holy cities in Mecca and Medina (*Mezkûr [Kapucu Hasan Bey] hâl-i hayâtında Medine-i Münevvere'ye vakf eylemiş bi-ihbâr-ı re'âyâ-yı [karye-i] m[ezbûr]*). If read not indeep but from the surface, this would be a fascinating example showing that a piece of land could be endowed. Holding a large amount of land in a *vakıf* village, he was probably paying the tithe to the "landowner" of the village (in this instance the *mütevelli* of the *vakıf*). The rest of the revenue seems to be endowed for the holy cities.<sup>254</sup>

<sup>254</sup> MAD 133.

However, large çiftliks in the Edirne region do not seem to be established only on abandoned lands granted to state officials for reclamation reasons, as men with good fortune bought houses and lands in the villages that would be called “edifice known as çiftlik” (*çiftlik ta’bir olunur menzil*) in the sicil collections of Edirne in the eighteenth century.<sup>255</sup> This type of çiftlik formation must have started before the eighteenth century, which has been discussed around the so-called “çiftlik debate” for various areas and regions in the Ottoman context. This sort of çiftlik most probably contained a mansion where the landholder was living. In these cases, the term çiftlik is not only associated with the large land but also with the other edifices attached to it.

Unlike higher up state officials’ large estates that were overtly identified as çiftliks in the Edirne survey of 1670, these massive lands were not described in the same way. However, as can be seen from the below table, a vast majority of these zemin holders was of askeri origin that in a way completes the study of Halil İnalçık because these lands could also be labeled as ekabir çiftliks. 30 of these large lands were possessed by the “men of sword” with such titles as ağa, bey, çavuş, usta, etc. 5 men were of religious background, i.e., *efendi*.

Similar to the ones explicitly labeled as çiftliks, other than the holdings of Sinan Ağa, the bostancıbaşı of Edirne, the amounts of large land possessions of the men of askeri origin also varied between 500 cerib (1100 *dönüm*) and 8000 cerib (16.000 *dönüm*). Two points regarding the locations of these enormous land holdings deserve attention. The first one is that, other than one hamlet (that was a *timar*), and a small village (that was a *timar* also), they were all in *vakıf* villages of the Ada and Üsküdar sub-districts. Moreover, all of these villages were in close vicinity of the city of Edirne where the chief political decision maker and his entourage were located. This brings us to a two dimensional processes that must have influenced the decision of to-be-çiftlik owners. First is that they could be able to acquire a sufficient land in a village that would not cause much trouble to them. Second is that the village would

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<sup>255</sup> Sale deeds for çiftliks make it clear that a çiftlik was the combination of houses, stores, barns, and along with a large arable land attached to them.

be around the city of Edirne, so that they could control its agricultural produce that would bring profit to its holder.

The below map of distance analysis of villages in the Edirne district is illuminating in this regard. As can be seen, most of the villages in the Ada and Üsküdar sub-districts have in close physical propinquity with the city of Edirne that was a significant reason for the elites of askeri origin. The red dots, which are less than 5000 meters (5 km), denote the closest villages to Edirne in the Edirne district. As the village gets farer away from the city of Edirne, the dot color on map gets to orange, yellow, and green.

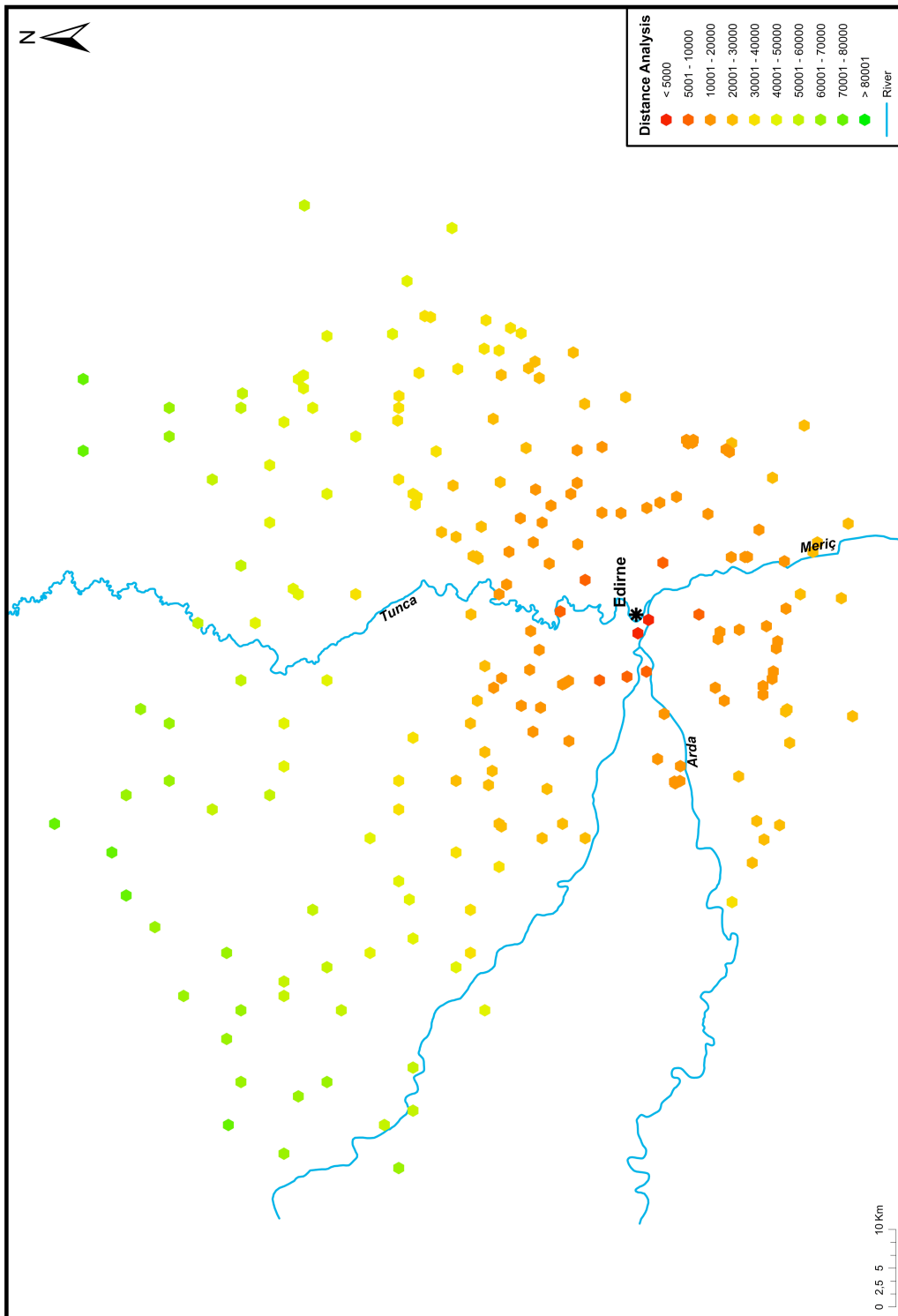


Figure 7. Distance of villages in the Edirne district

Table 15. Large lands that could be considered *ekâbir çiftlik*s

Landholder ( <i>zemîn-i</i> )	Title	Village	Village Status	Nahiye	Tarla ( <i>cerib/dön üm</i> )	Çayır ( <i>cerib</i> )	Ağıl ( <i>cerib</i> )
Yusuf Ağa	Ağa/Cabi	Öyük Tatar	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	915/2058		
Yusuf Efendi	Efendi/Ka immakam -1 defterdar	Öyük Tatar	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	671/1509		
Durmuş sarban	Sarban	Öyük Tatar	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	1278/287 5		
Mihman Hatun bt. Merhum Osman Ağa	Hatun	Öyük Tatar	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	1038/233 5		
Bayezid Bey	Bey	Öyük Tatar	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	260/585		
Gülcü Hacı Mehmed	Hacı	İskender	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	262/589	3	
İbrahim Ağa	Ağa-yı Saray-ı Atik	İskender	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	2881/648 2		
Ebubekir Efendi	Efendi	İskender	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	572/1287		
Mehmed v. Hüseyin		Karaağaç	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	842,5/189 4	20	
Mustafa b. Ali Kethüdazad e		Yarbuz Ata	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	3406/766 3		361



Table 15. (Continued)

Süleyman Ağa	Ağa	Ece Sultan	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	552/1242		
Durmuş Ağa	Ağa	Türk Doğançı	Unkno wn	Ada	830/1867		
Mahmud Efendi v. Elhac Kara İdris	Efendi	Küramidli	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	886/1993		
Mahmud Efendi v. Elhac Kasım	Efendi	Küramidli	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	818/1840		
Elhac Mehmed	Hacı	Küramidli	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	539,5/121 2		
Hamza Çelebi v. Elhac İlyas	Çelebi	Küramidli	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	867/1950		
Sinan Ağa	Ağa/Bostancıbaşı	Hacı Musa	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	10000/22 500		
İbrahim Bey	Bey	Kulaklı	<i>Vakıf</i>	Ada	1022/229 9		
Osman Ağa	Ağa/silahdar	Akpınar		Üsküdar	1223/275 1		
Osman Ağa	Ağa/silahdar	Küplüce/mezraa	Tımar	Üsküdar	1140/256 5		
Memiş Halil Bey b. Mehmed	Bey	Uzgaş	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	734/1651		
Hacı Arslan	Hacı	Köse Hamza	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	3729/839 0		
Sinan Ağa	Ağa/Bostancıbaşı	Köse Hamza	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	463/1041		

Table 15. (Continued)

İbrahim Ağa ve Mehmed Bey	Ağa+Bey (iştiraken)	Köse Hamza	Vakıf	Üsküdar	545/1226		
Ali Ağa Ser-Bostaniyan-ı Sabık	Ağa/Bostancıbaşı (sabık)	Ulu Şahin	Timar	Üsküdar	499/1122		
İbrahim Çavuş v. Bekir	Çavuş	Ulu Şahin	Timar	Üsküdar	532/1197		
Kara Kasım Ağa	Ağa	Ahi	Vakıf	Üsküdar	601/1352		
Ali Ağa v. Ahemd	Ağa	Ahi	Vakıf	Üsküdar	706/1588		
İsmail Çelebi v. Mehmed	Çelebi	Ahi	Vakıf	Üsküdar	530/1192		
Hadice bt. Solak		Ahi	Vakıf	Üsküdar	578/1300		
Sinan Ağa	Ağa/Bostancıbaşı	Avarız	Vakıf	Üsküdar	1189/267 5		
Mustafa Usta	Usta	Doğancı	Vakıf	Üsküdar	629/1415		
Osman Ağa	Ağa	Doğancı	Vakıf	Üsküdar	529/1190		
Abdülbaki Çelebi	Çelebi	Doğancı	Vakıf	Üsküdar	437/983		
Hüseyin Bey	Bey	Doğancı	Vakıf	Üsküdar	798/1795		
Şaban Başe	Beşe	Doğancı	Vakıf	Üsküdar	310/697		
Süleyman Bey	Bey	Doğancı	Vakıf	Üsküdar	308/693		
Sinan Ağa	Ağa/Bostancıbaşı	Timurtaş/m ezraa	Vakıf	Üsküdar	1221/274 7		

Table 15. (Continued)

Mehmed Usta	Usta	Büyük İsmailce	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	1549/348 5		
Ali Bey v. Abdullah	Bey	Büyük İsmailce	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	857/1928		
Mehmed v. Eyüb		Büyük İsmailce	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	1029/231 5		
Mustafa v. Ahmed Korucu		Büyük İsmailce	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	583/1311		
Mehmed Efendi	Efendi/kai b-i Muradiye	Akça İbrahim	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	809/1820		
Halil v. Ali Çavuş	Çavuş	Koyunlu	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	800/1800		
Mehmed Bey b. Abdulla	Bey	Kırşehir	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	889/2000		
Nasuh Usta	Usta	Hatun	<i>Vakıf</i>	Üsküdar	1311/294 9		
Abdurrahman ve Abdullah	N/A	Hızır Ağa	<i>Vakıf</i>	Çöke	1044/234 9		
Ömer Efendi	Efendi	Hızır Ağa	<i>Vakıf</i>	Çöke	363/816		
Mustafa imam	imam	Sungurculu	<i>Timar</i>	Çöke	354/796		

Evidently, men with askeri titles possessed massive arable lands in villages that were not recorded as çiftliks in the Edirne survey of 1670. The amount range of this sort of arable land varied from 500 *dönüm* to 9000 *dönüm*. It might have been the

specification of the land that did not actually contain a house on, but it might also have been the surveyor's disinterest to record the term.

For the latter, an interesting example comes forward. Şaban son of Cafer, a resident of the village of Doğancı of the Üsküdar nahiye, died three year after the Edirne survey of 1670 completed. Although the survey did not record his land as çiftlik, his estates distributed among his legal heirs included two çiftliks in the villages of Doğancı and Kırşehir.<sup>256</sup> When we look at the Edirne survey we find that he was recorded as *Şa'ban beşe veled-i Ca'fer* in the village of Doğancı where he possessed 130 cerib of fallow land (*hali tarla*) and 180 cerib of sown land (*mezru<sup>c</sup> tarla*).<sup>257</sup> Furthermore, confirming his probate inventories, his name also appears in the record concerning the village of Kırşehir where he possessed 59 cerib of fallow land (*hali tarla*) and 78,5 cerib of sown land (*mezru' tarla*).<sup>258</sup> In two pieces, Şaban beşe held more than 1000 *dönüm* land that was not recorded as çiftlik in the Edirne survey.

Then, what does the term çiftlik in his probate inventories refer to? Does it refer to the house or the land? In total, the two çiftliks' value was calculated 31.000 akçe. That amount allows us to reach a price for each *dönüm* that seems to be 31 akçe. Haim Gerber informs us about the value of one *dönüm* of land in the Bursa region by his own calculations that was 70 akçe in the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>259</sup> Perhaps, the price was calculated for the house and all the agricultural tools in it. This seems more possible because probate inventories of other rural dwellers show that house prices in villages had around the same value.<sup>260</sup> Ali Bey possessed only 30 cerib of arable land and 10 cerib of meadow (*çayır*) in the same village.<sup>261</sup> Moreover,

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<sup>256</sup> “*çiftlik der karye-i mezbûre kıymet 25000 [akçe ]*” and “*def'a çiftlik der karye-i Kırşehir kıymet 6000 [akçe]*”. Edirne Şer'iyye Sicilleri (hereafter EŞS) No. 52, 26a-1 (Evail-i Rebiü'l-evvel 1084).

<sup>257</sup> MAD 133.

<sup>258</sup> MAD 133.

<sup>259</sup> Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, 27.

<sup>260</sup> When Ali Bey son of Musa, a resident of the village of İneoğlu in the Ada nahiye, died also three years after the Edirne survey was prepared, his estates were distributed to his heirs. His house in the village was valued 20.000 akçe (*İ hâne der karye-i mezbûre 20000 [akçe]*). EŞS 52, 22a-1 (25 Safer 1084).

<sup>261</sup> MAD 133.

he possessed 10 *cerib* of agricultural land in the hamlet of Saruhan (*mezra'a-yi Saruhan*) in the close vicinity of his village.<sup>262</sup>

Likewise, in the Manastır nahiye, askeri presence was not significant either. The only askeri çiftliks that deserve special attention were in the village of Fikele that was located in the close vicinity of Edirne. These men were Sinan Ağa the chief gardener (*bostancıbaşı*), Hacı Mehemed Celalizade, Mustafa Bey the gatekeeper in the Edirne Palace (*bevvâb-ı sultâni*), one Ömer Çavuş, and one Seydi Çavuş. These men's land amounts in the said village were 485 *cerib* (1091 *dönüm*), 185 *cerib* (416 *dönüm*), 150 *cerib* (337 *dönüm*), 133 *cerib* (299 *dönüm*), 117 *cerib* (263 *dönüm*) respectively. All of these men were recorded as those in possession of the land (*der tasarruf-i*) rather than having the land in their hand (*der yed-i*). It brings us to a conclusion that all these men of askeri status were in the possession of agricultural lands by way of a certificate from the "landowner" (*sahib-i arz*), even though transactions of arable lands were not recorded in the Muslim court registers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>263</sup>

The men were most probably living in the city of Edirne (a fact that is evident in the case of Sinan Ağa and Mustafa Bey), yet leasing the land to local villagers as sharecroppers. As Özer Ergenç has shown, sharecropping in the Ottoman lands was an increasing practice of agricultural activity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>264</sup> It is by no means possible to detect all the lands cultivated by way of sharecropping. However, being aware of the fact that many men of high ranking askeri statuses were physically living in city centers, it would not be meaningless to assume that the lands in their possession would be worked on by villagers residing in the village or near-by villages.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> MAD 133.

<sup>263</sup> McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, 143-144.

<sup>264</sup> Ergenç, "18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Anadolu'sunda Tarım Üretiminde Yeni Boyutlar."

<sup>265</sup> Other than the above stated men, the only man having a proportionally large amount of land in the Manastır nahiye was Mehmed Hoca in the village of Köse Kulfalı who was the priest of the same village. He had (*der yed-i*) 131 *cerib* of agricultural land. MAD 133.

### 3.5. Sown and fallow lands in the Edirne district

One way of better understanding the land possessions of men of askeri origin is to look at the proportion of sown and fallow lands. As stated before, the Edirne survey of 1670 was not recorded in a unified way that is evident in different registration practices done for different nahiyes. One of them is each surveyor's own method of recording the entire land amount under rural dwellers' or urban elites' possession in villages. For the sub-districts of Üsküdar, Çöke, and Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa villages, the registrar preferred to divide the land as sown and fallow. The registrars did not follow a similar method in dividing the lands as such in the villages of the Manastr and Ada nahiyes. In the latter two, the land was recorded as one block without mentioning its current division.

As far as the three sub-districts are concerned, what is evident in Table 16 is that a significant proportion of arable land in the Edirne district seems to be uncultivated for the sowing season of 1669-1670. Surely, the data from the three sub-districts may not prove conclusive information for the entire district. More than 65 percent of the land in the Çöke nahiye was left seedless. Only 35 percent was to be cultivated that can also be seen from the map below. There, the blue color's share is concentrated in the Çöke nahiye that is located towards the east of Edirne. This was most likely related to the rather small land amounts that the peasants possessed.

Table 16. Sown and fallow land proportions in the Edirne district in 1670

Nahiye	Total cover ( <i>cerib</i> )	land land ( <i>cerib</i> )	Total arable land ( <i>cerib</i> )	Fallow land ( <i>cerib</i> )	Sown land ( <i>cerib</i> )
Üsküdar	914.604,5	216.636 (100%)	122.902 (56,7%)	93.734,5 (43,3%)	
Çöke	493.177	78.861 (100%)	27.496 (34,8%)	51.365 (65,2%)	
Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	176.480	31.103,5 (100%)	19.231 (61,8%)	11.872,5 (38,2%)	
Ada	585.850,25	209245 (100%)	N/A	N/A	
Manastır	119.191,5	37443,5 (100%)	N/A	N/A	

Significantly small amounts of lands must have induced villagers to sow bigger proportions leaving less to be fallow. In the sub-districts of Üsküdar and Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa, there seems to be a reverse picture that is lands were mostly fallow (57 percent and 62 percent respectively). In these villages whose lands were registered according to sown and fallow portions, one needs to take into consideration the large estates and their effectively sown proportions. Surely, the data provides a snapshot that is the sowing season of 1669-1670. The askeri presence in the villages of the Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye is significantly low. The men registered as landholders were dwelling in the villages or in the town of Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa. Hasan Çavuş from the village of Bunaklı, Kadri sipahi from the village of Habibce,

Ömer Hacı from the village of Süleymanca were of presumably askeri origin. The rest of the landholders were of reaya origin. Furthermore, their land amounts did not significantly exceed the peasant holdings (Hasan Çavuş with 103 cerib, Kadri sipahi with 37 cerib, and Ömer Hacı with 235 cerib).

In terms of sown and fallow proportions of land that was under the possession of men with askeri status (particularly those men possessing significantly large land amounts), the nahiyes of Üsküdar is of importance. The first reason for this is the topographical specifications of villages in this sub-district. The land cover of the villages in the Üsküdar nahiyesi was recorded in a way that it differentiated sown and fallow lands, which gives the historian a unique opportunity to make several analyses.

Table 17 is made based on the land possessions of men who were residents of the city of Edirne when the 1670 survey was prepared. They, however, had very large amounts of land in the villages of the sub-district of Üsküdar. As stated before, the villages (as well as the Ada nahiyesi's villages) in this nahiyesi were very popular among askeri class members who possessed considerable portions of arable lands. However, unlike the Ada nahiyesi, lands in the Üsküdar nahiyesi were recorded as sown and fallow.

The land amounts that the residents of Edirne with askeri titles possessed in the villages of Üsküdar nahiyesi testify to very large çiftlik formations in the region. As can be seen from Table 17, men with such askeri titles as ağa, bey, efendi, çavuş, and the like possessed very large amounts of lands in these villages where they were not residing. The total land amount possessed varied between 500 and 5000 *dönüm*. Concerning how effectively the askeri men worked on their lands, what the below table shows is intriguing. Among 25 cases with very large lands in villages, 18 of them had more than 50 percent left fallow. The lands of 12 of them almost had 70 percent being fallow. Surely, it is evident that higher up askeri class members possessed very large agricultural lands, yet it seems that the majority of lands was not seeded, at least it was so in the sowing season of 1660-1670.



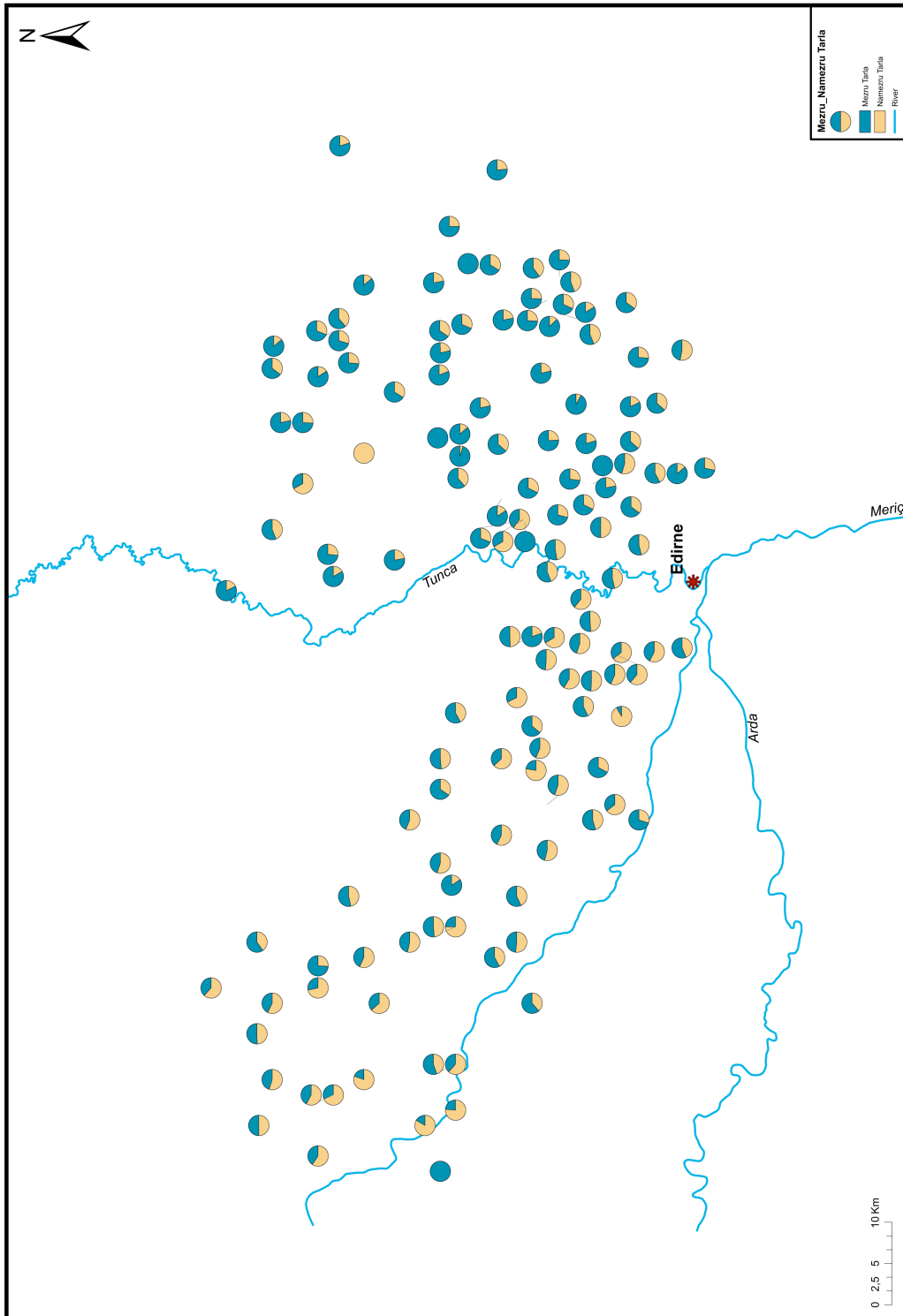


Figure 8. Proportions of sown and fallow lands

Table 17. Sown-Fallow proportions in large “çiftlik”<sup>266</sup>

<b>Title</b>	<b>Sown (<i>cerîb</i>)</b>	<b>Sown %</b>	<b>Fallow (<i>cerîb</i>)</b>	<b>Fallow %</b>	<b>Total (<i>cerîb</i>)</b>	<b>Total %</b>
Bey	560	56	436	44	996	100
Bey	186	36	320	64	507	100
Bey	504	72	191	28	695	100
Çelebi	422	67	205,5	33	627,5	100
Ağa	600	54	504	46	1104	100
Ağa	352	44	448	56	800	100
Ağa	717	57	506	43	1247	100
Ağa	870	76	270	24	1140	100
Efendi	840	67	307	33	1247	100
Bey	345	47	389	53	734	100
Hacı	2434	65	1295	35	3729	100
Ağa	265	57	198	43	463	100
Ağa+Bey	385	70	120	30	545	100
Efendi	185	53	160	47	345	100
Çavuş	217	62	132	38	349	100
Ağa	665	55	524	45	1189	100
Ağa	116	43	152	57	268	100
Ağa	231	46	268	54	499	100
Çavuş	148	27	384	73	532	100
Ağa	305	91	30	9	335	100

<sup>266</sup> The table is based on the lands of the following people residing in Edirne but having lands in villages: Şa’ban Bey, Sarrac Mustafa Bey, Osman Bey Solak from the village of Etmekçi; İsmail Çelebi v. Mehmed, Osman Ağa v. Baki from the village of Karabulut; Mehmed Ağa v. Hasan Ağa from the village of Yahşi Fakih; Osman Ağa Silahdar from the village of Akpınar; Süleyman Ağa Silahdar from the hamlet of Küplüce; Mehmed Efendi, and Memiş Halil Bey v. Mehmed from the village of Uzgaş; Hacı Arslan, Sinan Ağa Bostani, İbrahim Ağa ve Mehmed Bey, Mehmed Efendi, and Mustafa Çavuş from the village of Köse Hamza; Sinan Ağa Bostani, and Ömer Ağa from the village of Avarız; Ali Ağa Ser-Bostaniyan-ı Sabık, and İbrahim Çavuş v. Bekir from the village of Ulu Şahin; Seyyid Mehmed Ağa (v. Hasan) from the hamlet of Mahmudlu; Seyyid Mehmed Ağa v. Hasan from the village of Nefs-i Üsküdar; Sinan Ağa ser-bostaniyan from the hamlet of Timurtaş; Abdullah Ağa from th village of Kırk Paşa.

Table 17. (Continued)

Ağa	777	66	397	34	1174	100
Çelebi	522	64	286	36	808	100
Ağa	970	79	251	21	1221	100
Ağa	47	18	206	82	253	100
Efendi	569	70	240	30	809	100

It seems that the closer the village to the city of Edirne was the larger the land amount that the askeri class members possessed. Surely, it was so with reasoning. The location of the villages perfectly makes sense to understand the motivation of askeri class members to make such big investments on the land. In other words, the location *did* matter for investment preferences of men with good fortune. It has been noted by scholars that men of relatively better fortune did invest their money in real estate in cities. However, it seems that by the seventeenth century possessing land became a relatively popular type of investment for those who were seeking new avenues of investment.

## CHAPTER 4

### RURAL STRUCTURE OF THE DISTRICT (*KAZA*) OF EDİRNE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

#### 4.1. Edirne's Rural Surroundings

Research on the rural hinterland of Edirne can be done through a wide range of sources such as tax registers (*tahrir defterleri*), household tax registers (*avarız defterleri*), poll-tax registers (*cizye defterleri*) and so on. Also, Muslim court registers of Edirne offer the historian a mine of information about villagers, their lives, and the interaction between the urbanites and rural dwellers despite the fact that peasants happen to appear in the sicils more seldom compared to their contemporaries lived in cities.<sup>267</sup>

Tayyip Gökbilgin, Ahmet Yiğit, and Stefan Dimitrov are some of the scholars who have in detail analyzed the city of Edirne and its villages based on the tax registers produced in the late fifteenth and during the sixteenth centuries. Gökbilgin's *Edirne ve Paşa Livası* has remained as the main reference book for anyone interested in

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<sup>267</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman history: an introduction to the sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Also see James A Reilly, *A small town in Syria: Ottoman Hama in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*. (Oxford: Peter Lang Pub Inc., 2002).

Edirne.<sup>268</sup> Other than Gökbilgin, other scholars also analyzed the Edirne district in the sixteenth century. While Yiğit, along with a number of other Ottoman sources, focused on the late sixteenth century,<sup>269</sup> Dimitrov compared the earlier tahrirs to those registered throughout the sixteenth century for the Sakar region.<sup>270</sup>

Scholars benefiting from Edirne's Muslim court registers for their research also seem to be on the rise. As stated in the Sources of this work, Muslim court registers of Edirne for the seventeenth century consists of probate inventories (*tereke* or *kassam defterleri*) exclusively. Thus, historians working on the city in this century are forced to use these specific sources that compose a significant part of the Muslim court registers.<sup>271</sup>

Sarıcaoğlu, on the other hand, used the Edirne Muslim court registers in his study that deals with the centre-periphery relations in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire during the reign of Mahmud II by focusing on the example of Edirne.<sup>272</sup> He used Muslim court registers for household tax figures (*avarız*) of the villages located in the district of Edirne. However, it is obvious that the villages recorded in sicils never mentioned the entire district due to the registration method of those specific documents that I in detail discussed in Introduction vis-à-vis the *avarız* registers. Other than the classical tax surveys, historians have also used other sorts of documents to delineate rural structure of the Edirne district.

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<sup>268</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*.

<sup>269</sup> Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası."

<sup>270</sup> I would like to thank Stefan Dimitrov for his kindness to send me some tables of his thesis. He also shared some of his maps that helped me to locate some villages on GIS maps that would otherwise be missing. Stefan Dimitrov, "Naselenie i selishta v Sakar planina." Also see Harun Yeni, "Demography and Settlement in Paşa Sancağı Sol-Kol Region according to Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rumeli Defteri dated 1530," unpublished MA Thesis (Bilkent University, 2006).

<sup>271</sup> Since Barkan's *Edirne Askeri Kassamına Ait Tereke Defterleri* was published, probate inventories have been a mine of sources for Ottoman historians in their research. It is almost impossible to give a thorough list of these studies. However, for Edirne, a tentative list can be made as follows: Barkan, "Edirne Askeri Kassamına Ait Tereke Defterleri (1545-1659)"; Levent Kuru, "29 Numaralı Edirne Şer'îye Sicili," unpublished MA Thesis (Trakya Üniversitesi, 2006).

<sup>272</sup> Mehmed Esat Sarıcaoğlu, *Mali Tarih Açısından Osmanlı Devletinde Merkez-Taşra İlişkileri (II. Mahmut Döneminde Edirne Örneği)* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001).

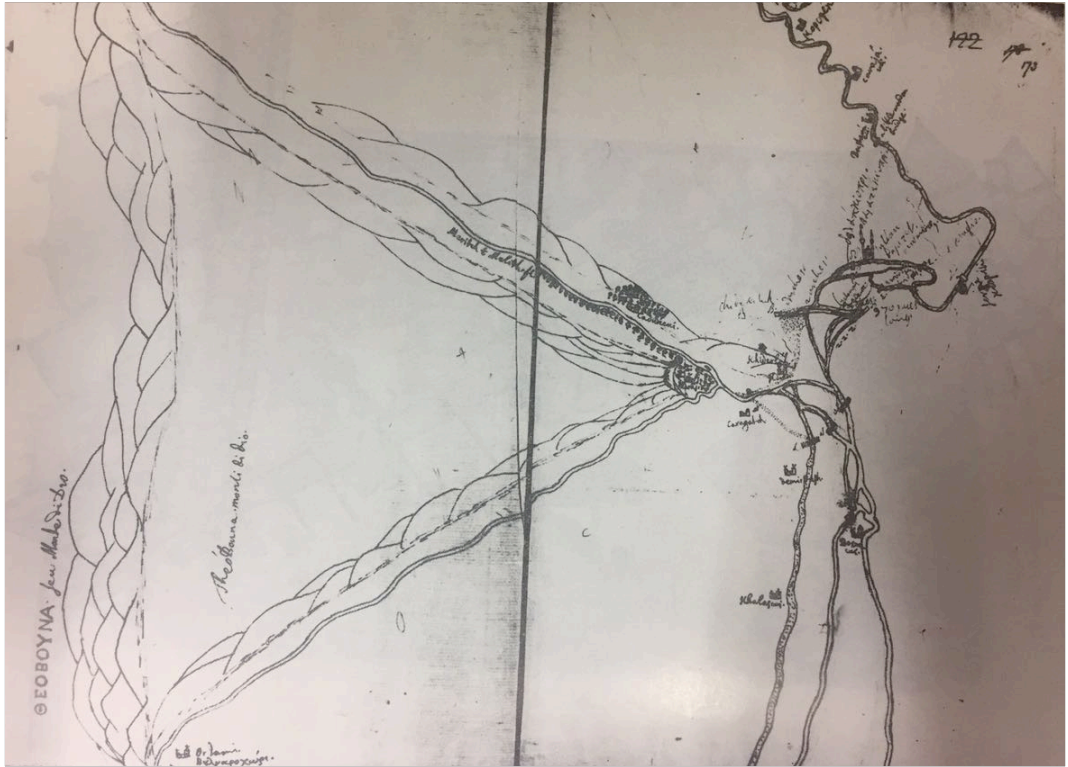


Figure 9. A sketch of Edirne's immediate surroundings drawn by John Covel, late seventeenth century (in Özdemir Nutku, *Edirne Şenliği*)

Fadimana Çelik, for instance, also dealt with the villages of Edirne in her study. She focused on the sub-district of Çöke through the *temettüat* registers.<sup>273</sup> Her findings were of help to compare rural property of the sub-district of Çöke in the mid-nineteenth century to those in the period under scrutiny.<sup>274</sup>

Though a good number of scholars have used the same method of comparing the figures of the sixteenth century tahrirs to the avarız registers of the seventeenth

<sup>273</sup> Historians have also used Temettüat registers in order to understand the changes that occurred during the time of reforms known as Tanzimat vis-à-vis rural societies and the Land Law of 1858 implemented only a decade after the temettüat registers were instigated. See Çelik, *Temettüat Defterlerine Göre Edirne Kazası*. I would like to thank Fadimana Çelik for being very kind to send me the original temettüat documents of some of the villages in Edirne.

<sup>274</sup> For some of the most recent studies see Baber Johansen, *The Islamic Law on Land Tax and Rent: The Peasants' Loss of Property Rights as Interpreted in the Hanafite Legal Literature of the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods*. (London: Routledge, 2016); Aytekin, "Agrarian relations, property and law: An analysis of the Land Code of 1858 in the Ottoman Empire."

century household surveys in order to understand the settlement patterns in different geographical contexts, it is still disputable whether or not the data that these two surveys are compatible. Whether the so-called “abandoned” villages were in actual fact emptied as a result of worsening political, economic and climatic conditions still begs an answer. It will be naïve to consider the complete desertion of settlements by merely looking at the aggregate data of different sorts of documents. Ottoman sources certainly allow the historian to trace the marks of settlements presumed as disappeared. The initial misunderstanding may be related to the changing organization of the administrative units (be they *nahiye*, *kaza* or *sancak*). In other words, in the absence of modern cadastral surveys, settlements were interchangeably registered under different administrative divisions, meaning that one village could be seen under a certain district at one time, while it is possible to see it under a new district at another time. Thus, in order to ensure the total absconding of villages, it is necessary to look at documents the central state departments produced meanwhile.<sup>275</sup>

Another point to be made is that Ottoman rural society was governed under different sub-systems. In other words, villages were administered under different statuses – i.e., *timar* or *vakıf*.<sup>276</sup> As some rural settlements were endowed as revenue to various religious foundations, it is possible to find their marks in the *vakıf* documents that were regularly kept by the *vakıf* administration in order to keep information up to date. As I explain below, *timar* villages seem to have been the most vulnerable among the rural settlements during difficult times. It was mostly the *timar* villages that turned to what became abandoned settlements (i.e., *mezra’a* or *müsellem çiftlik*). Thus, it is imperative to clarify the administrative statuses of villages and to follow up their traces in documents both produced by the central state and/or the pious endowment.

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<sup>275</sup> The “hurufat” registers are one of these archival documents that can verify the historian’s conclusion she/he reaches through surveys. About hurufat registers see Yasemin Beyazıt, “Hurufat Defterlerinin Şehir Tarihi Araştırmalarındaki Yeri,” *History Studies* 5, no. 1 (2013): 39-69.

<sup>276</sup> See the village typologies in this Chapter.

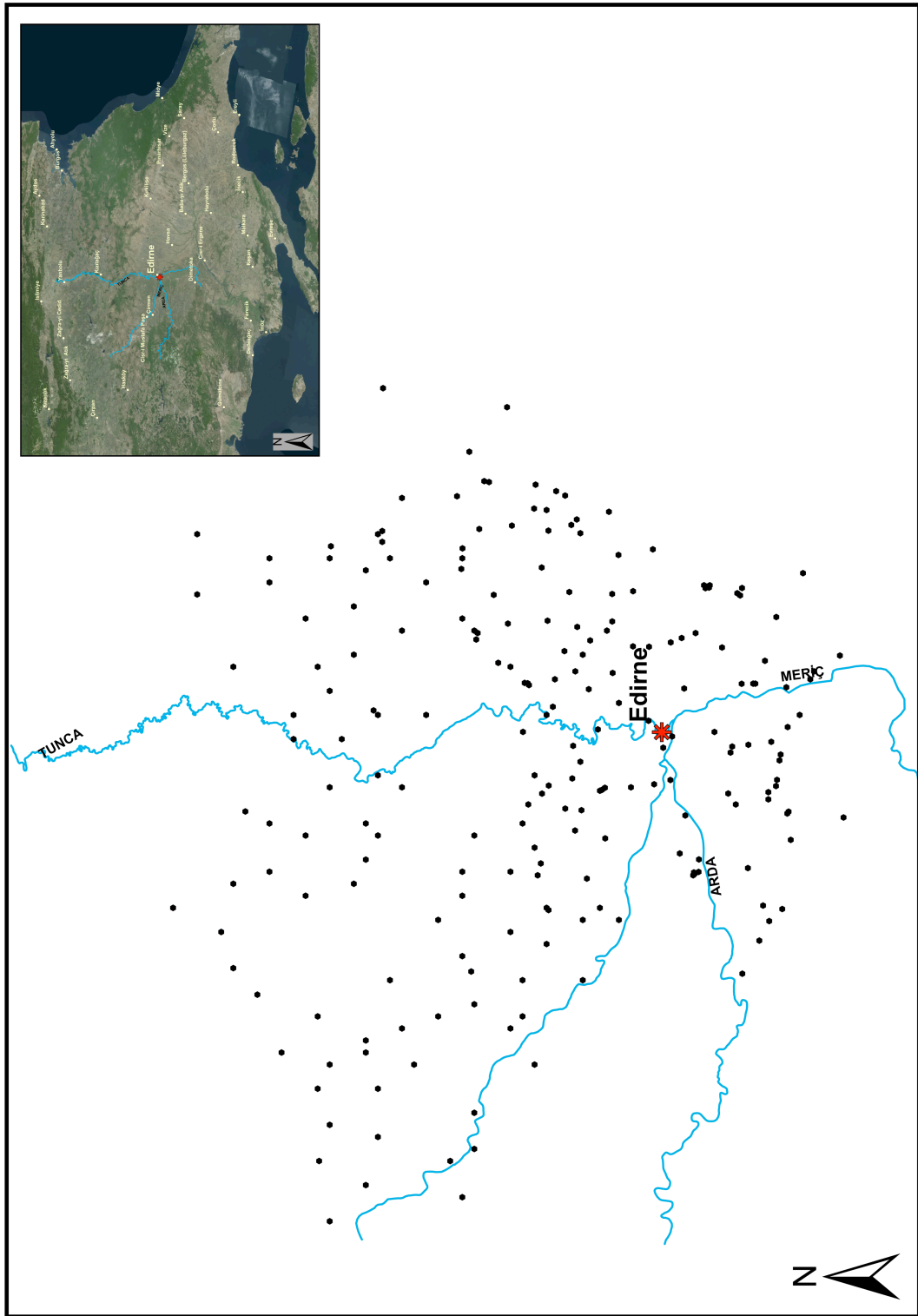


Figure 10. Settlement points in the District of Edirne



As for changing political conditions and the Edirne villages' positions, there are an abundant number of references in various archival sources.<sup>277</sup> As mentioned just above, it is easier to follow the changing economic, demographic and agricultural situation of *vakıf* villages compared to *timar* ones as they mostly belonged to Sultanic endowments that produced a good number of *vakıf* documents to record their massive revenues and expenditures.<sup>278</sup>

#### 4.1.1. The Expanding Environs of Edirne

Sarah D. Shields was right in stating that “the city and the countryside lived not in separate impermeable spaces, but in a mutual space, sharing people, the things they made, and the things they used ... exchanged between the urban and rural populations.”<sup>279</sup> In other words, a city's immediate rural hinterland should not be treated as a disconnected realm that feeds the people of and meets the needs in that city. As the city expands territorially and demographically, it encompasses wider regions around in order to supply goods and services it produces, and to extract the produce offered to it. Edirne well fits in this description from the time it was conquered by the Ottomans in 1361.

What was the city's immediate rural surrounding like in this period of rise that Edirne witnessed both politically and demographically? Did the rural hinterland of Edirne closely follow this trend? In the following paragraphs, I will try to draw the rural settlement in the kaza of Edirne throughout centuries, though the weight will be given to the last quarter of the seventeenth century due to practical reasons provided by the 1670 register's advantages. In terms of the existence/disappearance of villages as well as demographic figures, the data supplied by the Edirne survey of 1670 will

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<sup>277</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*.

<sup>278</sup> For vakıf account books see Kayhan Orbay, “Structure and Content of the Waqf Account Books as Sources for Ottoman Economic and Institutional History,” *Turcica Revue D'Etudes Turques* 39, (2007): 3-48.

<sup>279</sup> Sarah D. Shields, “Interdependent Spaces: Relations Between the City and the Countryside in the Nineteenth Century,” in *The Urban Social History of the Middle East 1750-1950*, ed. Peter Sluglett (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2008): 43-66.

from time to time be compared to an avarız survey compiled in 1686. This latter survey is the completing part of the 1686 Edirne avarız register, which recorded the men with avarız tax obligation.

The villages within the jurisdiction of the kaza of Edirne were also mentioned in other archival sources such as tax or household tax registers (*tahrir* or *avarız*), endowment deeds (*vakfiye*), and Muslim court registers. However, until the seventeenth century, the sub-division of the district of Edirne did not come to a level from which point the number of the sub-districts of Edirne sustained its position. This was due partially to the escalating importance of the city of Edirne that faced a demographic growth throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>280</sup> The city physically became the seat of the Ottoman rulers – particularly of Mehmed IV, Mustafa II and Ahmed III. As the city almost doubled demographically in the seventeenth century, the immediate rural hinterland of Edirne that would meet the needs of the residents likewise increased. This was similar to Bursa, as Özer Ergenç informs us, whose close rural hinterland became bigger as the needs of the population increased.<sup>281</sup> As stated before, demographically Edirne was a medium size city similar to Bursa and Salonika. There was not a specialized industry that defined the city. However, as the city lived its “golden age” in the seventeenth century, the city homed a significant number of state officials (retired or at office), as well as transients and visitors to pass towards other important centers, Istanbul being the first in line.

Edirne proves to be a fascinating example in this regard. Comparing the Edirne survey register of 1670 to the sixteenth century tahrirs of the Paşa sub-province, in which Edirne and its rural sites would be recorded as well, may be a good method pertaining to the number of villages and other types of settlements. The main reason for this is that the district of Edirne of the seventeenth century was not the same district of the previous century. As stated above, the city of Edirne was significantly bigger in the second half of the seventeenth century due to the importance given to it

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<sup>280</sup> Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles”; Karagedikli, “Bir Payitahtı Yeniden Düşünmek.”

<sup>281</sup> Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, 109.

during the reigns of some Ottoman sultans. Corresponding to this development, the district of Edirne subsumed more rural sites in order to meet the needs of the city.

The Ottoman fiscal registers from the last decade of the fifteenth century documenting the district of Edirne show that there were 212 villages and 10 hamlets. The number of villages would increase to 232 and yet that of hamlets would decrease to 2 by the thirties of the following century. When the Ottomans prepared a new survey register in 1570, the number of villages registered rose to 254.<sup>282</sup> This may not necessarily be attributed to the appearance of new villages or the disappearance of the existing settlements. Rather, the continuing negotiations between various rural dwellers and the state agents (both associating closely with those rural units or not) would bring about the registration of them under different districts. This would especially be the case following the post-*mâlikâne* period during which various revenue-holders would attempt to prevail in order to secure their returns.<sup>283</sup>

The mentioned process from the sixteenth century through the late seventeenth could not be thought separately from the administrative organization of the district of Edirne. The first data concerning the rural hinterland of Edirne, albeit incomplete, come from a detailed tax register dated 1485 that was compiled more than a century later following the Ottoman conquest of Edirne.<sup>284</sup> It can be inferred from the register that the villages – that are to be seen in later registers as being under Edirne’s jurisdiction – were registered under such sub-districts as Fikele, Üsküdar, Kızılağaç and Dimetoka. The only nahiye that is stated in this earliest tax survey – that we also see in the seventeenth century – is Üsküdar. However, this should not be understood in a way that other nahiyes disappeared. They were basically recorded with other names. This register was also undertaken during a period of still continuing Ottoman conquests in the region meaning that Ottomans were still in the process of defining definite administrative boundaries. Our data regarding the villages and rural spheres of the *kaza* of Edirne in the sixteenth century come from two registers carried out in

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<sup>282</sup> Dimitrov, “Naselenie i selishta v Sakar planina”; Yiğit, “XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası.”

<sup>283</sup> There are an abundant number of cases in the eighteenth century Edirne Muslim court registers concerning various revenue-based contentions between revenue holders of villages.

<sup>284</sup> Also see Dimitrov, “Naselenie i selishta v Sakar planina.” Tapu Tahrir No. 20 (H.890-900/1485).

1519 and 1530 respectively.<sup>285</sup> The district of Edirne was recorded as having four sub-districts (Prevadi, Fikele, Üsküdar, Kızılağaç) having around 200 villages, including those villages that directly belonged to the district centre (*merkez nahiye*). It will make more sense to argue that the process of the administrative organization was still under way.<sup>286</sup>

The process of re-organizing the Edirne district took a sturdier shape in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. When the Ottomans carried out the last survey of the sixteenth century for the Paşa sub-Province of which Edirne was a part, the administrative sub-division of the district reached to its almost utmost mature shape.<sup>287</sup> That is, other than the central sub-district (*merkez nahiye* as stated in the register), the other sub-district names are identical with those we see in the registers recorded in the seventeenth century. While the Fikele and Üsküdar sub-districts were to be combined under the name of the Üsküdar nahiye, Prevadi sub-district was to be renamed as the Çöke nahiye. Moreover, the Kızılağaç sub-district was to be renamed as the Manastır nahiye, after the village of Manastır became the “centre” of the said sub-district. Furthermore, the sub-district of Ada is evident in the late sixteenth century tahrirs.<sup>288</sup> The latter seems to have comprised some of the villages that had been recorded as part of the central-sub-district. These four nahiyes, which comprised a good number of between Dimetoka in the south, Yanbolu in the north, Kırkkilise in the east, and Harmanlı in the west, were under the jurisdiction of Edirne until the mid-seventeenth century making its immediate rural hinterland.

However, the immediate rural hinterland of Edirne consisted of five nahiyes in the second half of the seventeenth century that did not change much until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, during which the Ottoman Empire’s territories in the Balkans began shrinking, and the state inaugurated a new administrative re-organization. The sub-districts within the boundaries of the city of Edirne were Ada,

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<sup>285</sup> Tapu Tahrir No. 77 (H.925/1519) and Tapu Tahrir 370 (1530). The latter has also been published by the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi. See Ahmet Özkılınç et al. eds., *370 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rum-İli Defteri (937/1530) I Tıpkıbasım* (Ankara: Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2001).

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> Yiğit, “XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası,” 129-133.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid., 133.

Üsküdar, Manastır, Çöke, and Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa. This rise would come to being with the inclusion of the Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa sub-district. The latter was also observed as a district centre (*kaza*)<sup>289</sup> coming under the jurisdiction of Edirne in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that I detail below. Though various sources provide different administrative definitions for Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa (modern day Slivengrad in Bulgaria), it was initially defined as a town centre with its own villages in the Çirmen *tahrir defters* of the sixteenth century. When visited it in 1653, Evliya Çelebi wrote the town of Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa “Çirmen sancağı hâkinde nehr-i Meriç kenarında bir bağlı ve bağçeli ve yedi yüz aded kiremit örtülü ma‘mûr hânelerdir.”<sup>290</sup> In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, though, Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa had 14 villages and as well as 8 hamlets within its boundaries.<sup>291</sup> Hence, with the Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye as can be seen from the Table 18, the number of villages increased to 256 in 1670.

All in all, administratively speaking, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Edirne was registered as a district under the Paşa sub-Province whose centre was Sofia. However, Edirne was not under the rule of the Rumeli governor. This resembles what Özer Ergenç observes for Bursa that was a *serbest* district due to its special character and hence was exempted from the authority of the governor of Hüdavendigâr.<sup>292</sup> Until the end of the nineteenth century, the district of Edirne retained its territorial scattering almost intact, as far as the number of sub-districts (*nahiye*) is concerned. The area comprising the immediate rural hinterland of Edirne had more than 250 villages a significant number of which had been granted as *temlik* to the men who were involved in the Ottoman conquests of the region in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> Parveva, “Villages, Peasants and Landholdings in the Edirne Region in the Second Half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century,” 20.

<sup>290</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* III, 232.

<sup>291</sup> MAD 133, pp. 83-93.

<sup>292</sup> Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*.

<sup>293</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*.

Furthermore, almost half of the rural settlements were allocated as fiefs (*timar*, *zeamet*, *hâss*). The rural space of Edirne will be further analyzed based on the Edirne survey documented in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The rural settlements will allow me to construct the existing situation in the countryside of Edirne in this period. Like I mentioned before, it is difficult to find out the exact number of rural settlements in a certain area as the administrative boundaries of regions change over time. However, knowing that the area of the Edirne district comprising the same five sub-districts that did not change since the mid-seventeenth century and did not depreciate until the late nineteenth century, it is my aim here to map the rural hinterland of Edirne based on the registers as well as on other documentary evidence from the seventeenth century.

Other than the Edirne Survey of 1670, none of the before mentioned archival sources specify in measurement the actual area of the region in general and of villages in particular that otherwise create all sorts of problems for the historian. Nor do they refer to any area information in terms of land, vineyard, forest and other rural property sizes. Despite a vague reference to “çift” or çiftlik in the classical sense of tax registers of the sixteenth century (whatever they meant), the *avârız* defter that is by nature compiled to register those people owning land or other immovable (*emlâk* or *arâzi*).<sup>294</sup> The Edirne survey of 1670 (*tahrîr-i cedîd*), on the other hand, gives us an almost full picture of the kaza of Edirne in terms of the size of area the present study deals with, the landed property, and so forth. It is important to know the size of each landed property (i.e., arable land, orchard, vineyard, meadow and the like) and the territorial scattering of villages in order to properly locate them on GIS map, even though it is hard to locate each village with utmost accuracy. Fortunately, this register allows us to do so as it registered villages, *müsellem çiftlik*s and *mezraa*s in terms of their territorial diffusion, as well as their neighboring villages and boundaries. This will be analyzed in detail below.

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<sup>294</sup> For *çift* see Halil İnalçık, “Çiftlik,” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 8, (İstanbul: Türk Diyanet Vakfı, 1993), 313-314; İnalçık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* vol.1. Also see Barkan, “Çiftlik.”

There is a clear indication that the city of Edirne, being one of the largest Ottoman cities in the seventeenth century, was the centre of the Ottoman realm in the Eastern Rumelia providing various services to other smaller towns and receiving the produce they supplied. This superior position of the city of Edirne among other small or medium-size towns in the region is not only supported by the Ottoman archival sources providing sturdy population data. Contemporary observers like Abdurraman Hibri also noted that Edirne was the centre in this part of the Ottoman country where the dwellers in the neighboring towns were coming to sell and buy goods.<sup>295</sup>

The administratively defined region was the Edirne kaza (with its nahiyes and finally its villages).<sup>296</sup> However, since we have the exact location information for most of these administratively defined settlement points, the data offer us more than it seems to do. The register divided the district into five sub-districts (nahiyes), under which varying numbers of villages or abandoned villages were listed. The five nahiyes are as follows: the Ada, Üsküdar, Manastır, Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa, and Çöke sub-districts. While the Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa was the smallest among the five nahiyes in terms of the number of villages located within its jurisdiction, the Çöke sub-district seem like it had the biggest number of villages within its administratively drawn borders (however problematic).

This administrative organization did not change until the late nineteenth century. Though it is meaningful to say that each sub-district had a varying number of villages because not all of them were recorded over time under the boundary of the same nahiye, I will use the administrative unit of nahiye in this study employing the way of Ottoman registration practices in order to better understand the landscape of Edirne and visualize the changing topographical position of villages.

As can be seen from the Figure 2, by the end of the seventeenth century, the district of Edirne reached to the borders of four neighboring districts (kaza), namely those Kırkkilise in the east, Yanbolu in the north, Dimetoka in the south and Harmanlı in the west. The majority of the villages in the district of Edirne were in two sub-

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<sup>295</sup> Sevim İlgürel, “Enîsü’l-müsâmirîn (Abdurrahman Hibri’nin) Tahlîli ve Tenkitli Neşri.”

<sup>296</sup> For the administrative definition of nahiye see Şahin, “Nahiye.”

districts – Çöke and Üsküdar nahiyes. The sub-district of Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa, the smallest nahiye in the district, became a nahiye of Edirne in the century under study,<sup>297</sup> while it was a district centre during the earlier centuries (for the incomplete distribution of villages within these five nahiyes, see Figure 4).

The map does not show all the villages recorded in the 1670 survey register because it was impossible to pinpoint all the villages' coordinates based on geo-referencing them from historical maps and other contemporary and modern sources. As can be seen from the Edirne survey, the Ottoman fiscal register compilers definitely had a sense of location that brought together many villages under the jurisdiction of a *nahiye* in a specific location, which was done based on previously implemented registers in hand.

Following the new administrative re-organization of the Edirne district in the seventeenth century that was different from the one set up in the preceding century, the Çöke sub-district was roughly located between the city of Edirne and the city of Kırkkilise (modern Kırklareli), the sub-district of Ada was located in the southeast of Edirne towards Dimetoka. The other three nahiyes were roughly within the triangular region between Yanbolu (modern Yambol) in the north and Harmanlı in the West, and Edirne in the South.

## 4.2. Settlement Typologies

Under each nahiye, the register recorded every rural settlement inhabited or otherwise. These were the village (*karye*), the hamlet (*mezra'a*) that was adjacent to a village, and the “exempted farm” (*müsellem çiftlik*). Villages were recorded with their current and/or other known names (*nam-ı diğەر*). The 1670 Edirne survey recorded 256 inhabited villages, 62 hamlets that were in the possession of neighboring village dwellers, and 32 *müsellem çiftlik*s. Due to the problem of finding actual coordinates of each settlement, it was impossible to show all hamlets and

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<sup>297</sup> See relevant pages in this chapter.



müsellem lands on the GIS map. Thus, the map below shows the villages whose coordinates were identified according to historical maps, contemporary accounts, as well as other sources that helped to spot the locations of settlements.

Table 18. Number of settlements in the *nahiyes* of the Edirne *kaza* in 1670

	Ada sub-district ( <i>nâhiye</i> )	Üsküdar sub-district ( <i>nâhiye</i> )	Cisr-i Paşa sub-district ( <i>nâhiye</i> )	Mustafa sub-district	Manastır sub-district ( <i>nâhiye</i> )	Çöke sub-district ( <i>nâhiye</i> )
Village ( <i>karye</i> )	48	73	15		40	80
Hamlet ( <i>mezra'a</i> )	10	23	8		12	9
Müsellem çiftlik	7	13	2		0	12

#### 4.2.1. The *karye*

A village (*karye*) was the smallest rural unit comprising a large area of arable land, meadow, and vacant land.<sup>298</sup> Following the earlier states' registration practices regarding the village, what the Ottomans did following their conquests in the Balkans was to bring together a number of villages under a sub-district (*nâhiye*), which would be more elaborated in the sixteenth century. However, the organization of administrative boundaries in its realms was an ongoing consideration for the Ottoman state since cities, towns, as well as villages got bigger or smaller due to various reasons. Hence, some villages that we see within the jurisdiction of other administrative units in the sixteenth century would be recorded under different sub-provincial or provincial units.<sup>299</sup>

<sup>298</sup> Oktay Özel, "XV-XVI. Yüzyıllarda Anadolu'da Kırsal (Ziraî) Organizasyon: Köylüler ve Köyler," unpublished MA Thesis (Hacettepe University, 1986).

<sup>299</sup> Ahmet Özkılınç et al., eds., *Osmanlı Yer Adları: I Rumeli Eyaleti (1514-1550)* (İstanbul: Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2013), 1-48.

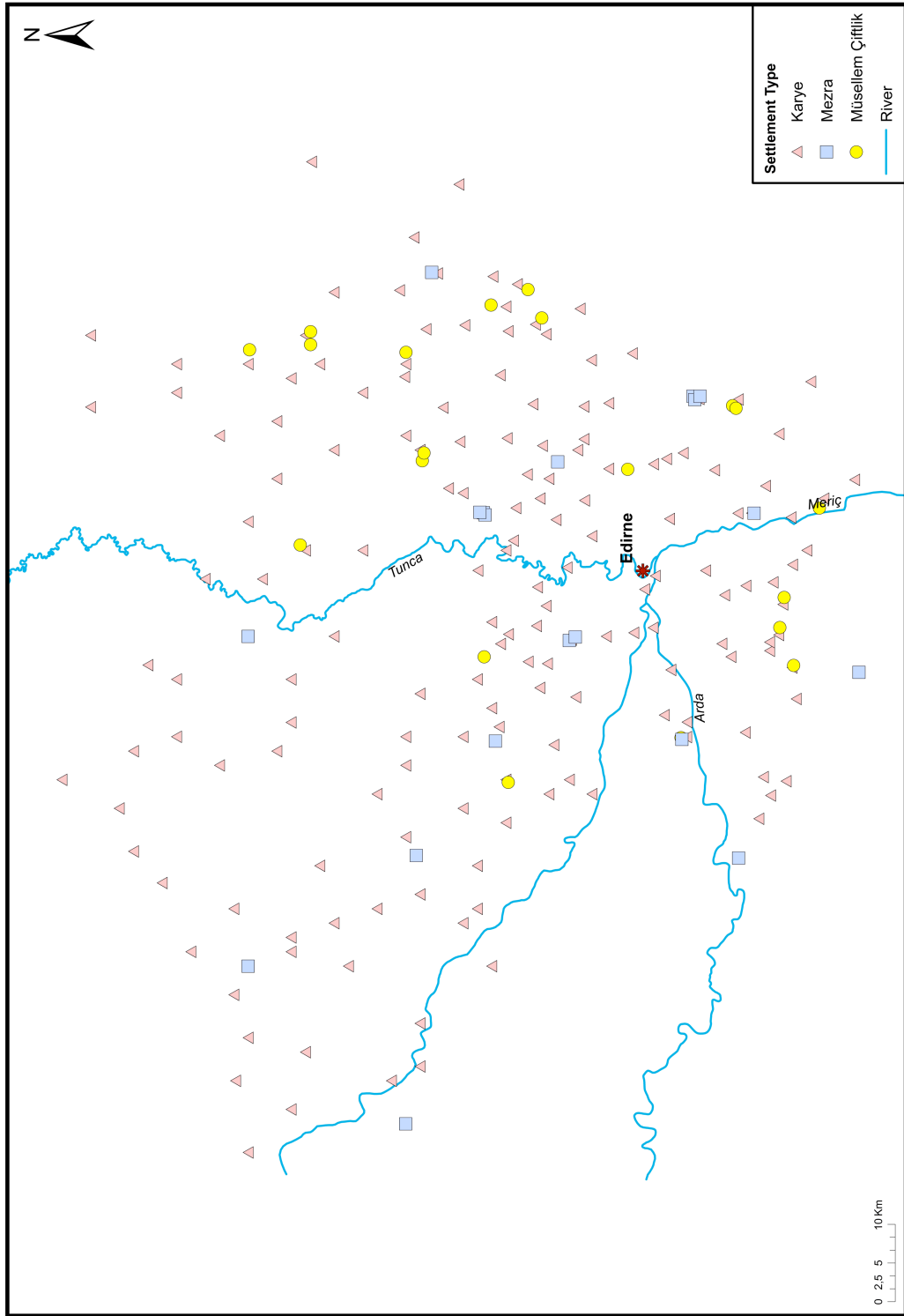


Figure 11. Settlement types in the District of Edirne

In survey registers, most of the time, villages were recorded separately. Yet, in some cases we see two villages or one village and a hamlet were recorded as one unit. These villages were highly likely very close to each other whose arable lands were overlapped or considered as one single revenue unit (*mukataa*).<sup>300</sup> Furthermore, in some cases, we see villages being registered with the adjacent hamlets or *müsellems*.<sup>301</sup>

As can be seen from Table 18, based on the data extracted from the Edirne survey of 1670, the nahiye of Çöke comprised the highest number of villages in the district of Edirne in the seventeenth century. The number of villages was 80 in this sub-district. This was followed by the nahiye of Üsküdar that had 73 villages. The nahiyes of Ada and Manastır had relatively smaller numbers of villages being 48 and 40 respectively. Finally, the nahiye of Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa was the smallest sub-district of the Edirne kaza in the seventeenth century consisting only of 15 villages. This matches the density of villages shown in Figure 11.

The territorial spread of the district of Edirne was no doubt a reason in the increase of villages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, there were other reasons behind this such as division of rural settlements giving way to the emergence of new villages. Thus, the story of a village is of importance here to understand the increase and/or decrease in their numbers in a given sub-district. It is understandable from tax surveys and other contemporary narrative sources that villages appeared, disappeared, separated, divided, and united throughout a long time span. One case here is explanatory: The story of the village of Sabuncu (or *Timurhan çiftliği* as its another known name) in the Çöke sub-district. Obviously, there is no information of this village we get from the pre-Ottoman times. The first information about the village of Sabuncu comes from the fifteenth century in relation with Davud Paşa, the Governor of Rumeli during the reign of Mehmed II (the

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<sup>300</sup> For example, “*Karye-i Yundbergos ma’a Tatarlı*”, “*Karye-i Kulaklı ma’a karye-i Topal*”, “*Karye-i Küramidli ma’a Sekbanlı*” in the Ada nahiye; “*Karye-i Vakıf Derbend ma’a karye-i Yeni*”, “*Karye-i Kozluca ma’a karye-i Çukur*”, “*Karye-i Dođanođlu ma’a Karye-i Sirem*” in the Manastır nahiye; “*Karye-i Hacı Danişmend ma’a karye-i Yunak*” in the Çöke nahiye.

<sup>301</sup> Some examples are “*Karye-i İlçili ma’a mezra’a-i Topalak*” in the Ada nahiye; “*Karye-i Sökün ma’a mezra’a-i Karaca Süleymanlı*” in the Üsküdar nahiye.

Conqueror).<sup>302</sup> Known as Koca Davud Paşa also, Davud Paşa bought this village from Yusuf Çelebi son of İsa Çelebi son of Doğan Bey.

The sixteenth century tax surveys reads:

vakf-ı Davud Paşa defter-i atıkde Yusuf Çelebi bin İsa Fakîh bin Doğan Bey deyü kayd olunub mezbûr Davud Paşa Doğan Beyün veresesinden satun alub İstanbul'da olan câmi'ine ve medresesine vakf itdi. Karye-yi Sabuncu nâm-ı diğêr Timurhân çiftlik tâbi'-i Edirne.<sup>303</sup>

The story of the village of Sabuncu did not end at this point. When Davud Paşa died, his son Mehmed Bey inherited the village from his father's estates. When Mehmed Bey died, probably with no heir, the village – with his other properties – was transferred to the state treasury. In 1519, Dukakin-zade Ahmed Paşa bought it from the treasury and became his property. Within one decade, however, the village would be accepted as belonging to its initial owner's endowment. As Tayyip Gökbilgin informs, a tax survey from around the last quarter of the sixteenth century provides a more detailed explanation.

The text reads:

zıkr olan karye Davud Paşa'nın mülkü olub mezkûr oğlu Mehmed Bey'den [ölünce] beyliğe dikmiş imiş. Ahmed Paşa Dukakin Beylerbeylikden satun almış imiş. Asıldan Çoban Viran nâm karyeden ayrılıb müstakil köy olmuş deyü defter-i atıkde mukayyed bulundu. Hâliyâ Pâdişâh-ı âlem-penâh hazretlerinin huzûr-ı pâye-serîrlerine arzolundu ki mezbûr Hasan Fakih çiftliği dimekle ma'rûf karye[yi] mukaddema merhûm Sultân Bayezîd Hân Davud Paşa'ya temlik idüb mülk-nâme-yi şerîf-erzânî kılub ol dahî vakf itmiş imiş. Vakfiyyet üzere tasarruf olunurken mezbûr Davud Paşa'nın oğlu vefât idüb metrukâtı zabt olundukda ol çiftlik dahî mülkümdür deyüble zabt olunub sonra *timara* virilmiş vakfa inâyet iderler 'arz olunduğu sebebden fî 10 Şa'bân 935 târihinde karye-yi mezbûre vakfa [tâbi'] olundu [ve] vakfiyyet üzere mukarrer kılınub emr-i şerîf mûcebince tımârdan ref' olundu deyü defter-i atıkde mukayyed bulunmağın vech-i meşrûh üzere defter-i cedîde kayd olundu.<sup>304</sup>

<sup>302</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 405.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid., 406.

<sup>304</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 406-407.

The village was recorded in the Edirne survey of 1671 as a *vakıf* village endowed to the religious foundation of Davud Paşa in Istanbul (*vakf-ı Davud Paşa der Asitane*).<sup>305</sup> In a detailed household register (*mufassal defter-i avârız*) documented around the same period, without mentioning the name of the endowment that it belonged to, the village of Sabuncu would be recorded as an inhabited village within the borders of the sub-district of Çöke.<sup>306</sup>

#### 4.2.2. The *mezra'a*

As for the hamlet (*mezra'a*),<sup>307</sup> in the Edirne survey of 1670, we observe 54 of them recorded in the district of Edirne, whose number was around 14 a century earlier. What was the reason behind this increase in the number of hamlets? Does it tell us a story about villages presumably abandoned due to political and economic scantiness of the seventeenth century? Does it resemble the narrative on the villages of Anatolia that was hit hard by the political, financial and climatic problems of the seventeenth century? How should we read the appearance of many hamlets in the period under consideration?

In the Ottoman terminology, though law books (*kânünnâmes*) state that a hamlet should have cemetery, water and an abandoned settlement, tax surveys (*tahrîr*) imply that a hamlet was most of the time an vacant village (*hâlî*) with an arable land surrounding it. However, some hamlets had some people residing in it. It is known that the sixteenth century Ottoman Empire witnessed a considerable population rise that brought about the establishment of villages with new fields opened to cultivation.

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<sup>305</sup> BOA MAD 556 (1081/1670), p. 6.

<sup>306</sup> BOA TT 817 (1097/1686), p. 18.

<sup>307</sup> For the term *mezraa* see Halil İnalçık, "Mazra'a," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* VI, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 959-961 and İlhan Şahin, "Mezra'a," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 29 (İstanbul: Türk Diyanet Vakfı, 2004), 546-548.

There is a continuing debate on the term *mezraa*. Halil Inalcık, for instance, proposed that the *mezraa* composed of “abandoned arable lands of miri status.”<sup>308</sup> Şahin argues that the existence of hamlets made possible the emergence of villages as new settlements.<sup>309</sup> The process of a village becoming vacant (*mezra’a*) and turning again into a settled village (*karye*) was prevalent in the Ottoman lands. It is impossible to identify all the settlements of this sort due to some problems such as changing of names, transferring of location and so on.<sup>310</sup> Nevertheless, it is still feasible to detect some settlements going from one to another. For sixteenth century Syria, Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth claims that *mezraas* were consisted of tiny arable areas within the village territory scattered in hilly parts. The fields were in the possession of the village.<sup>311</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi says that *mezraas* were impermanent fields that “certain families ... cultivat[ed] the surrounding fields and pasture[d] their flocks”.<sup>312</sup> She further claims for Anatolia and the Balkans that in places where sedentary villages made the majority, villages had one or more *mezraas* under their use.<sup>313</sup> Similar to Faroqhi, Fikret Adanır analyzed the settlement type of *mezraa* and rejected the

argument that a *mezraa* was a deserted village. He supports the explanation of some scholars based on the relation “between the *mezraa* and transhumance or the nomadic way of life ... [that] the emergence of new villages and the extension of the arable land were indicators of sedentation of pastoral groups.”<sup>314</sup> He further claims that *mezraas* played an important role in relation with restoration of wasteland.<sup>315</sup>

Having taken into account of the ongoing debate on the *mezraa*, it is safe to say that there is no one single definition for the *mezraa*. Whether it was an abandoned village,

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<sup>308</sup> Inalcık, “The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftlik.”

<sup>309</sup> Şahin, “Mezra’a,” 547.

<sup>310</sup> Kotzageorgis, “Haric ez defter and hali ane’l reaya Villages,” 238.

<sup>311</sup> Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late Sixteenth Century* (Erlangen: Fränkische Geographische Ges., 1977).

<sup>312</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, “Rural Society in Anatolia and the Balkans During the Sixteenth Century I,” *Turcica* 9, no. 1 (1977): 161-195; Suraiya Faroqhi, “Rural Society in Anatolia and the Balkans During the Sixteenth Century II” *Turcica* 11, (1979): 103-153.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

<sup>314</sup> Fikret Adanır, *Balkans. History and Historiography* (İstanbul: Eren, 2014), 62-63.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid.

or it was a vacant land already in the possession of its neighboring village cultivated by its dwellers requires further empirical investigation. Considering that much information regarding the mezraa comes from the sixteenth century based on the classical tax surveys (*tahrir defterleri*), how it evolved throughout the following periods requires one to take into account other types of sources.

The Edirne survey of 1670, in this respect, offers an abundant mine of information. The survey under consideration treated hamlets (see Figure 11) as emptied villages that were recorded in the tax surveys as villages with arable fields. The cultivators were the villagers who were residing in the neighboring villages. In order to understand this, the current and previous status of villages ought to be treated together. In the 1670 Edirne survey, we see 54 hamlets that were only 14 a century earlier, something that is in line with the conclusion provided by earlier tahrir studies.<sup>316</sup> Some of these villages probably became vacant when their residents somehow abandoned the settlement due to war, epidemic and/or disputes over taxation with the agents of the central state.

As can be seen from Table 18, the nahiye of Üsküdar had the biggest number of hamlets in the late seventeenth century having 23 mezraas recorded under it. Other than this, the other sub-districts had almost the same number of hamlets varying between 8 and 12. Considering the number of villages in the five nahiyes, though, the highest density of hamlets was in the sub-district of Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa being 53 per cent. Keeping in mind that the number of villages was 15, this rate should not deceive the historian. This rate was respectively 30 and 31 per cent in the nahiyes of Manastır and Üsküdar. The lowest numbers of hamlets were in the Çöke and Ada nahiyes with 11 and 20 per cent respectively.

Though an increase in the number of hamlets of the region in the period under scrutiny is evident, their number was significantly lower than that of villages. Furthermore, other than the Manastır nahiye, it ought to be stated that their distribution among the 5 sub-districts was almost even. The sub-district of Manastır located in the most mountainous part towards the northwest of the Edirne district had

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<sup>316</sup> Şahin, "Mezra'a," 547.

the utmost number of hamlets. This was similar to the region of Safed where the number of hamlets seems to have increased in its mountainous parts.<sup>317</sup>

Furthermore, some villages became vacant in time and were reduced to the status of mazraa. Some of the villages that we see in the tahrir registers of the sixteenth century do not exist in the 1670 Edirne survey register. For instance, though they were registered as “karye” in the sixteenth century, some villages must have been vacated by the last quarter of the seventeenth century as they were recorded as mezra’a.<sup>318</sup> The Saruhan and Mezid Bey villages in the Ada nahiye; the Yunus and Timurtaş villages in the Üsküdar nahiye; the Ortakçı, Timurçılı, Eyüçikli, Osman and Balabanlı villages in the Manastır nahiye; and the Karagüllü/Karagöllü, Döldöken, and İnbükü/Deliklü Kaya villages in the Çöke nahiye seem to have been abandoned by villagers, and their lands began to be cultivated by neighboring villages.

The story of the Karagüllü/Karagöllü hamlet may be an illuminating one in this regard. It had been recorded in the sixteenth century tax surveys as a village endowed to Bayezid II’s foundation in Edirne. At that time it was a village recorded within the nahiye of Pravadi that would be reorganized under the Çöke sub-district in the seventeenth. Its revenue seems to have increased throughout the sixteenth century.<sup>319</sup> However, the initial sign for the village’s decline was apparent when it was recorded in the tax survey of the early seventeenth century (during the time of Ahmed I).<sup>320</sup>

The text reads:

karye-i Karagüllü/Karagöllü tâbi‘-i kaza-yı Edirne. Karye-i mezbûre yolu Eflak ve Niğbolu ve Silistre yolları üzerinde vâki‘ olub Emazlı geçüdinde ve Taşdepe-yi kâfir ormanı dimekle ma‘rûf nâm derbend ziyâde muhak ve muhâtara yer olmağın avende ve revende mürûr ve ubûrunda küllî ıztırâb çeküb dâ‘ima yollarına haramzâde inüb telef-i nefis itmeden hâlî olmayub karye-i mezbûre derbendci olmak için adâletlü Pâdişâhımız Sultan Ahmed

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<sup>317</sup> Hitteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late Sixteenth Century*.

<sup>318</sup> İnalçık, “Mazra’a.”

<sup>319</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 363.

<sup>320</sup> There are three different tax surveys from the period of Ahmed I. These are BOA TT 648, TT 729, and TT 1001.



Hân ... Hazretlerinden ahkâm-ı şerîfeleri olmağın hân-i tahrîrde üzerlerine âdemler gönderilüb fî'l-vâkı' karye-i mezbûre yolları derbend olmalarına ziyâde mühim olub derbendci ta'yîn idüb mevâcib-i 'örfiyye [ve] 'aşâr-ı şer'iiyelerin ve sâ'ir rüsûmatların tamam virüb ancak 'avâriz-ı dîvâniyyeden ve tekâlif-i 'örfiyyeden ve sürsat ve arpa ve saman ve değirmen ve otlak arabası ve cümle tekâlif-i şakkadan mu'âf ve müsellemler olmalarıçün defter-i cedîde kayd olundu<sup>321</sup>

Tayyib Gökbilgin's calculations through the tax surveys of the sixteenth century show that the number of dwellers in the village of Karagüllü was 22 hâne in the late fifteenth century and this dropped to 12 hâne in the 1520s.<sup>322</sup> The entry above shows the steady decline of the village that would eventually be abandoned by its inhabitants who most probably began living in a neighboring village. The Edirne survey of 1670 would record it as a hamlet (*mezra'a*) now belonging (*tâbi'*) to the village of Taşlık Müsellemi. The hamlet of Karagüllü was recorded in this register with a tiny portion of arable land (only 206 *cerîb*) and 23 *cerîb* of vineyard in good condition (*ma'mûr*).<sup>323</sup>

Other examples in the Edirne survey of 1670 also support the definition of Halil İnalçık that the hamlet was originally an inhabited village then became abandoned, as is evident through the information provided by old registers. The Edirne survey of 1670 provides both the old and new statuses of the settlements in the Edirne region in a way whether it was originally a village or not. It is overtly stated that the hamlet of Kara Budak, for instance, that it had been recorded as a village named Sekban in the previous register (*defter-i atîk*).<sup>324</sup>

Sometimes these abandoned villages, which were emptied at certain times and hence were recorded as hamlet, were re-inhabited later on therefore the following survey recorded them as such. The village of Kum is a good example in this regard. When the Edirne survey of 1670 was being prepared, the registrar recorded no residents in this village. The actual situation of peasants was that they at that time were residing

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<sup>321</sup> BOA TT 729, p. 111.

<sup>322</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 363.

<sup>323</sup> “*mezra'a-yi Karagüllü/Karagöllü tâbi'-i karye-i Taşlık Müsellemi tâbi'-i Çöke*”. MAD 556, p. 59.

<sup>324</sup> The text reads: “*ber müceb-i defter-i atîk karye-i Sekbân nâm-ı diğêr Kara Budaklı*.” MAD 133, p. 81. For more cases see MAD 133, pp. 88 and 116.

in the fields of a *müsellem çiftlik*.<sup>325</sup> In the *avarız* survey prepared almost two decades later, the surveyor would record the village inhabited by 15 Muslim villagers.<sup>326</sup> What we can discern from all these is that villages could be vacated by various reasons; could be used by neighboring villages; and be re-occupied by their original residents or by others. Alternatively, they could remain as hamlets following their abandonment until no body used their fields at all.

#### 4.2.3. The *müsellem çiftlik*

Other than the villages and hamlets in the Edirne region, the Edirne survey of 1670 recorded the “exempted farms” or *müsellem çiftlik*s as yet another separate unit of revenue. In the last *tahrirs* of the sixteenth century, unlike the hamlets and villages, we do not see these fields granted to soldiers in lieu of their tax obligations. This was because they were being registered in separate surveys.<sup>327</sup> These *çiftlik*s (see Figure 11) were the arable lands granted during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to ordinary rural settlers who were exempted from extraordinary taxes instead of realizing these obligations. It is stated that this group of soldiers who were active in military campaigns in the fourteenth century lost their military means by the late fifteenth century. Their revenue comprised some produce they ripped from land and some minor taxes obtained.<sup>328</sup> What we can infer about the arable lands of *müsellem çiftlik*s is that they were highly likely the *çiftlik*s granted to the military units of “*yaya* and *müsellem*” in lieu of military participation in war times, yet, as the war capacity of these military units deteriorated, these lands were later registered as part

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<sup>325</sup> See MAD 133, p. 76.

<sup>326</sup> 15 men were registered as liable to have two *avarız hane* even though the register penned only one and a half (“*karye-i mezburun iki hâneye tahammülleri vardır fermân Sultânımındır*”). See TT 817, p. 33.

<sup>327</sup> Emine Dingeç, “Osmanlı Ordusunda Geri Hizmet Kurumu Olarak Vize Müsellemleri,” *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 17, (2015).

<sup>328</sup> Feridun Emecen, “Yaya ve Müsellem,” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 43 (İstanbul: Türk Diyanet Vakfı, 2013), 355. Also see Muzaffer Arıkan, *XV. Asırda Yaya ve Müsellem Ocakları* (Ankara: AÜ DTCF, 1966).

of their neighboring villages. The lands on these settlements were recorded as arable lands in metric measurement in *cerib*.<sup>329</sup>

Geographically speaking, this group of units that backed up the army was organized in Western Anatolia and Rumelia. These units were solid around the Meriç valley in the latter.<sup>330</sup> Having taken into consideration the diminishing involvement of these military units in war times, it will not be wrong to assume that the fields, which had previously been granted to them as their *çiftlik*s, were converted to the status of peasant farms (*re'âyâ çiftlik*s) by the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>331</sup> Despite the fact that the *müsellem*s had lost their military involvement in war times in the sixteenth century, by the late seventeenth century, we see these “farms” overtly stated as *müsellem çiftlik*. The latter was under the use of a neighboring village by highly likely paying for its use-right. The latter assumption is supported by the note attached to fields of the *müsellem çiftlik* of Kara Yakub (also known as Kilisalu) now possessed by neighboring villagers. Its total field was 2025 *cerib* jointly worked on by the residents of two neighboring villages, which were the vilages of Ece Sultan and Yund Bergos. The amount recorded for this entry was 950 *akçe*, most probably paid by the people living in these two villages.<sup>332</sup>

As for the *müsellem çiftlik*s in the Edirne region, we see 35 of them around the Meriç valley. Putting aside the *nahiye* of Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa that seems to have had only 2 *müsellem çiftlik*s in its territory in the late seventeenth century, the number of these farms in the *nahiye*s of Ada, Çöke and Üsküdar varied between 7 and 13. The majority of the areas in the latter three sub-districts were around the Meriç valley, supporting the earlier observations made by the scholars.<sup>333</sup> The only striking exemption among the sub-districts was the Manastır *nahiye* that had none of these within its territory in the late seventeenth century. The possible explanation for this is that this *nahiye* was in the most mountainous part of the Edirne district close to the

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<sup>329</sup> For instance “*tarla ber müceb-i mesâha 4500 cerib*” MAD 133, p. 115.

<sup>330</sup> Arıkan, *XV. Asırda Yaya ve Müsellem Ocakları*. Also see Emecen, “Yaya ve Müsellem,” 354.

<sup>331</sup> Arıkan, *XV. Asırda Yaya ve Müsellem Ocakları*.

<sup>332</sup> “*çiftlik-i Kara Yakub nâm-ı diğer Kilisalu der kurb-ı karye-i Ece Sultan der tasarruf-ı ahâli-yi karye-i Ece Sultan ve ahâli-yi karye-i Yund Bergos müsellem tarla 2025 cerib*” MAD 133, p. 14a.

<sup>333</sup> Arıkan, *XV. Asırda Yaya ve Müsellem Ocakları*. Also see Emecen, “Yaya ve Müsellem,” 354.

Rhodope Mountains where lands could not be granted as farms to *müsellem* units in the earlier centuries.

What was their status before and at the time of the survey? The Edirne survey of 1670 clarifies the old and current statuses of these *müsellem çiftlik*s. For instance, one particular *müsellem çiftlik* registered as the Yahşi Fakih çiftlik in the 1670 survey (*çiftlik-i Yahşî Fakîh*) had been one certain *müsellem çiftlik* known as Kara Ishak in the earlier survey (*ber müceb-i defter-i atîk çiftlik-i müsellem eş-şehîr bi-Kara Ishak*) highly likely because it was close to the village of Kara Ishak (*der nezd-i karye-i Kara Ishak*). In 1670, it was under the possession of the villages of Kara Ishaklı and Eymirli.<sup>334</sup> The majority of these units were registered as *müsellem çiftlik*, though sometimes their statuses of the earlier centuries were referred to, also. For instance, few of them were recorded as *Çingâne müsellem* or *Kızılca müsellem*.<sup>335</sup>

It seems that the neighboring villages used all these *müsellem çiftlik*s as a whole. In the sub-district of Ada, there were seven of these sorts of allocations that were under the use of the villages around them. The *çiftlik* recorded in the Edirne survey of 1670 under the name of Kara Yakub had been penned down as a *müsellem çiftlik* in the old register. The arable land belonging to this çiftlik was in the vicinity of the Ece Sultan village and was measured 2025 *cerîb* that was under the possession of the two neighboring villages.<sup>336</sup>

While some *müsellem çiftlik*s were in the proximity to villages, some of them were within the boundary of neighboring villages. For instance, when the registrar recorded the village of Abalı along with its territory, two *müsellem çiftlik*s (Bulgurca and Selahık) were recorded within its borders. The latter two were in the physical territory of the village of Abalı (*çiftlik-i mezbûr Abalı karyesi hudûdu içindedir*).

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<sup>334</sup> “*der tasarruf-ı ahali-yi karye-i Kara Ishaklı ve karye-i Eymirli*”. MAD 133, p. 113.

<sup>335</sup> MAD 133, pages 98, 113, and passim. On this term see Dengeç, “Osmanlı Ordusunda Geri Hizmet Kurumu Olarak Vize Müsellemleri.”

<sup>336</sup> “*çiftlik-i Kara Yakub nâm-ı diğer Kiliseli der kurb-i karye-i Ece Sultan der tasarruf-ı ahâli-yi karye-yi Ece Sultan ve karye-yi ahâli-yi Yund Bergos*.” In the same entry we see “*ber müceb-i defter-i atîk çiftlik-i müsellem*” MAD 133, p. 14.

Also, the village cultivated their lands collectively.<sup>337</sup> However, unlike villages and hamlets, the vast majority of arable lands of these *müsellem çiftlik*s seem to have been cultivated by the neighboring villages as a whole.<sup>338</sup> There are certainly exemptions, yet these are very few and the land that individuals cultivated is very small. For an example see one of the *müsellem çiftlik*s in the sub-district of Üsküdar. This was one that did not exist in the “concise” register given (*hâric ez defter*) to the registrars in the field. In fact, the total area of this particular *müsellem çiftlik* was significantly small; hence the land sown by the rural dwellers from the neighboring villages was also low (only 28 *cerib*).<sup>339</sup>

The Edirne survey of 1670 provides a very explanatory example in this regard. When the registrar recorded the village of Kum in the sub-district of Üsküdar in the close vicinity of a *müsellem* land (*karye-i Kum tâbi ‘-i nâhiye-i Üsküdâr der nezd-i zemîn-i müsellem*), no dwellers were recorded in the village. However, under this entry, the registrar recorded the said *müsellem* land called Azizlü, its location, and who possessed it (*müsellem çiftlik-i Azizlü der kurb-i mezra ‘a-yi Ada Doğancı der tasarruf-ı ahali-yi karye-yi mezbûr*). The *müsellem* land of Azizlü had a total area of 5776 *cerib* including the arable land and the pasture (*tarla ve mer ‘â-yi mevâşi bermûceb-i mesâha 5776 cerib*). Finally, it recorded the reason behind why the people of the village of Kum were dwelling in the territory of this *müsellem* land.

The text reads:

*karye-yi mezbûr [Kum] ahâlisi müsellem toprağında [müsellem çiftlik-i Azizlü] sâkin olmağla davarlarına kifâyet mikdârı mer ‘aları olmayub kurbünde Elhâc İbrâhim Obası cemâ ‘ati Ada Doğancı nâm mezra ‘ada sâkin olub mezra ‘a-yi mezbûrun mer ‘ası ziyâde olmağın kendü davarlarına kifâyet eylediğünden mâ ‘ada ziyâde mer ‘alarında İkiz Öyük ‘de Azüz eğrekine andan Kaba Öyüğe andan dikili taş a andan Kuyuca karyesi deresiyle İkiz Öyük ‘e varınca Kum karyesi ahâlisinin davarları bâlâda mastûr olan hudûd mer ‘asında gezmek üzere Ada Doğancı mezra ‘asında sâkin olan Elhâc*

<sup>337</sup> MAD 133, p. 115.

<sup>338</sup> The total areas of these *müsellem çiftlik*s varied between 80 and 25000 *cerib*.

<sup>339</sup> “*çiftlik-i müsellem der tasarruf-ı karye-i Yahşi Beğlü*.” The lands cultivated by individuals are as follows: “*zemîn der yed-i Mehmed Bey mezru ‘ tarla 10 cerib; zemîn der yed-i Kalem? mezru ‘ tarla 3 cerib; zemîn der yed-i Ali bağıcı mezru ‘ tarla 15 cerib*.” MAD 133, p. 65.

*İbrâhim Obası cemâ'atinin ... rızâlarıyla ta'yîn olunub bu mahalle şerh virildi fi 5 C[emaziyü'l-evvel]sene 1081<sup>340</sup>*

Though showing the existence of cultivators with nomadic origin keeping the said hamlet in their use (in this case the *Elhac İbrahim Obası cemaati*), this short entry in the Edirne survey of 1670 supports the arguments of Halil İnalçık's argument that a hamlet was an "abandoned land of miri status". While this entry states that a certain nomadic group was residing in the hamlet, another entry in the survey underlining the permanent settlement of the same nomadic group as the village of Elhac İbrahim Obası makes us believe that this particular group of nomadic people had already completed the process of sedentation.<sup>341</sup> Hence, as far as this particular case is concerned, it would not be meaningful to state that the hamlet was under the cultivation of a nomadic group *per se*.

#### 4.3. Settlements as Revenue Units (*dirliks*)

The Edirne Survey of 1670 not only listed the villages in accordance with their current situation (i.e., village, hamlet or müselleme; inhabited or uninhabited) but also recorded them according to their statuses understood by the Ottoman state's administrative jargon (i.e., *dirlik – timar, ze'âmet* or *hâss – or vakıf* villages). This survey, similar to the earlier tahrirs, recorded most of the settlements according to the categorical divisions such as the sultan's domain (*havâss-ı hümayûn*), revenues of royal family members or high-ranking state officials (*hâss*), as well as other "prebendal" allocations (*ze'âmet* or *timar*). However, unlike the classical tahrirs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries not recording religious endowments that were excluded from the "state property (*mîrî*) and often comprised entire villages"<sup>342</sup>,

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<sup>340</sup> MAD 133, p. 76.

<sup>341</sup> The entry reads: "*karye-yi Elhac İbrahim Obası ma'a mezra'a-yi Ada Doğancı tabi'-i nahiye-i Üsküdar.*" The entry also states that this village was not existent in the "concise register" given by the Finance department (*defterhânededen virilen icmâlde çıkmamışdır*)" MAD 133, p. 75.

<sup>342</sup> Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca.1681)*, 12.

villages that were endowed as revenue units for religious foundations were also recorded in the Edirne survey of 1670.

Based on the Ottoman registration practices, some lands were distributed to state officials in lieu of their salaries. Defined as *dirlik* lands in the Ottoman jargon, these grants were classified in accordance with their revenues. In the classical period, the settlements – with peasants cultivating its lands – that provided its *dirlik*-holder an annual income between 1000-19.999 akçe was called as *timar*; the ones providing revenue between 20.000-99.999 akçe as *zeamet*; and finally those providing an income above 100.000 akçe was called as *hâss*.<sup>343</sup>

While the *hâss* was given to the sultan, the royal family members as well as the state's officials with highest ranks, *zeamet* was granted to the state personnel with second degree of importance.<sup>344</sup> Though Tayyip Gökbilgin claims that it was an old tradition to grant large state revenues to the royal family members, as the Ottoman Empire's administrative structure matured, this practice became more noticeable by the sixteenth century onward. Edirne, being one of the three seats of the Ottoman Empire with Bursa and İstanbul (*tahtgâh-ı selâse*), had a significant number of revenue units (*mukataa*) granted to the Sultans and other royal family members. By the end of the sixteenth century, in parallel to the administrative enlargement of the district of Edirne, there were 25 *hâss* villages. Most of these villages were located in the sub-district of Ada where 15 villages of this sort located (also known as the *Ada hasları*).<sup>345</sup> This number was to increase to 34 by the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

Interestingly, the Edirne district did not have many *zeamets* granted. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the *kaza* had only two *zeamets* that was to rise to seven in the last quarter of the following century.<sup>346</sup> Some of these *zeamets* were

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<sup>343</sup> Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri* vol. 9 (İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1996), 43-44.

<sup>344</sup> İnalçık, *Classical Age*.

<sup>345</sup> Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 198. Also see Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Zirai Ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları*, 107-109.

<sup>346</sup> Only one *zeamet*-holder's name was specified in the tahrir registers of the period. Yahya Kethüda, the *zeamet* holder of the village of Çağırğan and Şah Melek. Ahmet Yiğit thinks that these two

recorded with the names of the men holding them in parallel with the registration practices of tax surveys of the sixteenth century.

The empire wide surveys were of great significance for the State for pursuing the *timar* regime. One of the advantages of these tahrirs kept regularly until the late sixteenth century, after which date regular empire wide surveys were not to be undertaken by the central State, was that they registered the names and the statuses of those people who were presented as *timar* holders.<sup>347</sup> These were mostly the sipahis who were responsible for looking after the village and its peasants as well as for collecting taxes in lieu of their salary.

Furthermore, the sipahis were also expected to participate in military campaigns with a *cebelü* whose expenses they would cover. The names and the social statuses of those to whom various rural revenues were granted can also be seen in the Edirne tahrirs. Ahmet Yiğit's calculations based tax survey registers indicate that there were 29 *timar* villages in the Edirne district in the late sixteenth century. 24 of these were possessed by men of askeri origin, while only 4 of them by those of "civilian" origin.<sup>348</sup>

Currently, there is a common understanding that the *timar* regime began to disintegrate around the last decade of the sixteenth century.<sup>349</sup> As the *timar* system dwindled that went hand in hand with the diminishing importance of the sipahi, we

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zeamets were brought under a single revenue unit (*mukataa*). Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 199. Also see TT TD 494, p. 149.

<sup>347</sup> Though the central state regularly undertook different kinds of surveys, they were not the same kind at all. See the Sources part in Introduction.

<sup>348</sup> These *timar* villages were Yaycılı, Sungurculu, Doğancı Abad (Yunak), Hacı Danişmend, Eymir Hanlı (Emirhanlı), Mihal, Kemal, Ulu Şahi, Döğercelü, Büyük Ünlü, Yüklüce, Buğurcak Yahşi, Eşekçi, Yundlu, Seli Beğlü, Eflak Şahin, Sarı Temircülü, İldutan (Doğancu Umur), Kaykı Deresi (İbrahim) İshak, Yenice, İsmail (Tatarlı), Özbeklü, Süleyman Fakih and Karacalu, Küplüce, Köse Timur, İçiklü, Habiller, İmreler, Elçili, Vasil (Sofular), Mehter Ali, Mezraa-i Yörük Umur, Mezraa-i Karaca Öyük (Mal Depesi), Mezraa-i Yusuf Pınarı, Mezraa-i Döldöken, Mezraa-i Söğütçük, Mezraa-i Işıklar Yurdu, Mezraa-i İncügüz, Yeni Köy, Danişmendlü, Karaca Resul, Mezraa-i Peşrevli, Çolaklu, Korucu-i Küçük, Doğancı Umur (Kayalı Dere) and Topal Ömer. Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 200-202.

<sup>349</sup> İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformations in the Ottoman Empire."



do not see the names of *timar*-holders recorded in the seventeenth century registers.<sup>350</sup> This was also the case in the Edirne district in the seventeenth century.

To sum up, throughout the sixteenth century that was a period of organization giving way to various regulations in terms of the boundaries of administrative units, the Edirne district witnessed a territorial expansion thanks to Edirne's socio-political and regional importance. In other words, the district's rural hinterland continuously enlarged taking more and more rural settlements under its control. By the end of the sixteenth century, Edirne's countryside almost reached its natural limits becoming neighbor to district centers such as Yanbolu (today Yambol in Bulgaria) in the north, Kırkkilise in the east, Dimetoka in the south, and Harmanlı in the west. This territorial expansion of the Edirne district allowed it to amass more than 250 villages under its jurisdiction. In the following century, during which the city retained further importance due to long sojourns of the Ottoman Sultan and his entourage, the number of settlements that came to under its jurisdiction proliferated significantly. In the late seventeenth century registers undertaken for tax purposes, it seems as though the number of villages recorded under the district of Edirne did not diminish; on the contrary, the number of settlement points along with the *mezraas* increased to almost 320. This situation will be further analyzed in the next part.

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<sup>350</sup> İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation." We see the names of *timar* holders in some other sources like *der-derst* registers. See Erhan Afyoncu, "XVII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Bürokrasisinde İki Yeni Defter: Cebe ve Derdest Defterleri," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 15, no. 1 (2015): 221-230.

Table 19. Revenue units in the Edirne district in 1670

Name of sub-district	<i>Vakıf</i>	<i>Timar</i>	<i>Ze'âmet</i>	<i>Hâss</i>	Unidentified
Ada	31	4	1	12	17
Üsküdar	60	30	0	0	15
Manastır	28	9	1	8	1
Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	3	16	1	1	3
Çöke	32	29	4	11	16
TOTAL	144	85	7	34	52

As explained above, in the first part of the register, initially the village name (sometimes its other known-as name as well) and then its administrative status (as *hâss*, *zeamet*, *timar* or *vakıf* village) was recorded. On top of this, it also clarified that the situation was like in the old survey (*ber müceb-i defter-i atik*) registering it as a landed unit producing certain amount of revenue (*hâsul*). Though the Edirne district had 29 *timar* villages recorded in the last quarter of the sixteenth century tahrirs,<sup>351</sup> their number was to increase to more than 85 in the late seventeenth century. Yet, as can be seen from Table 19, the number of *timar* villages was lower compared to those *vakıf* villages. In other words, it will not be an exaggeration to state that the rural hinterland of Edirne was indeed controlled by Sultanial allocations (*hâsses*) and various *vakıfs*.

<sup>351</sup> Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 200-202.

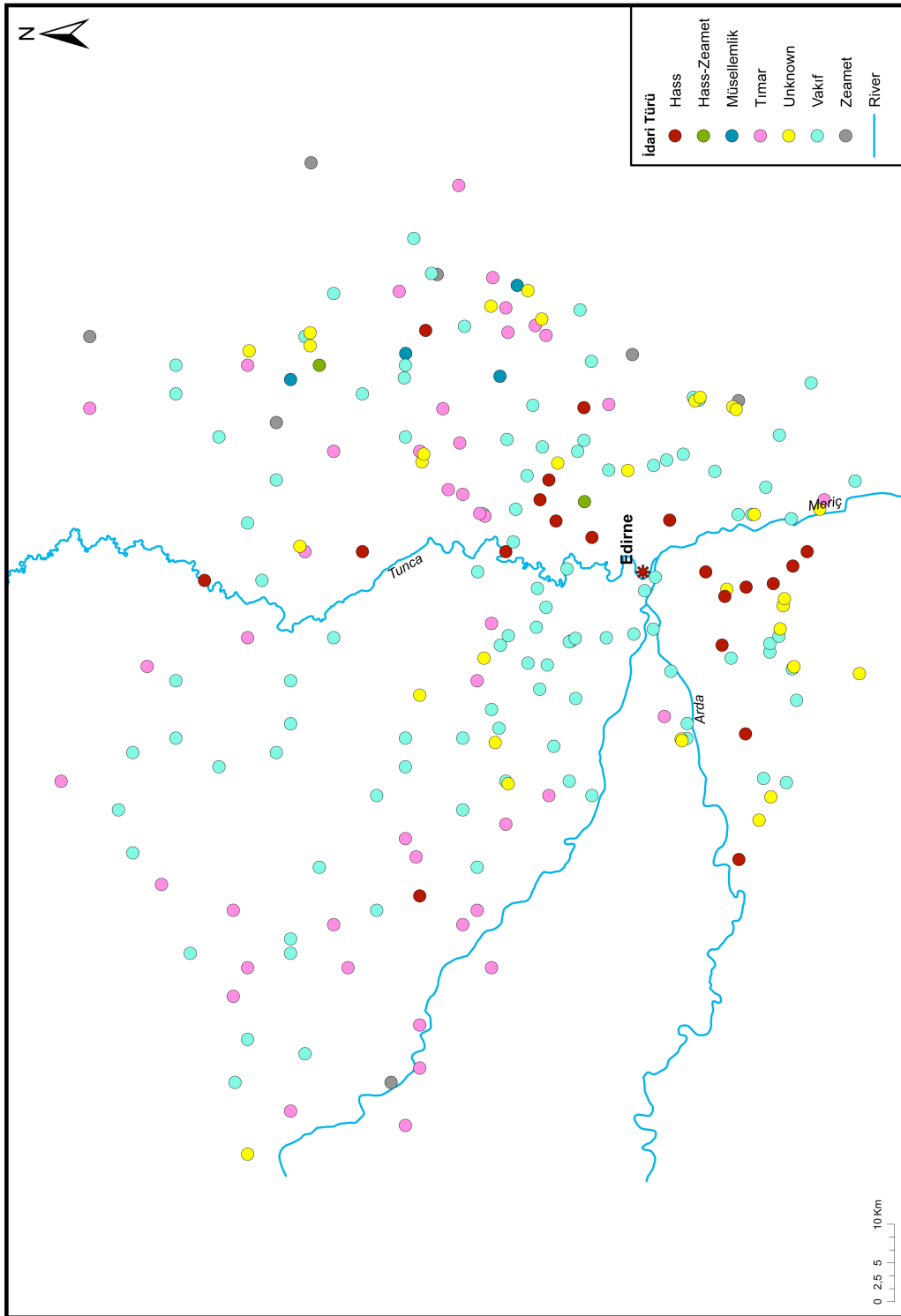


Figure 12. Settlements as Revenue units

#### 4.3.1. The *hâss* allocations

The Edirne survey of 1670 classify these units as the ones allocated to the sultan, to the royal family members, to the high-ranking state officials, as well as those granted to the Crimean Khans. In the late seventeenth century, 20 villages and mezraas were allocated to the Sultans as *Hâss-ı Hümâyûn*. Furthermore, 2 villages in the sub-district of Çöke were distributed as *hâss* domains to the then Crimean Khans.<sup>352</sup> The latter two villages most likely allocated to the Crimean Khans in the late seventeenth century were among the sultanic domains in the sixteenth century.<sup>353</sup> The Crimean khans had large allocations in the European lands of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>354</sup>

As can be seen from Table 20 there were 12 *hâss* villages in the sub-district of Ada, while this number was 9 in the Manastır and 11 in the Çöke nahiyesi. In the Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye only one village (*karye-i Hacı Obası*) was allocated as *hâss* to the sub-governor of the Çirmen sub-province. Finally, there was no revenue allocated as *hâss* in the Üsküdar sub-district. All these villages were considered altogether, as seen in other sources prepared in the same period.<sup>355</sup> The sultan's domains were of importance that will be later analyzed in detail. The reason for this is that there are abundant documents concerning these villages as they were among the revenues of the Sultan. Furthermore, they were in the proximity of the city of Edirne. One of them even had a palace for the sultan. Throughout the reign of Mehmed IV, the sultan often visited this village during his hunting expeditions in second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>356</sup>

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<sup>352</sup> “*karye-i Saruhanlı-yı sagır tâbi’-i Çöke Havâss-ı Tatarhân; karye-i Gerde-i küçük tâbi’-i Çöke Havâss-ı Tatarhân.*” MAD 556.

<sup>353</sup> Yiğit. “XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası,” 197-199. Also see TT 729, pp. 85-88.

<sup>354</sup> For the settlements of Crimean tartars see Hakan Kırımlı, *Türkiye’deki Kırım Tatar ve Nogay Köy Yerleşimleri* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2012).

<sup>355</sup> Along with MAD 133 and MAD 556, BOA TT 817, KK 2726, and DHSK 25631 were also benefitted from.

<sup>356</sup> This was the village of Çömlek in the sub-district of Çöke. See Derin, “Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi’-nâmesi,” 213, 431, 293, and passim. It has also been published in a book format. See Fahri Çetin Derin, “*Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi’-nâmesi: Osmanlı tarihi*” (1648-1682) (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2008). All the references in the present study are from the original thesis.

In terms of the geographical distribution of the sultan's domains, it seems evident that the majority of these allocations were in the sub-district of Ada. In fact, during the sixteenth century, these domains were recorded under the name of the "domains of Ada (*Ada hâsları*)".<sup>357</sup> The majority of the sultan's domains (*Havâss-ı Hümayûn*) were in the sub-district of Ada, where 8 *hâss* villages were located. These were the villages of Ahur with the land (*yurd*) of Hirvat, İneoğlu, Keniseli, Şahinci, Umur Bey (*nâm-ı diğەر Mezîd Beğ*), Sofular, Bosna and the hamlet of Saruhan.<sup>358</sup> The latter had been registered as a village in the tax surveys of the late sixteenth century.<sup>359</sup>

Furthermore, the last classical tax survey prepared for the Paşa sub-province in 1613 in the reign of Ahmed I, this settlement was still an inhabited village.<sup>360</sup> That would turn to a hamlet towards the end of the seventeenth century, which is marked as an uninhabited one (*hâlî ez ra'ıyyet*) in the Edirne survey of 1670.<sup>361</sup> Furthermore, in the same sub-district, the villages of Yundbergos, Tatarlı, and Bazarlı were the domains of the Haseki Sultan.<sup>362</sup>

In addition to the sultanic allocations in the Ada sub-district, the villages of Hatib, Karaca, Çömlek in the sub-district of Çöke were also recorded as the sultan's domains.<sup>363</sup> In the latter sub-district, 4 villages were also allocated to the three *sancakbeys* or *mir-livâs* in the Rumeli Province (namely those who governed the sub-provinces of Çirmen, Kırkkilise and Vize).<sup>364</sup> Interestingly, as Tayyib Gökbilgin

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<sup>357</sup> For more details on these units in the sixteenth century see Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 108; Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 69.

<sup>358</sup> TT 648 and TT 1001. For a comparison with the sixteenth century figures see Yiğit. "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası." Also Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*.

<sup>359</sup> Yiğit. "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası."

<sup>360</sup> In this survey, the sub-province (*livâ*) of Paşa was most probably mistakenly recorded as a province (*eyâlet*). On the first page of the register "*sûret-i defter-i mufasssaf-ı Edirne tâbi '-i eyâlet-i Paşa*." TT 648, p. 1. Also see Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 534.

<sup>361</sup> The survey reads: "*mezra 'a-i Saruhan tâbi '-i nâhiye-i Ada*." MAD 133, p. 3.

<sup>362</sup> "*karye-i Yundbergos ma'a Tatarlı 'an havass-ı Haseki Sultan; karye-i Bazarlı 'an Havass-ı Haseki Sultan*." MAD 133.

<sup>363</sup> In fact, the Sultan Mehmed IV had a palace in the village of Çömlek where he resided often during his hunting expeditions in the region. Derin, "Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi'-nâmesi," 219, 221, 222, 325 and passim.

<sup>364</sup> "*karye-i Hacı Obası 'an havas-ı Mirliva-i Çirmen; karye-i Hamzabeğli ve Rumbegli 'an havas-ı Mirliva-i Kırkkilise; karye-i Ummanlık 'an havas-ı Mirliva-i Vize*." MAD 133.

informs us, the villages of Rumbeyli and Hamzabeyli, which had been registered in the tax surveys of the sixteenth century as the *hâss* domains of Ali Paşa (Hadım) when he was the governor of the Rumeli Province, were recorded as domains of the governors of Kırkkilise.<sup>365</sup>

Two villages in the Edirne district seem to have been allocated to two eminent political figures of the seventeenth century (i.e., the *bostancıbaşı* of Edirne and the *Sertopî*).<sup>366</sup> Furthermore, the village of Akpınar seems to be allocated to a certain Hacızâde.<sup>367</sup> It seems that the sultan allocated in the seventeenth century some of his own domains to the khans of Crimea as well as to some of his close acquaintances.

The annual revenues of these domains were of other significant information recorded in the Edirne survey of 1670. The register took the yearly revenues of each domain recorded in the last classical survey (*defter-i atîk*)<sup>368</sup> of the Paşa sub-province (the 1613 register) as the base value. It then determined the new annual revenues (*hâsıl*), highly likely, in accordance with the new monetary and fiscal realities. All the annual revenues derived from the *defter-i atîk* refer to the tax survey of 1613.<sup>369</sup> As Tayyip Gökbilgin rightly recorded, the pages of this survey were not bound in the right way.<sup>370</sup>

Having carefully read all the pages of the survey, I was able to detect some of the entries that concern the revenues allocated as *timar*, *zeamet* or *hâss* in the Edirne district. Furthermore, we have another tax survey from the same period of Ahmed I that is TT 729 register.<sup>371</sup> However, despite the fact that the latter survey was

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<sup>365</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 396 footnote 625. For a comparison see TT 648.

<sup>366</sup> “*karye-i Hacı Danişmend hass-ı Sertopî [Topçubaşı]; karye-i Tavşankorusu hass-ı Ser-Bostânî [Bostancıbaşı]*” MAD 133.

<sup>367</sup> “*karye-i Akpınar tabi-i Çöke havâss-ı Hacızâde*” MAD 556. I was unable to figure out the person in question. However, the village was the sultan’s domain where he also had a palace. See Ziya Yılmaz, *İsâ-zâde Tarihi (Metin ve Tahlil)* (İstanbul, 1997), 117.

<sup>368</sup> The *defter-i atîk* attributes to the previous tax survey.

<sup>369</sup> TT 648.

<sup>370</sup> Gökbilgin says that this *defter* ought to be re-bound after a close and careful examination. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 535.

<sup>371</sup> BOA TT 729 (sometime between 1603 and 1618 during the reign of Ahmed I). When Tayyip Gökbilgin analyzed the TT 729 tax survey, the pages were not numbered. This was probably done

prepared during the reign of the same ruler, the totals of the same revenue units do not corroborate with the values of TT 648 register. Hence, I did not take into account the total revenue values provided in TT 729 for each village or hamlet. On the other hand, the unreliability of the revenue values in the very early seventeenth century *tahrirs* becomes evident due to the fact that they resemble the late sixteenth century *tahrirs* in terms of the revenue values.<sup>372</sup> As can be seen from the Table 20 (revenues of *hâss* allocations), the expected annual revenues of each unit were adjusted in the late seventeenth century. Nevertheless, unlike the 1613 tax survey (and other classical tax surveys likewise), the Edirne survey of 1670 did not in detail record all the taxable production that would yield the total annual revenue under the entry *hâsıl*. On the contrary, the total annual revenue obtained from the previous tax survey was recorded at the beginning of each settlement along with its physical borders. This amount was not recorded during the actual surveying procedure. Rather, when the detailed registration obtained by the survey registrars in the field were sent to Istanbul, Ottoman finance bureaucrats added extra information that would adjust the old values to the current realities.

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later. However, it was not brought together in a coherent way. I compared the settlement names and other details evident in TT 729, TT 1001 and TT 648.

<sup>372</sup> For the revenue values in late sixteenth century *tahrirs* see Yiğit. "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 198-199.

Table 20. Revenues (*hâsıl*) of *hâss* allocations (values in *akçe*)

Settlement	Sub-district	Defter 1570 <sup>373</sup>	of Defter-i atîk (1613)	Defter-i cedîd (1670)	Fürûht (1670)
Karye-i Ahûr ma‘a yurd-ı Hirvât	Ada	9.825+5.630 (15.455)	9.825+5.630 (15.455)	40.000	25.000
Mezrâ‘a-i Saruhân <sup>374</sup>	Ada	5.793	5.793	N/A	3.500
Karye-i İneoğlu	Ada	12.851	12.851	35.000	25.000
Karye-i Kenîseli	Ada	14.372	14.372	50.000	32.000
Karye-i Şâhinci	Ada	6.958	6.958	N/A	20.000
Karye-i Ömer Beğli	Ada	13.655	13.655	N/A	25.000
Karye-i Sofular	Ada	13.594	13.594	70.000	34.000
Karye-i Bosna	Ada	17.645	17.645	N/A	50.000
Karye-i İlbeği Bergos	Ada	10.071	10.071 <sup>375</sup>	20.000	15.000
Karye-i Eymirli	Ada	5.796	5.796	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Yund Bergos ma‘a kaye-i Tatarlı	Ada	?+3.250	10.418+3.250	N/A	22.000

<sup>373</sup> The annual revenues of *hass* villages recorded in the defter of 1570 are obtained from Yiğit, “XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası,” 198-199.

<sup>374</sup> It was recorded as a village in the tahrir of 1570. See Yiğit, “XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası,” 199.

<sup>375</sup> TT 1001, p. 91.



Table 20. (Continued)

Karye-i Saltıklı	Ada	4.594	4.594	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Bazarlı	Ada	?	3.250 <sup>376</sup>	N/A	22.000
Karye-i Gerde-i Küçük	Çöke	3.289	3.289	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Saruhanlı-yı sagır	Çöke	2.502	2.502	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Çömlek	Çöke	3.553	3.553	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Hatıb	Çöke	7.197	7.197	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Karaca	Çöke	11.625	N/A	N/A	N/A

Moreover, what we can infer from this additional information provided by local people (*bi-ihbâr-ı ahâli-yi karye*) is that the finance department highly likely verified it with other official figures, consequently reaching the “sale” (*fîrûht*) value of each settlement. Evidently, this was lower than the expected annual revenues that would attract potential bidders. Unfortunately, the Edirne survey of 1670 does not provide all these additional information – the old and new revenues, and sale value for each

village or hamlet. Sometimes annual revenue gained from the 1613 tax survey was added on top of the survey’s actual recordings, yet the new expected revenue was not included. This was also so for *timar* or *vakıf* domains recorded in the survey. Unfortunately, the villages, hamlets and *müsellem çiftlik*s in the nahiyes of Manastır and Çöke<sup>377</sup> were not recorded with this additional information that was germane to the other three sub-districts of Edirne.

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<sup>376</sup> TT 1001, p. 99.

<sup>377</sup> The figures of revenues for the old register refer to the TT 648 survey. As the Edirne survey of 1670 regarding do not provide the revenues of the villages in the Manastır and Çöke nahiyes, I consult with the original *defter-i atık*.

However, luckily, sometimes we see all the three entries (See Table 20 above on *hâss* revenues). The revenues above give interesting insights. As far as the *hâss* allocations are concerned, it seems that even the early seventeenth century expected *hâss* revenues do not approach to the amounts that the kanunnames recommended. The revenue values for *hâss* domains in the beginning of the seventeenth century are roughly between 2.500 and 20.000 akçe, that is the amount normally associated with *timar* allocations. By comparing the revenues recorded in the last tahrir of the sixteenth century for Edirne (the tahrir prepared in 1570) to the first tahrir of the seventeenth (the tahrir prepared in 1613), we can safely say that the total revenues of *hâss* villages were mere duplication. For instance, the annual revenues of the villages of Ahur, İneoğlu, Keniseli, Şahinci, Ömer Beğli, Sofular, Bosna, İlbeği Bergos, Eymirli seem not to have changed in more than forty years. This was most probably not the reality. It was either the registrar who was probably too busy to calculate the up-to-date revenue of the fief or he was not really interested in updating it. Hence, the total annual revenues recorded in classical tahrirs ought to be carefully read, since they do not provide us adjusted values.

The Edirne survey of 1670 allows us to say for *hâss* allotments that the adjustments of revenues were realized by the last quarter of the seventeenth century, even though it seems that the adjusted values of revenues for these units were still far lower than the ones that were extant in law books. As can be seen from the 1670 survey, the new adjusted values determined for these allocations varied between 20.000 and 70.000 akçe per year. This was most probably due to the fact that the revenues of these allocations were going to the central treasury that was in need of cash flow in the period under research. Evidently, it was a period that the Ottoman central treasury went under a massive expenditure due to the conquest of Crete. The duplication of revenue amounts in the previous tax surveys can be attributed to the very nature of the *timar* system, in which fief holders were getting the annual revenues themselves. As the system went substantial transformations in the seventeenth century, it was the central state that paid much more attention to the up-to-date revenue of allotments in the Edirne region. Though it is beyond the scope of the present research to make generalizations for the entire Ottoman country, as far as

the Edirne district is concerned, the classical surveys' quantitative data seems not to reveal trustworthy figures.

#### 4.3.2. The *ze'âmet* allocations

The number of *zeamet* allocations in the Edirne district seems to be very low compared to other districts in the Ottoman country.<sup>378</sup> In total, there were 7 villages distributed as *zeamets*. The two extreme sub-districts in this respect were the Üsküdar and Çöke nahiyes. While the former had no *zeamet*, the latter had 4 that make the majority of this sort of allocations.<sup>379</sup> Moreover, the sub-districts of Ada, Manastır, and Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa had one *zeamet*.<sup>380</sup>

Some of these *zeamet* villages were not associated with any name. For instance, recorded as a revenue unit of *zeamet*, the village of Lalkova (also known as Derbend-i sagır) in the Çöke nahiye and the village of Akalan in the Manastır nahiye were not linked to any state personnel.<sup>381</sup> The village of Habiller was allocated as a *zeamet* to a certain Mustafa.<sup>382</sup> Not having recorded any title for this man, we can speculate that he might have been a soldier showing utmost ability in wartime, hence receiving a grant allocation. Furthermore, some *zeamet* allocations were recorded under certain state bureaucrats. A certain İbrahim Ağa seems to be the revenue holder of the village of Malkoçlar in the sub-district of Çöke as *zeamet*.<sup>383</sup> Another example was Kara Kulak Ahmed Ağa who was the *dirlik* holder of the village of Süleyman

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<sup>378</sup> In the late sixteenth century, the Edirne district had only two *zeamet* villages. See Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 199.

<sup>379</sup> The *zeamets* in the Çöke nahiye were the villages of Habiller, Süleyman Danişmend, Malkoçlar, Lalkova nam-ı diğer Derbend-i Sagır.

<sup>380</sup> The village of Abalı in the Ada nahiye; the village of Süleymanac in the Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye; and the village of Akalan (also known as Bulgucular) in the Manastır nahiye.

<sup>381</sup> "*karye-i Lalkova nâm-ı diğer Derbend-i Sagır tâbi'-i Çöke ze'âmetdir*"; "*karye-i Akalan nâm-ı diğer Burgucular tâbi'-i nâhiye-i Manastır 'an kaza-i Edirne ze'âmet*" MAD 556.

<sup>382</sup> "*karye-i Habiller tâbi'-i Çöke ze'âmet be-nâm Mustafa*" MAD 556. Its revenue was 1850 akçe in the late sixteenth century that was under the possession of Fayik Mehmed Hazreti Mehmed Paşa. See Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 199.

<sup>383</sup> "*karye-i Malkoçlar tâbi'-i Çöke ze'âmet be-nâm İbrahim Ağa*" MAD 556.

Danişmendli in the same sub-district as *zeamet*.<sup>384</sup> Single *zeamet* holders were not always relevant in the Edirne district all the time, as was the case with the village of Abalı in the sub-district of Ada that was held by two seemingly state officials residing in Çırpan.<sup>385</sup>

As can be seen from Table 21, the only *zeamet* allotments that are associated with their adjusted revenue in 1670 are the villages of Abalı in the sub-district of Ada and Doğancı in the Üsküdar nahiye. Without mentioning its yield in the previous register, the Edirne survey of 1671 states that the new revenue of the Abalı village was 20.000 akçe. It was under the possession of two men who lived in Çırpan. The two seem to have “sold” their allotment to a tax-farmer who bought the revenue of the village for 15.000 akçe. Normally, the amount the tax farmer paid would be lower than the expected revenue of the unit. This is also clear in the register that the margin between the “sold” and the yield was 5.000 akçe that was the tax farmer’s profit. The village of Doğancı’s previous revenue was 9.000 akçe in the beginning of the seventeenth century. By the last quarter of the same century, that would be adjusted and sold for 18.000 akçe.

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<sup>384</sup> “*karye-i Süleyman Danişmendli tâbi‘-i Çöke ze‘âmet be-nâm Kara Kulak Ahmed Ağa*” MAD 556.

<sup>385</sup> “*Abalı zeamet-i Hasan Ağa-zade ve İbrahim Ağa sâkin-i Çırpan*” MAD 133.

Table 21. Revenues (*hâsıl*) of *ze'âmet* allocations (values in *akçe*)

Settlement	Sub-district	Defter-i atîk (1613)	Defter-i cedîd (1671)	Fürûht (1070)
Karye-i Abalı	Ada	N/A	20.000	15.000
Karye-i Dođancı	Üsküdar	9.000	N/A	18.000
Karye-i Süleymanca	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	N/A	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Akalan (Burgucular)	Manastır	N/A	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Habiller	Çöke	N/A	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Süleyman Danişmendli	Çöke	N/A	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Malkoçlar	Çöke	N/A	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Lalkova (Derbend-i sađır)	Çöke	N/A	N/A	N/A

Sources: TT 648; TT 729; MAD 133; MAD 556; Gökbilgin, *Paşa Livası*

Though not mentioned through its adjusted revenue, another *zeamet* allotment that deserves attention is the village of Habiller. Tayyip Gökbilgin claims that Bayezid II granted this village (and other two villages) as a *timar* to a palace servant named Mehter Dursun who later endowed them. The sixteenth century tax surveys, however, only recorded the village of Çoban Viranı as a *vakıf* village, not the village of Habiller.<sup>386</sup>

<sup>386</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 412-413.

Two villages in the sub-district of Çöke, which we can associate both with *hâss* and *zeamet* revenues, seem to be recorded differently. As they were registered under a rather strange definition of “*hâssa-zeamet*”, I am unable to categorize them. For now, we can only speculate that they were probably allocated to high-ranking officers as *hâss* or *zeamet* from time to time.<sup>387</sup>

### 4.3.3. The *timar* allocations

As Cornell H. Fleischer rightly defines, a *timar* was a “revenue-producing land unit ... but not its ownership, [that] was granted by the government to a *sipâhi*.”<sup>388</sup> However, not all *timars* were granted by the state to cavalymen (*sipahis*), since many of them were allocated to non-sipahis.<sup>389</sup> The number of *timar* villages within the Edirne district seems to have increased in the late seventeenth century. As opposed to 29 *timar* villages recorded in the sixteenth century tax surveys,<sup>390</sup> we see 68 villages as well as 17 *mezraas* recorded as *timar* in the Edirne survey of 1670. The latter was a direct result of the territorial spread of the district of Edirne, thanks to the political importance Edirne gained throughout the seventeenth century. Among these *timar* villages and *mezraas*, the 1670 Edirne survey registered only one village by mentioning the name of its revenue holder specifically. The village of Çeşme, of the Çöke sub-district, was of this sort that was the prebend of the guard of the Yedikule in Istanbul (*timar-ı dizdâr-ı Yedikule der Âsitâne*).<sup>391</sup> Muhsin Soyudoğan

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<sup>387</sup> These villages were Hasan Ağa and Turfallı (also known as İncekli) in the Çöke nahiye.

<sup>388</sup> Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986), 59.

<sup>389</sup> Muhsin Soyudoğan divides timars into two as physical and contracted. He also divides the latter into four as generic, guards’, falconers’ and pseudo timars. See Soyudoğan, “Reassessing the Timar System: The Case Study of Vidin (1455-1693),” 36-50.

<sup>390</sup> Yiğit, “XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası,” 200-202.

<sup>391</sup> While *timar* villages were registered along with their holders’ names in these imperial surveys, the surveys undertaken in the following centuries for different reasons did not record the timar holder’s name. We would see the names of these timar holders in the *der-dest* or *timar ruznâmeçe defters*. See Afyoncu, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatında Defterhane-i Amire (XVI.-XVIII. Yüzyıllar)*.

states that *timars* were also allocated to military personnel who were placed in a fortress for guarding a city or its surrounding.<sup>392</sup>

In terms of the *timar* allocations in the district of Edirne in the late seventeenth century, the most striking region seems to be the Ada sub-district where only two villages were granted as *timar*. In the sub-districts of Cizr-i Mustafa Paşa and Manastır, this number was nine and eight respectively. The Çöke nahiye had five *timar* villages. In the latter, all these settlements were recorded as abandoned (*hâli ez ra'ıyyet*).<sup>393</sup> As explained above, the additional information for villages that the survey provides (such as its revenues in the old and new surveys) is not relevant for the sub-districts of Manastır and Çöke. This was also applicable to *timar* villages. Hence, *timar* villages from these two sub-districts were not entered onto Table 22 below. The only villages and hamlets with old and new revenues were in the sub-districts of Ada, Üsküdar and Cizr-i Mustafa Paşa.

Regarding the annual revenues extracted from a *timar* village, the Table below is very illuminating because it provides information about the last yearly revenue of the village as reflected in the last tax survey (*deFTER-i atîk*), as well as the revenue adjusted in the survey of 1670 (*tahrîr-i cedîd*) depending on the new financial necessities and expectations. As can be seen from Table 22, some *timars* became *miri mukataa* now allocated to various people at a certain price. This was again in relation with the dissolving of the *timar* regime bringing about some villages under a direct state management rather than their holders, i.e., *sipâhis*. Though not for all the settlements recorded, the Edirne survey of 1670 provides one certain information pertaining to the amount for which the village was farmed out (*fürûht*). The column under *fürûht* refers to these sorts of prebendal allocations. If there is no reference under the “sale” category, some marginal notes (*der-kenâr*) are very helpful to see the current conditions of these *timar* allocations. For instance, when the registrar recorded the village of Kara Oğlanlı in the Cizr-i Mustafa Paşa sub-district, he

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<sup>392</sup> Soyudoğan, “Reassessing the Timar System,” 46.

<sup>393</sup> In these villages, there was no individual that possessed arable land, but only neighboring villagers owning vineyards. The villages of Eşekçi, Uluşay, Resuller, Mihrali Beşe, İmralı in the Çöke nahiye were all recorded as deserted. MAD 556. The villages of Musa Hacı and Koçak in the Ada nahiye were of this sort as well. For the term “*hali ez raıyyet*” with a slight nuance see Kotzagiorgis, “Haric ez defter and Hali an-el reaya villages.”

clarified that the concerned information was gathered from the village dwellers that informed the registrars about the “sold” value that was 6000 akçe every year.<sup>394</sup>

Registered as inhabited, some of these villages (like Simavnalı, Sadıklı, or Elhac İbrahim Obası) were not existent in the concise register provided by the Finance department to the registrars.<sup>395</sup> One of the striking features of these allocations is that the villages that later turned to hamlets were *timar* villages. For example, the hamlets of Isakçlı, Yunus, and Şadi Fakih in the sub-district of Üsküdar had been recorded as villages in the sixteenth century tax surveys. In the Edirne survey of 1670, we see these villages as hamlets that were under the use of neighboring villages.<sup>396</sup> Moreover, the *timar* villages in the Çöke sub-district also deserve special attention. Five villages as well as two hamlets that were once inhabited villages in the area were recorded as abandoned ones.<sup>397</sup>

The *timar* allotments in the Edirne district also give interesting details. Similar to *hâss* allocations, it seems that the revenues determined for these units in the previous survey do not catch the amounts underlined in law books either. The revenues expected from these villages in the beginning of the seventeenth century varied between 4.500 and 10.000 akçe, which is something within the limits determined in law books.

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<sup>394</sup> “*karye-i mezbûr timâr olub be-her sene altışar bin akçeye fûrûht olunur imiş bi-ihbâr-ı ahâli-yi karye-i mezbûr*” MAD 133, p. 63.

<sup>395</sup> “*defterhânededen virilen icmâlde çıkmamışdır*” or “*hâric ez defter.*” For some examples see MAD 133, pp. 46, 51, 59, 71, 73, 75, and 76. On the latter in the Dimetoka region see Kotzageorgis, “*Haric ez defter and Hali ane’l reaya villages,*”

<sup>396</sup> For the Üsküdar nahiye’s villages see MAD 133.

<sup>397</sup> Recorded as “*hâli ez ra’iyyet*”. These were the villages Eşkinci, Ulu Paşa, Resuller, Mihrali Beşe, İmralı. Also the hamlets of İnbükü (also known as Delikli Kaya) and Çakırlı. The latter hamlets were very close to the village of Çömlek. MAD 556.



Table 22. Revenues (*hâsıl*) of *timar* allocations (values in *akçe*)

Settlement	Sub-district	Defter-i atik (1613)	Defter-i cedid (1670)	Fürûht (1670)
Karye-i Kulaklı ma'a karye-i Topal	Ada	5.455+700	N/A	30.000
Karye-i İlçili ma'a mezra'a-i Topalak	Ada	5.000+600	12.000	9.000
Mezra'a-i Küplüce <sup>398</sup>	Üsküdar	5.100	N/A	6.000
Karye-i Ulu Şahin	Üsküdar	5.200	N/A	5.000
Mezra'a-i İsakçı	Üsküdar	4.500	N/A	6.000
Karye-i Dimitri	Üsküdar	N/A	N/A	30.000
Karye-i Mihaliç	Üsküdar	N/A	N/A	18.000
Karye-i Yahşi Beğlü	Üsküdar	5.600	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Timurhanlı	Üsküdar	7.000	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Kurdcalı	Üsküdar	N/A	N/A	5.000
Karye-i Yenice	Üsküdar	10.000	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Geredeli	Üsküdar	N/A	N/A	9.000
Karye-i Resuller	Üsküdar	4.500	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Kara Pınar	Üsküdar	N/A	N/A	5.000
Karye-i Kemal	Üsküdar	8.200	N/A	N/A
Karye- Saruhanlı	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	N/A	N/A	15.000

Sources: TT 648; TT 729; MAD 133; Gökbilgin, *Paşa Livası*

<sup>398</sup> In the sixteenth century, it was recorded as a village. See TT 1001, p. 120

The adjusted revenues of allotments were not recorded for the all *timar* villages. The only village that was registered with the adjusted revenue in the Edirne survey of 1670 is the village of İlçili that was regarded as one unit with the hamlet of Topalak both being in the sub-district of Ada. This village's adjusted expected revenue was 12.000 akçe almost doubling the value of the previous survey undertaken more than half a century ago. In the old survey of 1613, the village of İlçili's annual revenue amounted to 5000 akçe, which had also been calculated at the same amount in the last survey of the sixteenth century (the tahrir of 1570).<sup>399</sup>

It seems that some prebendal allotments came under the tax-farming system as new *mukataas*. This is evident in the register recording some of the *timar* villages under the term "*fürûht*". The values of "sale" varied between 5.000 and 30.000 akçe. As stated above, due to the changing financial realities of the period under research, the *timar* system was under a massive change that brought about a different type of fief allocations as well. Similar to the *hâss* villages in the Edirne district that I just mentioned above, this is evident for the *timar* villages as well. While some *timars* were farmed out at a very reasonable amount that was very close to their amount recorded in the latest classical register of 1613, some *timars* were "sold" at a very high price. As can be seen from Table 22, the villages of Ulu Şahin and İsakç1, and the hamlet of Küplüce were all sold for 5000 and 6000 akçe respectively, despite the fact that their revenues had been recorded in the *defter-i atîk* around the same amount. Furthermore, the village of İlçili with the hamlet of Topalak was sold for 9000 akçe, though its current revenue was expected to produce 12000 akçe.

Three outstanding *timar* villages regarding this "sale" value were the vilages of Dimitri and Mihaliç in the Üsküdar sub-district, and the villages of Kulaklı and Topal in the Ada sub-district. As for the former two villages, the Edirne survey did not refer to any revenue according to the previous register, yet their current expected produces were penned down as 30.000 and 18.000 akçe respectively. The latter two villages, on the other hand, were registered in relation to the revenues registered both in the previous tax survey of 1613 and the Edirne survey of 1670. Recorded in the 1670 Edirne survey with reference to the *defter-i 'atîk* that I also verified with cross-

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<sup>399</sup> Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 201.

checking the TT 648 defter, the older revenues of the Kulaklı and Topal villages were 5.455 and 700 akçe respectively. In the Edirne survey of 1670, the two *timar* villages were farmed out for 30.000 akçe under one single revenue unit (*mukataa*).

However, other than those villages farmed out, for some villages the revenue or amount of sale are unknown. For instance, the revenues of the villages of Yahşi Beğlü, Resullü, Timurhanlı, Yenice, and Kemal are of this sort. The sipahis of these villages continued to hold on their own *timar* villages. Hence, as the taxes were being extracted by their own *sipahis*,<sup>400</sup> the amount of “sale” was not known in some villages.<sup>401</sup> As Muhsin Soyudoğan rightly defines, these were “physical *timars*” that were held by the sipahi.<sup>402</sup> The sipahis either held their *timars* themselves or farmed them out.

The amounts of sales seem to be updated so that might reflect the period’s financial realities or the new holder’s ability to pay. Looking into the details of *timar* villages from the 1670 Edirne survey, it seems that some *timars* had already been farmed out due to various reasons, despite the scholarship’s long enduring argument that it was a self-sufficient system. Obviously, it was not. As Nil Tekgül eloquently explains, the *timar* regime became a “vulnerable system” by the late sixteenth century, during which revenues were not meeting the needs of their holders in war times. Hence, during war periods that necessitated more financial reimbursement, *sipahis* were already in need of cash from the central treasury.<sup>403</sup>

In line with the cash requirement during war times, *sipahis* would begin to farm out their revenues to tax farmers or other bidders that would extract more revenue. Dror Ze’evi states that by the early seventeenth century *timar* revenues from villages in the Jerusalem district began to be farmed out. This had already become a trend in the

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<sup>400</sup> “*karye-i Yahşi Beğlü tâbi’-i nahiye-i Üsküdar sipâhisi kendü zabt ider ne mikdâr akçe virdüğü ma’lûm değildir*” MAD 133, p. 53a. For more *timar* villages in the Edirne district whose revenues were extracted by their *timar* holders see MAD 133, p. 46, 53b.

<sup>401</sup> “*ne mikdâr akçeye fîrûht olduğı ma’lûm değildir*” MAD 133, p. 122.

<sup>402</sup> Soyudoğan, “Reassessing the *Timar* System,” 36.

<sup>403</sup> Nil Tekgül, “Cash Loans to Ottoman *Timariots* During Military Campaigns (Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries). A Vulnerable Fiscal System?” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 59, (2016): 590-617.

sixteenth century that would be intensified towards the end of the same century.<sup>404</sup> The Edirne survey of 1670 seems to support this trend. During this transaction trend that must have started before in the Edirne region, it seems that this weak system found some new ways by the end of the seventeenth century to ease the financial hardships in relation with the period's own developments.<sup>405</sup>

Unfortunately, we do not have the sicil records from the seventeenth century that would reveal these transactions. Yet, as far as the *timar* villages are concerned, the Edirne survey of 1670 also gives a similar view. As can be seen from Table 22 (*timar* revenues), in 1670 quite a few *timar* holders (either sipahis or others being granted villages as their fiefs) seem to farm out their *timars* to tax farmers or other men of good fortune. Throughout the eighteenth century, furthermore, the contracts between the *timar* holder and the tax farmer registered in the *sicils* became so very common. One example is as follows:

vech-i tahrîr-i hurûf budur ki: berât-ı Pâdişâhî ile mutasarıf olduğum timarım aklâmından Edirne kazâsında Çöke nâhiyesine tâbi' Timur karyesi işbu bin yüz elli dokuz senesi Martı ibtidâsından işbu bin yüz altmış senesi Şubatı gâyetine gelince be-her senesi yüz onar guruşa iki sene bir tahvîl ile iki yüz yirmi guruş[a] hâliyâ hadîka-i hâssa ustalarından sa'adeti Ebubekir Ağa'ya der 'uhde ve iltizâm idüb ve bedel-i iltizâmı olan iki senelik iki yüz yirmi guruşu yedinden bi't-tamâm peşîn alub kabz idüb ve karye-i mezbûrda vakî' olan 'aşâr-ı şer'iyeye ve rüsûmât-ı sâ'ire ve tâpu-yı zemîn ve 'öşr-i gevâre ve *dönüm*-i bağât ve bostân ve ispençe-i gebrân ve bennâk ve resm-i otlak ve kışlak ve bâd-ı hevâ ve yâve ve kaçgûn ve kul ve câriye ... ve bahâları ahz ve kabz idüb ve timar-ı mezbûr mefrûzü'l-kalem ve maktu'ü'l-kadem min külli'l-vücûh serbest olub ve bu târih-i temessükden gerek mukaddem ve mu'ahhir bir memhûrlu temessüküm zuhûr iderse 'amel olunmayub işbu temessükümüze 'amel olunub zabt u rabt eylemek için yedine işbu temessük virildi tarafımızdan ve taraf-ı ahardan bir kimesne mâni' olmaya. Bende-i Mehemmed sipâhî<sup>406</sup>

<sup>404</sup> Dror Ze'evi, *Jerusalem. An Ottoman District in the Seventeenth: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s* (New York: SUNY Press, 2012).

<sup>405</sup> This new system would evolve to the malikane system within a few decades. See Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2000).

<sup>406</sup> Edirne Şer'iyeye Sicili (hereafter EŞS) 140, 19a-1 [1159/].

The above entry in the Edirne sicils concerning the farming out of the revenues of the *timar* village of Timur in the Çöke sub-district is illuminating. The sipahi of the said village farmed out his prebendal allotment for 110 guruş (13.200 akçe if we consider 1 guruş equaling 120 akçe) per year. This value is in line with *timar* transactions taken place in Jerusalem.<sup>407</sup> Interestingly, even in a rather late period, the value of the sale is within the standard ratios determined by the lawbooks (kanunnames). In this specific case, the *timar* holder (Mehemmed *sipahi*) leased the revenues of his fief allocation to Ebubekir Ağa, who was a master in royal garden in Edirne (*hadîka-i hâssa ustalarından*), for two years (*iki sene bir tahvîl*).

#### 4.4. The Settlements Endowed (*vakıfs*)

In terms of the administrative statuses of rural settlements, tax registers have provided historians an enormous mine of information. Since the 1970s, historians have dealt with the data in and the nature of these sources.<sup>408</sup> The tahrir registers have also attracted historians specializing in Edirne. Tayyip Gökbilgin's findings have been of significant use for the later scholars. Ahmet Yiğit's estimation based on the tahrir register of Edirne from the late sixteenth century show that there were 91 villages the revenues of which were donated to various pious endowments. The revenues of 66 villages were for the endowments founded in the city of Edirne, while the rest was for various others established elsewhere throughout the Empire.<sup>409</sup> In terms of their founders, these endowments can be analyzed under two classifications. The first group comprising the *vakıfs* that were founded by the Sultans and other ruling elite, which had close political and economic connections to the royal family. This group can again be sub-divided as the ones originally established in Edirne and those founded elsewhere. The second one included the *vakıfs* that were founded by

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<sup>407</sup> Ze'evi, *Jerusalem. An Ottoman District in the Seventeenth*.

<sup>408</sup> It is almost impossible to count all the *tahrir*-based studies here. However, for a list can be found in Lowry, *Studies in Defterology*.

<sup>409</sup> Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 190-197. Also see Dimitrov, "Naselenie i selishta v Sakar planina."

the famous names that provided great benefit to the Ottoman state when it was territorially expanding in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Among the *vakıf* villages in the sixteenth century, the majority belonged to the imaret of the Sultan Bayezid Endowment that obtained the revenues of 29 villages within the district of Edirne according to the late sixteenth century tax surveys. These villages were Muratcalu, Kırk, Pravadi, Karagüllü, Hacı Umur, Sofular (Beğlü), Çaşnıgir, Korucu-i Büzörg, Eynesi, Kara İshaklu, Çengellü, Kazan, Yörgüç, Aslıhan, Ahi, Hacı Timur Han, Kırşehirli, Pınarcı, Korucu-i Küçük, Mahmudça (Kara Kasımlu), Bürücekler, Lefkeli, Veled-i Söğüt, Hacı Melek (Aslıhan), İsmailçe, Hınzır Viranı, Mahmad, Sarı Tur Ali and Kemal.<sup>410</sup> By the end of the seventeenth century, the number of settlements belonging to the same *vakıf* within the Edirne district rose to 50. What this meant was those villages, though previously recorded as belonging to the same *vakıf* (*Bayezid II*) but not recorded under the sub-districts of Edirne, were now recorded in the Edirne district.

This was a direct result of the Edirne district's territorial expansion in the proceeding century during which it encompassed new settlements (i.e., villages, *müsellem çiftliks* and *mezraas*) that had been recorded in the sixteenth century registers as belonging to other districts in the region. For instance, the villages of Ayntablu and Kara İsaklu that had been registered within the boundary of the district of Dimetoka now appeared under Edirne's jurisdiction.<sup>411</sup> Furthermore, the villages of Uğuralan, Hızır Ağa, Kavaklı, Davud Beğlü used to be seen in the registers of Kızılağaç (Fikeli) were in the late seventeenth century registers recorded under the Üsküdar district of Edirne.<sup>412</sup> In addition to the shifting boundaries in the region, varying recording methods in the registers were another reason behind this increase. When officials went to the region with a concise register (*icmâl*) in hand to record the rural sites, they realized that the *icmâl* did not refer to some settlements that were in actual fact existent.

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<sup>410</sup> Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 193-194. For the Sultan Bayezid İmaret see Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 357-378.

<sup>411</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 367. On Dimetoka in the early modern Ottoman period see Phokion Kotzageorgis, "The Çiftliks in the kaza of Dimetoka (15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> Centuries)" (in Greek); Kotzageorgis, "Haric ez defter and hali ane'l reaya Villages."

<sup>412</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 368.

In the Edirne survey of 1670, the villages of Emrudlu, Gerume, Kafıralan, Arablı and Kara Pelid were recorded with a marginal note (*der-kenâr*) saying they were not written in the concise register given by the Finance Office (*defterhâne-i Amire*).<sup>413</sup> Though the 1670 survey mentions the Yavuz Dere, Koyun Pınarı, Sinekli-yi Gebran and Kırçal Obası villages, the sixteenth century records did not. Sometimes, large pious endowments like Bayezid II seem to encompass the revenues of villages that were recorded under different *vakıfs* previously. The village of Saltıklı that was recorded as the mülk of Ferhad Ağa that, according to Gökbilgin, was not existent in the sixteenth century.<sup>414</sup> We see this village as belonging to the Bayezid II in the seventeenth century.

The imaret of Sultan Murad Endowment (known as Muradiye) had the revenues of 9 villages endowed for it. In the late seventeenth century registers, we see these villages as belonging to the same *vakıf* with one exception, which was the village of Nasırlu that could not be seen in it. This village was probably recorded with another name (for example as the *mezra 'a-i Çingâne Yurdu*).<sup>415</sup>

These two endowments that had massive income sources and expenditures, were followed by another *vakıf* founded by a famous fifteenth century figure, Sinan Paşa, the husband to Sultan Bayezid II' the daughter. His pious endowment, established in the sub-district of Üsküdar of the Edirne district, were getting the revenues of 9 villages, all of which were located in the same sub-district.<sup>416</sup> In the late seventeenth century, we see 11 settlements under this *vakıf*. However, this was again related to the territorial enlargement of the Edirne district that encompassed some villages in Kızılağaç in the north by the seventeenth century. In the sixteenth century, the Sinan Paşa endowment had had the revenues of 9 villages in the Edirne district and 3

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<sup>413</sup> “*defterhânededen virilen icmâlde çıkmamıştır.*” MAD. 133.

<sup>414</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 413.

<sup>415</sup> These villages were Daye Hatun, Öyüklü, Derzi Halil, İskender, Çölmekçi, Küşan, Aksakal, Nasırlu, Çingene (Çeke) Tatar and Akpınar. Yiğit, “XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası,” 191. For the Sultan Murad İmaret see Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 203-210.

<sup>416</sup> These villages were nefsi-i Üsküdar, Derviş Depe, Kayı, Koca Yakub, Avcılar, Kosta, Nusretlü, Kurucu Doğan, Saru Danişmend. Ahmet Yiğit. “XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası,” 191-192. For the Sinan Paşa Endowment see Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 453-55.

villages in the Kızılağaç nahiye. These three villages would be registered under the sub-district of Üsküdar in the seventeenth century.<sup>417</sup>

Other than these three above-mentioned pious endowments, very few *vakıfs* received the revenues of more than one village. The endowments of Sultan Yıldırım Bayezid<sup>418</sup>, Şahabeddin Paşa<sup>419</sup>, Timurtaş Bey<sup>420</sup> were the ones originally established in the city of Edirne. The endowments of Sultan Süleyman Han, Eyüp Ensari, Murad Paşa, Davud Paşa, İmaret-i Karaca Paşa, and Kasım Paşa were the ones founded elsewhere.<sup>421</sup>

The famous names that participated in the Ottoman conquest (*fütûhât*) of the Balkans in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were granted various villages throughout the district of Edirne as private property (*temlik* or *mülk*) by the Sultan. These villages granted as property to these respected persons were then endowed for their children (*zürriyyet* or *evlâdiyyet*). In the late sixteenth century, we see 15 villages of this sort within the district of Edirne. The pious endowments to which the revenues of the granted villages were donated were the *vakıfs* of Pertev Paşa, Şarabdar Hamza, Mahmud Çelebi Efendi, Mehter Dursun, Tütünsüz Ahmed Bey, Hasan Bey, Şeyh Hun, Mevlana Şah Çelebi, Erbus (Yarbuz) Ata/Tatar, Hacı Doğan, Mahmud Bey bin İsfendiyar, Kethüda-i Bevvab Davud Bey, and Mustafa veled Yahşi Fakih. The only *vakıf* of this sort having more than one village was the Şeyh

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<sup>417</sup> These villages were Kalavanlı, Obruklu and Çingane Paşa. Apart from these villages, mezra'a-i Karabaş not mentioned in the sixteenth century was recorded as "*hâric ez-defter-i icmâl-i defterhâne-i âmire*" MAD 133. Regarding the latter see Kotzageorgis, "Haric ez defter and hali ane'l reaya Villages."

<sup>418</sup> The villages that belonged to this vakıf are Maraş and Polat. Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 190. Also see Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 177-182.

<sup>419</sup> The villages belonging to this vakıf are Toyçe Mahmud (Şahabeddin Paşa), Bahadırlu (Bahadır) and Bey (Döger) Köy. Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 191. Also see Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 255-261.

<sup>420</sup> These villages were Timurtaş Bey (Sarı Yakub), Etmekçi, Karun (Timurtaş). Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 192. Also see Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 200-203.

<sup>421</sup> The villages were Fakih Deresi and Kapluca (Sultan Süleyman Han); İsa Fakih and Nasırlu (Eyüp Ensari); Hasan Fakih and Sabuncu (Davud Paşa); Küçük Ünlü and Hacılar (Kasım Paşa); Sekban/Kara Budaklu, Karaağaç and Çörek (Murad Paşa); Eyvanlu, Hacı Fakih, Mezraa-i Ömer Obası, (İmaret-i Karaca Paşa). Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 192-193. Also see Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, pages related to the above-stated vakıfs.



Hun Bey. The villages of Oğul Paşa, Yılma Ali and Hızırca were endowed to it.<sup>422</sup> This indicates some villages that the Sultans granted some villages to legendary persons as *temlik* were later endowed to their descendants.

According to Islamic Law, the property belonging to pious endowments could not be confiscated by the State, even though Mehmed II the Conqueror (*Fâtih*) officially took over the property of many *vakıfs* in the mid-fifteenth century. This was the only example that shows the state's taking over the property of religious foundations. However, when Bayezid II the Pious (*Sofu*) accessed to throne, the *vakıf* statuses of villages were recognized and they retained their position.<sup>423</sup>

As can be seen from the Edirne survey of 1670, the majority of villages (almost 50%) in the Edirne district belonged to various pious endowments (Figure 12), many of which were large Sultanic *vakıfs* or those founded by legendary or private persons of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who played crucial roles in the process of conquest of the region. Among these, the *vakıfs* of Sultan Bayezid in Edirne need particular attention. 50 out of 340 settlements belonged to this *vakıf*. In other words, almost one sixth of the entire rural economy was under the control of the *Vakıf* of Sultan Bayezid.<sup>424</sup> This denotes that some villages in the Edirne district were granted to the pious endowments founded by the Sultans to securely sustain them, and this can be seen from Table 23 based on the revenues they yielded.

As stated before, the Manastır sub-district recorded in the first part of the Edirne survey (MAD 133, pp.127-185) and the Çöke sub-district recorded in the second part of the Edirne survey (MAD 556) were not detailed similar to the other three sub-

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<sup>422</sup> Yiğit, "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası," 196-197. Also see Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*.

<sup>423</sup> The status of pious endowments has been well analyzed by scholars. See Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye'de Vakıf Müessesesi: bir sosyal tarih incelemesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2003). Also see Haim Gerber, "The waqf institution in early Ottoman Edirne," *Asian and African Studies* 17, (1983): 29-45. Tayyip Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, passim.

<sup>424</sup> In fact, the *Vakıf* of Sultan Bayezid II had almost 90 villages in the region between İnöz, Yanbolu and Yenice-i Zağra. For further details on this *vakıf* see Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 357-379. Kayhan Orbay analyzed its financial situation in the first half of the seventeenth century based on the same *vakıf*'s account books. Kayhan Orbay, "Edirne II. Bayezid Vakfının Mali Tarihi," *A. Ü. Güneydoğu Avrupa Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi (GAMER)* 1, (2012): 113-141.

districts. Hence, as they were not recorded with the previous (*defter-i atik*) and current expected revenues (*tahrîr-i cedîd*), settlements in these two nahiyes are not in the tables above. The tables consist only of the vilages and some hamlets within the boundaries of the sub-districts of Ada, Üsküdar and Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa.

Table 23. Revenues (*hâsıl*) of *vakıf* domains (values in *akçe*)

Settlement	Sub-district	Defter-i atik (1613)	Defter-i cedîd (1671)	Fürûht (1670)
Karye-i Ece Sultan	Ada	9.597	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Karaağaç	Ada	17.370	N/A	15.000
Karye-i Çörek	Ada	20.860	N/A	25.000
Karye-i Düdükçü	Ada	7.796	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Ayntablı	Ada	7.451	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Yarbuz Ata <sup>425</sup>	Ada	N/A	23.000	[ ]
Karye-i Kaba Öyük <sup>426</sup>	Ada	3.075	N/A	[ ]
Karye-i Kara İshaklı	Ada	5.386	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Küramidli	Ada	[ ] <sup>427</sup>	[ ] <sup>428</sup>	47.000

<sup>425</sup> “*bi-ihbâr-ı re ‘âyâ temlîk-i Aişe ve Fâtıma Hatun ‘an evlâd-ı Yarbuz Tatar’*” MAD 133, p. 30.

<sup>426</sup> “*fürûht sene 1080 ...*” MAD 133, p. 93.

<sup>427</sup> “*defter-i ‘atik vakf [-ı]...*” MAD 133, p. 96.

<sup>428</sup> “*...bâ-ihbâr-ı ahâli-yi re ‘âyâ’*” MAD 133, 96.

Table 23. (Continued)

Karye-i Timurtaş (nâm-ı diğer Karun)	Ada <sup>429</sup>	5.452	N/A	[ ]
Karye-i Şarabdar (nâm-ı diğer Keşanlı)	Ada	4.668 <sup>430</sup>	N/A	31.000 <sup>431</sup>
Karye-i Kara Kasım (nâm-ı diğer Mahmudcalu)	Ada	10.209 <sup>432</sup>	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Oğul Paşa <sup>433</sup>	Ada	5.183	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Sığıcalı (nâm-ı diğer Balaban)	Ada	5.000 <sup>434</sup>	15.000	10.000

<sup>429</sup> In the sixteenth century tax surveys, this village was within the Üsküdar Nahiye. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 200.

<sup>430</sup> “*ber-müceb-i defter-i atik temlik-i merhûm Şarabdâr Hamza Bey*” MAD 133, p. 108.

<sup>431</sup> “*hâlâ fûrûht sene 1080*” MAD 133, p. 108.

<sup>432</sup> “*ber müceb-i defter-i atik vakf-ı câmi'-i merhûm Sultan Bayezid Hân tâbe sera<sup>hu</sup>*” MAD 133, p. 114. This village had revenue of 3005 akçe in the beginning of the sixteenth century that increased to 4460 akçe towards last quarter of the same century. See Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 365. As can be seen in the table, it seems that its revenue rose to more than 10.000 akçe in the first decade of the seventeenth century.

<sup>433</sup> “*ber-müceb-i defter-i atik temlik-i merhûm Şeyh Hun Bey*.” In 1671, this village was registered as belonging to the vakf of the mosque of Hüseyin Efendi in Aksaray in Istanbul (*'an vakf-ı câmi'-i Hüseyin Efendi der Aksaray tâbi'-i mahmiyye-i İstanbul bi- ihbâr-ı ahâli-yi m[ezbûr]*). MAD 133, pp. 115-16. The endowment of Şeyh Hun Bey had three villages (Oğul Paşa, Hızırca, and Yalama Ali) recorded in the sixteenth century tax surveys (Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 526). The latter two villages, however, were recorded in 1670 as *mezra*'as belonging to the village of Oğul Paşa. MAD 133, pp.116 and 118.

<sup>434</sup> See Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 320-21. This value of revenue of the village was the same in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. A century later, it was almost double. Though not extant in the 1613 tax survey, the Edirne survey of 1670 states that the revenue of the village was 5000 akçe as given by the old register. It is highly likely that the old register duplicated the same revenue of the late sixteenth century. Hence the old survey value we see in the Edirne survey of 1671. MAD 133, p. 118.

Table 23. (Continued)

Karye-i Etmekçi	Üsküdar	3.663	N/A	10.000
Karye-i Yakub	Üsküdar	2.999	N/A	7.000
Karye-i Karabulut	Üsküdar	4.047	N/A	10.000
Karye-i Yahşi Fakih	Üsküdar	5.826	N/A	25.000 <sup>435</sup>
Karye-i Akpınar	Üsküdar	5.200 <sup>436</sup>	N/A	11.000
Karye-i Uzgaş	Üsküdar	10.101	N/A	12.000
Karye-i Köse Hamza	Üsküdar	7.093	N/A	18.000
Karye-i Avarız	Üsküdar	7.047	N/A	12.000
Karye-i Kafir Hacı	Üsküdar	N/A	N/A	24.000 <sup>437</sup>
Karye-i Nefs-i Üsküdar	Üsküdar	27.925	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Kayı	Üsküdar	3.913	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Nusretli	Üsküdar	6.500	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Ahi	Üsküdar	6.214	N/A	12.000 <sup>438</sup>

<sup>435</sup> “ ‘Asâkir-i mansûra Edirne’de oldukda kırk elli bin akçe virirlermiş” MAD 133, p. 33.

<sup>436</sup> Sixteenth century surveys read: “vakf-ı ‘imâret-i Balaban Paşa der Edirne karye-i Akpıbar tâbi-i Edirne [hâsıl] 5200.” Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 224. The Edirne survey of 1670 underlines the old revenue as 38.735 akçe. However, this amount refers to the total annual revenues of the *vakıf* from all sorts of income units.

<sup>437</sup> In the Edirne survey, it was registered as 200 kuruş. I multiplied this by 120 akçe (1 kuruş=120 akçe). MAD 133, p. 35.

Karye-i Avcılar	Üsküdar	4.530	N/A	[ ] <sup>439</sup>
Karye-i Kafir Pınarca	Üsküdar	5.652	N/A	[ ] <sup>440</sup>
Karye-i Umurca	Üsküdar	N/A <sup>441</sup>	N/A	7.000
Mezra'a-i Timurtaş	Üsküdar	3.856 <sup>442</sup>	N/A	[ ] <sup>443</sup>
Karye-i Sökün+mezraa	Üsküdar	6.602	N/A	[ ] <sup>444</sup>
Karye-i Büyük İsmailce	Üsküdar	12.972	N/A	[ ] <sup>445</sup>
Karye-i Donuz Dere	Üsküdar	2.742	N/A	[ ] <sup>446</sup>
Karye-i Hasköy	Üsküdar	8.160	N/A	[ ] <sup>447</sup>
Karye-i Yörücekli	Üsküdar	6.798	N/A	[ ] <sup>448</sup>

<sup>438</sup> “*fürüht ma'a mukāta'a-i İsmā'ilce bi-ihbār-ı ahâli-yi karye-i m[ezbûr] be-her sene 12.000 akçe*” MAD 133, p. 44.

<sup>439</sup> “*fürüht bi-ihbār-ı ahâli-yi karye-i mezbûr ma'a mukāta'a-i Üsküdar*” MAD 133, p. 45

<sup>440</sup> “*fürüht ma'a mukāta'a-i İsmailce*”. The villagers did not know how much it was farmed out for “*ne mikdâr akçeye fürüht olunduğu ahâli-yi karyenin ma'lûmları değildir.*” MAD 133, p. 47.

<sup>441</sup> “*desterhânededen virilen icmâlde çıkmamışdır.*” MAD 133, p. 48.

<sup>442</sup> “*ber müceb-i defter-i atîk vakf-ı karye-i Timurtaş Bey nâm-ı diğer Saru Ya'kûb*” MAD 133, p. 48.

<sup>443</sup> “*bi-ihbār-ı ahâli-yi karye-i m[ezbûr] fürüht ma'a karye-i Etmekçi.*” MAD 133, p. 48.

<sup>444</sup> “*fürüht ma'a mukāta'a-i İsmailce bi-ihbār-ı ahâli-yi karye-i m[ezbûr]*” MAD 133, p. 48.

<sup>445</sup> “*karye-i mezbûr İsmailce mukāta'ası tevâbi' ile ma'an iki yük yirmi bin [220.000] akçeye fürüht olunagelmışdir bi-ihbār-ı re'âyâ.*” MAD 133, p. 49.

<sup>446</sup> “*fürüht ma'a mukāta'a-i karye-yi İsmailce bi-ihbār-ı ahâli-yi karye-i mezbûr*” MAD 133, p. 50.

<sup>447</sup> “*fürüht ma'a mukāta'a-i karye-yi İsmailce bi-ihbār-ı ahâli-yi karye-i mezbûr*” MAD 133, p. 50.

<sup>448</sup> “*fürüht ma'a mukāta'a-i karye-yi İsmailce bi-ihbār-ı ahâli-yi karye-i mezbûr*” MAD 133, p. 50.

Table 23. (Continued)

Karye-i Lefke	Üsküdar	26.214	N/A	[ ] <sup>449</sup>
Karye-i Derviş Depe	Üsküdar	4.971	N/A	[ ] <sup>450</sup>
Karye-i Koca Yakub	Üsküdar	2.604	N/A	[ ] <sup>451</sup>
Karye-i Küsti	Üsküdar	2.881	N/A	[ ] <sup>452</sup>
Karye-i Derviş	Üsküdar	4.386	N/A	[ ] <sup>453</sup>
Mezra‘a-i Aslıhan	Üsküdar	1.737	N/A	[ ] <sup>454</sup>
Karye-i Kırşehir	Üsküdar	7.578	N/A	N/A
Karye-i Hatun	Üsküdar	N/A	32.325	N/A

The table above allows us to make some interesting observations about the rural settlements allocated to different *vakıfs*. The values of revenues given in the Edirne survey, though, ought not to be considered only in relation with their *vakıf* status. Whether they were in close vicinity of Edirne and/or other towns, or were located in a mountainous area or close to rivers also requires close examination of these villages. In other words, their spatial position should also be taken into consideration

<sup>449</sup> “*fürüht ma‘mukāta‘a-i karye-yi İsmailce bi-ihbâr-ı ahâli-yi karye-i mezbûr*” MAD 133, p. 52.

<sup>450</sup> “*fürüht bi-ihbâr-ı ahâli-yi karye-i mezbûr ma‘a mukāta‘a-i Üsküdar*” MAD 133, p. 54.

<sup>451</sup> “*fürüht bi-ihbâr-ı ahâli-yi karye-i mezbûr ma‘a mukataa-i Üsküdar*” MAD 133, p. 58.

<sup>452</sup> “*fürüht bi-ihbâr-ı ahâli-yi karye-i mezbûr ma‘a mukataa-i Üsküdar*” MAD 133, p. 59.

<sup>453</sup> “*fürüht ma‘a mukataa-i karye-yi İsmailce bi-ihbâr-ı ahâli-yi karye-i m[ezbûr]*” MAD 133.

<sup>454</sup> “*mezra‘a-i Aslıhan der tasarruf-ı ahâli-yi karye-yi Kemal ve karye-yi Kara İsmailce ‘an vakf-ı merhûm Sultân Bayezîd Hân.*” Also, on the top of the entry, it reads: “*fürüht ma‘a mukataa-i İsmailce.*” MAD 133.

along with their territorial size that had both arable and vacant lands, as well as other taxable means.

In terms of annual revenues of *vakıf* vilages, the majority of village revenues recorded in the previous survey that was most likely the one prepared during the reign of Ahmed I varied between 2000 and 9000 akçe. The few revenue exceptions exceeding the amount of 10.000 akçe were the villages of Lefke (around 26.000 akçe), Sökün (around 12.000 akçe), Nefs-i Üsküdar (around 27.000 akçe), Akpınar (around 38.000 akçe), Çörek (around 20.000 akçe), and Karaağaç (around 17.000 akçe). The last two villages in the Ada sub-district were very close to the city of Edirne. The rest of these villages were in the Üsküdar nahiye.

Keeping the older revenue values in mind, the Edirne survey of 1670 registered very few *vakıf* vilages with their current revenue. For instance, the village of Sığırçalı (also known as Balaban) was of this sort.<sup>455</sup> It had a revenue of 5.000 akçe in the late sixteenth century that had been 10.700 akçe in the early sixteenth century obtained from 79 households of Muslim and Christian dwellers.<sup>456</sup> The revenue would be adjusted to the amount of 15.000 akçe at the end of the seventeenth century. Having adjusted the revenue of the village, it was sold for 10.000 akçe as a lamp-sum (*ber-vech-i maktu*).<sup>457</sup> Phokion Kotzageorgis asserts that this village was abandoned in the late seventeenth century. The reason for this abandonment was because its status was dropped to a *timar* village. However, there is no solid proof showing its status diminished. As the Edirne survey of 1670 shows, the village was a *vakıf* village in the late sixteenth century and later in the seventeenth century.<sup>458</sup>

Other than the village of Sığırçalı that belonged to the Gülşah Hatun endowment in Bursa, though current revenue values are not existent in the Edirne survey of 1670, it

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<sup>455</sup> The Edirne survey of 1670 refers to the 1613 tax survey as the *defter-i 'atık* mentioning that the village belonged to the vakıf of Gülşah Hatun, the mother of Sultan Mustafa (*ber müceb-i defter-i 'atık vakf-ı Gülşah Hatûn mâder-i Sultan Mustafa*). For its current status in 1670, the survey reads: “*karye-i Sığırçalı nâm-ı diğer Balaban tâbi '-i nâhiye-i Ada 'an evkâf-ı türbe-i Gülşah Sultan medfûn der Burûsa.*” MAD, 133, p. 118.

<sup>456</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 320-321.

<sup>457</sup> MAD, 133, p. 118.

<sup>458</sup> Compare with Phokion Kotzageorgis “Haric ez defter and hali ane'l reaya Villages,” 242-243.

can be inferred from the “sold” amounts that the annual revenues of a good number of *vakıf* villages were adjusted in accordance with the current financial realities (see Table 23). The best explanatory villages are the ones within the Üsküdar sub-district. For example, as seen from the Edirne survey of 1670, the yearly revenue of the village of Ahi was around 6.000 by the first decade of the seventeenth century. This had been recorded around 3300 akçe in the last quarter of the previous century.<sup>459</sup> The revenue would be sold for 12.000 akçe that makes us believe that the actual potential of produce of the village must have been higher. Other examples are the villages of Avarız,<sup>460</sup> Yahşi Fakih,<sup>461</sup> Köse Hamza,<sup>462</sup> Akpınar,<sup>463</sup> Yakup, and Etmekçi<sup>464</sup> all of whose annual revenues seem to have been modified by two to three times by the late seventeenth century.

The *vakıf* villages in the sub-district of Ada, mostly situated on the moist lands between the rivers of Arda and Meriç, seem to have yielded higher revenues sold at higher prices in the last quarter of the seventeenth century despite their modest revenues half a century ago. Similar to the yearly yields of the villages in the sub-district of Üsküdar, these *vakıf* villages in the Ada nahiye had revenues not fluctuated greatly when the last classical tax survey of the Edirne district materialized. Nevertheless, though not all the *vakıf* villages in this part of the district were recorded according to the values of their annual revenues as reflected in the old and the current surveys, the villages of Şarabdar (also known as Keşanlı)<sup>465</sup> and

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<sup>459</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 364.

<sup>460</sup> Gökbilgin identified this village as Havaros/Çavaros/Cavaroz that refers to Avarız. Some 19<sup>th</sup> century maps name this village as Havarız. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 245.

<sup>461</sup> *Ibid.*, 175-176.

<sup>462</sup> *Ibid.*, 248-251.

<sup>463</sup> Its revenues were given to the imaret of the vakıf of Balaban Paşa in Edirne where its founder established a mosque and an imaret. The Edirne survey of 1670 underlines the old revenue as 38.735 akçe. However, unlike the other entries recording the revenue of the village only, this entry refers to the entire revenue of the Balaban Paşa Vakfı. This value was also existent in the late sixteenth century tax surveys. Gökbilgin says that “imaret vakfı, bu asrın ikinci yarısında, Edirne içinde bâzı dükkân zemin mukataaları ve sâirleri ile birlikte 38.735 akçeyi buluyordu.” Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 224.

<sup>464</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>465</sup> This village belonged to the Şarabdar Hamza Bey endowment. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 234-235.



Küramidli<sup>466</sup> in the Ada sub-district were sold at enormous prices. While the former's *fürûht* was 31.000 akçe, the latter's value was 47.000 akçe that were both significantly higher than the *fürûht* of other villages recorded in the survey.

A last word needs to be added in terms of the registration of the value of each revenue unit (be *timar*, *zeamet*, *hâss* or *vakıf*) recorded in the Edirne survey. In this respect, the Edirne survey of 1670 resembles the classical tax surveys (*tahrirs*) of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, unlike the earlier tax surveys, it did not record the taxable items separately in detail such as the sorts of taxes and other revenue units attached to the village and their yearly amounts. The expected annual revenue of a rural settlement was given as a whole following the registration of each dweller's landed property, which would allow Ottoman fiscal registrars to calculate the yields they produced.

Thus, this survey is important, and differs from those earlier *tahrirs* in a way that it recorded each village dweller that possessed land, vineyard, or both according to their physical specifications metrically measured. Furthermore, the Edirne survey of 1670 also provide concrete set of data about some trends that seem to have intensified in the Ottoman Empire by the late seventeenth century. Seventeenth century changes in Ottoman society show two diametrically opposite trends in land possession. First, land sizes possessed by peasants tended to get smaller as a result of the partition of lands among family members. This would cause the diminishing involvement of smaller number of peasants in agricultural activities. Second, a good number of had larger lands with the intention of keeping more agricultural produce in order to make further profit mostly through the state's purchases. Another trend we see in this new survey is the tax farming of smaller taxable units as single revenues.<sup>467</sup> Rather than farming out each village separately, as the Edirne survey of 1670 recorded, villages with certain physical propinquity that mostly belonged to the

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<sup>466</sup> In the sixteenth century tax surveys this village was registered as belonging to Hadım Ayas Bey's endowment (*karye-i Kör Umud vakf-ı Ayas Bey*). Its revenue was 15.000 akçe in the early sixteenth century and was 22.997 akçe in the last quarter of the same century. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 318.

<sup>467</sup> On *miri mukataas* see Taş, *XVII. Yüzyılda Ankara*, 61-62.

same *vakıf* were farmed out as one revenue unit under (*mukataa*). The two best examples in this regard are the Üsküdar, Yavuz Dere, and İsmailce *mukataas*.

#### 4.5. The Population in the Edirne District: A Picture in 1670

The issue of population in the early modern Ottoman Empire has been a well-contested domain of research among Ottomanist historians who have long benefited from classical tax surveys of the earlier centuries in relation with the population boom of the sixteenth century.<sup>468</sup> The latter surveys supplying meaningful demographic pictures for Anatolian and Balkan cities would not be the case for the following two centuries, albeit the few exceptions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>469</sup>

Like I mentioned above, the analysis of demographic situation in rural spheres in the Ottoman realms have for long been based on classical tax surveys. Despite their intrinsic problems and despite the fact that these surveys were not prepared for demographic purposes, Ottomanist historians attempted to create demographic data for various locales in the Empire.<sup>470</sup> However, the almost termination of classical tax surveys enforced historians to employ other archival sources in order to work on demographic trends in the Ottoman Empire. This was mostly done by benefiting

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<sup>468</sup> Cook, *Population Pressure in Rural Anatolia, 1450–1600*.

<sup>469</sup> These later surveys are the tahrir of Uyvar in 1664, of Crete in 1669, and of Kamanıçe in 1681. For the transliterations of the latter two surveys see Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681)*; Balta and Oğuz, eds., *Livâ-i Resmo Tahrir Defteri*.

<sup>470</sup> It is almost impossible to mention all the tahrir-based studies here. For a short list see İnalçık, *Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid*; Nejat Göyünç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Mardin Sancağı* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1969); Hüseyin Özdeğer, *XVI Yüzyılda Ayıntab Livası* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1988); İsmet Miroğlu, *XVI. Yüzyılda Bayburt Sancağı* (İstanbul: Bayburt Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği, 1975); Yusuf Halaçoğlu, “Tapu-tahrir Defterlerine göre 16. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Sis (Kozan) Sancağı,” *İUEF Tarih Dergisi* XXXII, (1979): 819-892; Yuzo Nagata, “16. Yüzyılda Manisa Köyleri-1531 Tarihli Saruhan Sancağına Ait Bir Tahrir Defterini İnceleme Denemesi,” *İUEF Tarih Dergisi* XXXII, (1979): 731-758; Zeki Arıkan, “Hamid Sancağı’nda Tımar Düzenine İlişkin Araştırmalar,” *İUEF Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* XIII, (1982): 101-126; Mehdi İlhan, “Some notes on the settlements and population of the sancak of Amid according to the 1518 Ottoman Cadastral Survey,” *AÜDTFCF Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* XIV, no. 25 (1981-82): 415-436; Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, *Ordu Kazası Sosyal Tarihi-1455-1613* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1985); Suraiya Faroqhi, “The Peasants of Saideli in the late 16th century,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* VIII, (1983): 215-250; Feridun M. Emecen, *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazası* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989).

from poll-tax registers for the Balkans as observed in the works of Bruce McGowan.<sup>471</sup> Nevertheless, historians have tended to employ other archival sources in order to understand the demographic portrait of any given region in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Amongst these, while some historians have used *avâriz* surveys providing at least some amount of information regarding the numbers of avarız households that were by no means real household numbers, or *temettüat* registers in order to understand the household sizes of families.<sup>472</sup> Furthermore, some studies have recently used other sorts of archival sources that enable the historian to understand demographic trends in certain cities. Yunus Uğur, having specifically focused on the smallest administrative unit in the city of Edirne, analyzed two different kinds of surveys (one is *avâriz* and the other is *kefâlet* survey) in order to draw the demographic picture in seventeenth century Edirne.<sup>473</sup>

#### 4.5.1. Average Village size in the Edirne District

As far as rural settlements are concerned in the seventeenth century, which was an era immediately followed by the termination of classical tax surveys, neither avarız surveys not poll-tax registers of the seventeenth century supply compatible data to those of the tahrirs of the sixteenth century. In this respect, regarding the population of the Edirne district, we can extract substantial information from the Edirne survey of 1670 as it provides well-matching demographic data for the region. Despite its potential for offering similar population data to the previously prepared tax surveys,

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<sup>471</sup> McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*.

<sup>472</sup> Özel, “17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Demografi ve İskân Tarihi İçin Önemli Bir Kaynak: Mufassal Avarız Defteri”; Demirci, “Complaints about Avâriz assessment and payment in the Avâriz-tax system: An aspect of the relationship between centre and periphery. A case study of Kayseri, 1618-1700”; Ali Açikel, “Changes in Settlement patterns, Population and Society in North-Central Anatolia: A Case Study of the District (Kazâ) of Tokat (1574-1643),” unpublished PhD Thesis (Birmingham University, 1999). When the nineteenth century tax surveys came into being, *temettüat* registers and population surveys gave historians an opportunity to see population trends. See Nuri Adıyeke, “Temettüat Satımları ve Bu sayımları Düzenleyen Nizamname Örnekleri,” *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi OTAM* 11, no. 11 (2000): 769-823.

<sup>473</sup> Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles.”

one needs to understand the terminology employed in the register for determining the landed property.

In terms of the residential affiliations of registered people in different villages, the majority of entries were in a rather unequivocal way. What I mean by this is that whether a landholder from a neighboring village or someone who was residing in a city was registered with affiliation to his/her place of residence. In other words, those registered who were not permanent residents of the given village were registered with affiliations pertaining to their place of residence (*sâkin-i* such and such). On the other hand, the registration of residents of the dwellers of the given village without specified affinities make us assume that they were in fact the residents of the village.

I make this distinction by reading the names one by one and then following those who that also possessed lands or vineyards in other neighboring villages. For example, when the landed possessions of İbrahim Usta, a resident of the village of Avarız in the sub-district of Üsküdar, were registered, his name was not associated with the village. In other words, his name was not recorded in a way that he was a resident of the village of Avarız.<sup>474</sup> However, when his lands in the neighboring village of Köse Hamza were recorded, his name was overtly associated with his place of residence.<sup>475</sup> In making the distinction between residents and non-residents of the given village, the only exception was the part of the survey that recorded the village dwellers within the sub-district of Çöke (i.e., MAD 556).<sup>476</sup> In this part of the survey, villagers were not recorded in a similar way to those within the other four sub-districts that differentiated their residential affiliations.

This is yet another problem that historians face when they attempt to generate a rough quantitative figure for demographic situation of a given region based on tax surveys. Classical tax surveys of the sixteenth century do not always underline the residential affiliation of the landholder in a specific village. Thus, it is not always

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<sup>474</sup> Under the village of Avarız, “*zemîn der yed-i İbrahim Usta hâlî tarla 30 cerîb, mevrû‘ tarla 22 cerîb, [toplamlar] tarla 52 cerîb.*” MAD 133.

<sup>475</sup> Under the village of Köse Hamza, “*zemîn der yed-i İbrahim Usta sâkin-i karye-i Avarız hâlî tarla 35.*” MAD 133.

<sup>476</sup> In this part of the survey, the names were recorded along with their professional or other sorts of titles (i.e., *paşa, ağa, bey, bevvab, korucu, bekçi* etc.) but not with their residential connections.

easy to understand the number of actual residents in a given rural settlement. What does the existence of villagers possessing land in neighboring villages tell us? Does it say something about an increasing level of horizontal mobility of villagers that was strictly discouraged during the classical period? Or does it testify to the languishing of the *timar* system?

Thus, other than the number of residents within the Çöke sub-district, we can more or less safely determine the number of villagers that allow us to make different analyses. The first analysis that we can make based on the Edirne survey's registration practices is understandably the population sizes of villages in terms of their residents. Secondly, we can determine the religious composition of settlements where mixed or homogenous rural communities lived. This allows us to analyze land possessing rural communities in terms of their religious affiliations. Thirdly, the survey recorded the residents and non-residents gender wise. Though women barely exist as the possessors of arable lands, the existence of few women might show a changing trend in the seventeenth century that will be further detailed below.

Keeping in mind that no one seems to have been permanent resident either in *mezraas* or *müsellems*<sup>477</sup>, the only dwellers we need to take into consideration for getting a better sense of the village population were those not registered as residents somewhere else. In other words, undertaking their surveying obligations with the assistance of local people, the surveyors that registered a specific village must have recorded all heads of households possessing a piece of land (arable land, meadow etc) in a given village. In other words, the Edirne survey of 1671 overtly states the residential affinities of village dwellers as to whether they were residents of that particular village or were residing in a neighboring village. In other words, similar to *tahrir* defters, people possessing arable land (*tarla*) ploughed by a pair of oxen (*çift* as in the classical *tahrirs*) were recorded. However, villagers who did not possess arable land but owned other landed property (i.e., vineyard, garden etc) were also

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<sup>477</sup> Being uninhabited settlements, *mezraa* and *müsellem çiftliks* were excluded when I was creating the aggregate population data. For instance, see the people in the villages of Delüceli ve Köse Kulfallı possessed the lands in the *mezraa* of Eyücekli in the Manastır sub-district. Likewise, the *mezraa* of Beşayaklı was used by the people in the village of Beşayaklı in Manastır nahiye. MAD 133.

registered. Hence, the population data we have in hand must be close to the actual number of household heads.

Beginning with the Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye, which consisted of one of the two smallest landed areas in the Edirne district (the other was the Manastır nahiye), it seems that in this small sub-district there were around 300 households in the late seventeenth century. As can be seen, the majority of landed property was under the use of the village dwellers in the Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa sub-district. The villages in this sub-district in 1671 seem to have had a varying number of residents. While the smallest ones with the lowest numbers of residents residing there and cultivating the soil were the villages of Süleymanca, Süle, Otlı Hacı, Derzi Pare, and Akova with just more than 10 households; the largest villages were Habibce, Aladağ, and Hisarlı having 51, 45, and 41 households respectively. The rest of the villages in this sub-district had a number of households that varied between 20 and 30. What we can say about this nahiye is that the average size of villages was rather modest compared to other nahiyes. All in all, the average household size in Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa villages seems to be 24.

The Üsküdar nahiye seems to have around 2255 households in the late seventeenth century. Despite the barriers that our survey innates we can say that the average size of villages in the nahiye of Üsküdar was 29,4. Furthermore, similar to other nahiyes in the Edirne District, some villages of the Manastır sub-district seem to have had considerable number of dwellers. The villages of Vakf-ı Derbend, Kozluca, Işıklı, Manastır-ı Kebir, Manastır-ı Sagir, and Kavaklı made the largest villages in the Manastır nahiye. The numbers of people residing in these villages were 156, 155, 97, 69, 57, 57 respectively. The Manastır nahiye had 1395 households in the late seventeenth century. Furthermore, the average village population was 37,3 in the nahiye of Manastır in 1670.

Despite the rather high altitude compared to villages in other nahiyes, the numbers of residents of villages in this sub-district are relatively high. This high percentage of average population size was possibly the result of the deviation these villages create. However, this might be related to the size of arable land possessed by villagers. In the villages of the Manastır nahiye, villagers possessed relatively smaller size of land

to cultivate, a conclusion that can be drawn both from geographical reasons and from the higher partition of arable lands following the death of the prime land possessor. Though we have no concrete set of data that shed light on the family sizes of villagers in the seventeenth century Edirne region, we can speculate that households had more legal heirs that might have brought about the further division of land among male siblings.<sup>478</sup> Hence, we can say that the land sizes get smaller as sons inherited the land upon the death of the father.

The most fascinating sub-district that is very critical in our analysis not only in terms of the demographic situation in the villages but also in terms of urbanites' involvement in land possession in rural sites is the Ada nahiye. As can be seen from Table 24 (table on population of Ada), with few exemptions such as the villages of Öyüklü Tatar, Düdükçü, Türk Doğancı, Sazlıdere, Kara İshaklı whose number of residents varied between 9 and 17, number of people residing in the villages of Ada nahiye was relatively high compared to other sub-districts. All in all, following my calculations, it can be claimed that this nahiye had around 2151 households. The average demographic size of the villages in this nahiye was 51,5 people, which was more than two times than the village size in the sub-district of Üsküdar. As explained above, the villages in the sub-district of Ada were located on the plain region of the Edirne district. This is important because, as the villages were on or around the fertile lands, the productivity of lands was rather high, which must have enabled the residents of those villages to meet their tax burden more easily.

As mentioned above, unfortunately, the part of the Edirne survey of 1670 that recorded the villages in the Çöke nahiye did not register landed property holders by making such a distinction. In other words, all the landholders' names were penned without mentioning their residential affiliation. Hence, it was impossible to create even a tentative aggregate population data for the villages located within the boundaries of the Çöke sub-district. Due to the impracticality of the figures derived from the Çöke nahiye, I omitted this part of the Edirne district from my demographic analysis. However, having the average percentage of village residents as landholders

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<sup>478</sup> About family sizes in the city of Edirne see Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles."

in other nahiyes (that are 69% for the Manastır nahiye, 67% for Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye, 63% for the Üsküdar nahiye and 57% for the Ada nahiye), we can have tentative household numbers in the Çöke nahiye. With all the miscalculation possibilities included (i.e., repetitions etc), if we consider that the half of the landholders registered in this sub-district was the village residents we reach a conclusion that more than 3350 households were living in the villages of the Çöke nahiye.

Table 24. Population density of villages in 1670

# of families	Ada <i>nâhiye</i>	Üsküdar <i>nâhiye</i>	Manastır <i>nâhiye</i>	Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa <i>nâhiye</i>	Çöke <i>nâhiye</i>
1-25	10	42	15	9	N/A
26-50	14	21	14	2	N/A
51-75	11	5	3	1	N/A
76-100	3	1	1		N/A
101-125	3	1	1		N/A
126-150					N/A
150+	1	1	2		N/A



As can be seen from the above table that disregards the Çöke data concerning the village sizes, the household numbers in villages seem to be relatively low. The majority of villages had maximum of 50 *hanes*. Villages exceeding the number of 100 households were incredibly rare. There was no such village in the Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa sub-district. It is evident that some of the largest villages with the highest population sizes were within the Ada nahiye. The latter was in close physical proximity to Edirne that was not only the largest consumer of the produce from villages, but also the nearest provider of various services to them. Hence, it makes sense that the villages around the city of Edirne would have a relatively high number of residents. Furthermore, the villages with close connection with Edirne were under the close surveillance of the imperial power. Especially, during the reign of Mehmed IV, who often visited near-by-villages due to the royal hunting expeditions in the Edirne region, these villages were under close attention of Edirne. Contemporary European and Ottoman observers vividly expressed this fact during their long or short sojourns to Edirne.<sup>479</sup>

Some rural settlements with very significant number of residents deserve special attention in order to understand the clustering of villages in the Edirne district in the seventeenth century. What I mean by clustering is that some villages seem to be the local minor centre of a few surrounding villages, most probably providing to them some daily services such as grocery, barber, and the like. The village of *nefs-i Üsküdar* (*karye-i nefis-i Üsküdar*) was one of them. Considering the fact that the term “nefs” generally referred to the city or town centre in the Ottoman jargon, it will be wise to say that the village of nefis-i Üsküdar was not a standard village.

All inaccuracy likelihoods kept in mind; the rural surroundings of the city of Edirne had around 9.500 households in the late seventeenth century as far as the Edirne survey of 1670 is concerned. This makes a massive rural population residing in an area that was in the jurisdiction of Edirne, which witnessed a significant demographic rise in the same century due to Mehmed IV’s existence in line with its

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<sup>479</sup> İsa-zade Abdullah, *İsa-zade Tarihi (Metin ve Tahlil)*, ed. Ziya Yılmaz (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1996); Derin, “Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi’-nâmesi”. Also see Covell, “Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covell, 1670-1679”.

political importance. As mentioned before, during the seventeenth century, the population of the city of Edirne was between 40-50.000.<sup>480</sup>

What we can estimate is that the rural surroundings of the city of Edirne had a relatively good number of people that was sufficient to feed the city with the produce offered. This is evident from the rural production of the Edirne district in the eighteenth century during which it did not only provide for the provisioning of Edirne but also that of Istanbul.<sup>481</sup>

#### 4.5.2. Religious Composition of Villages in the Edirne district

One of the most interesting observations we can make from the data in hand is the religious composition of villages in the Edirne district. Unlike the classical tahrirs of the sixteenth century that barely allow us to make inferences regarding the religious mixture of rural settlements because they did not overtly state whether dwellers resided in the given village or not,<sup>482</sup> the Edirne survey of 1670 recorded the village dwellers according to their residential connections. As stated above, the nahiye of Çöke has been deliberately excluded from this analysis because the Edirne survey of 1670 did not record the villages of this nahiye by making this differentiation.

Table 25. Religious composition of villages in the *nâhiye* of Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa

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<sup>480</sup> Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles”; Karagedikli, “Bir Payitahtı Yeniden Düşünmek.”

<sup>481</sup> The Muslim court registers of Edirne in eighteenth century include many imperial edicts that ordered the participation of the Edirne villages to the provisioning of Istanbul. See EŞS 174, 25 Zi'l-hicce 1176, p.13b; EŞS 189, h. 1187, pp.79-80; EŞS 181, 11 Rebiü'l-evvel 1182, p. 14b

<sup>482</sup> Despite this, many scholars attempted to analyze the religious mixture of rural settlements in the Ottoman country based on the tahrir surveys of the sixteenth century. See Yiğit, “XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Kazası.” Also see Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kısve Bahası petitions and Ottoman Social Life 1670-1730* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 65-100; Alexandre Popovic and Asma Rashid, “The Muslim Culture in the Balkans (16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries),” *Islamic Studies* 36, no. 2/3 (1997): 177-190.

Village name	# of Muslims	# of non-Muslims	Total
Karaođlanlı	9	11	20
Saruhanlı	17	2	19
Hacı Obası	23	0	23
Süleymanca	10	0	10
Hisarlı	23	18	41
Süle	2	10	12
Otlı Hacı	13	0	13
Derzi Pare	0	11	11
Aladađ	0	45	45
Habibce	51	0	51
Bunaklı	23	0	23
Akova	0	13	13
İflahanlı	24	7	31

The most convenient nahiye for such an analysis is the Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa sub-district consisting of 13 villages with permanent dwellers physically residing there and working on the land.<sup>483</sup> Amongst these 13 villages, 5 villages had exclusively Muslim dwellers and 3 villages had exclusively Christian. Furthermore, 5 villages seem to have been inhabited both by the Muslims and Christians (*zimmi*). However, among these “mixed” settlements, the villages of Saruhanlı and İflahanlı had a Muslim majority, while the village of Süle had a Christian predominance. Only, the villages of Kara Ođlanlı and Hisarlı had a mixed proportion of population in an acceptable sense. As far as religions of village dwellers are concerned, what we can say is that there seems to be a religious fragmentation in the villages of the Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye in the late seventeenth century.

<sup>483</sup> The same nahiye also comprised 8 hamlets that were under the use of neighboring village dwellers. These *mezraas* were Gökpınar, Kara Kasan, İlyasça, Bunaklı, Evekli, Rumşah, Oyacık, and Mensal. As the lands in these hamlets were worked on by non-permanent dwellers in these rural sites and as the villagers cultivating the lands were overtly stated in relation with the name of the villages where they resided, I did not take into account the villagers registered under these *mazraas* in order to avoid any repetition. For the villages and *mezraas* of the Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa nahiye see MAD 133, pp. 83-93

Despite the fact that religious mixture seems quite evident in the Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa villages, what we see in the Manastır sub-district is a religious polarization. As can be seen from the Table below, amongst 36 villages 20 had religious exclusivity of one religion or the other. 15 of these 20 villages had Christian residents exclusively, while the remaining 5 villages had only Muslim residents.

Table 26. Religious composition of villages in the *nâhiye* of Manastır

Village name	# of Muslims	# of non-Muslims	Total
Fikele	0	37	37
Vakf-ı Derbend	0	156	156
Kozluca	0	155	155
Dođanođlu+Sirem	0	107	107
Kavaklı	0	55	55
Yavuz Dere	0	12	12
Manastır-ı kebîr	0	67	69
Bađçe Pınarı	1	29	30
Aziz Halifa ( <i>Vakıf</i> )	14	6	20
Dermanlı	0	11	11
Kayacık	3	26	29
İskender Pazarı	20	0	20
Koyun Pınarı	18	1	19
Derviş	16	1	17
Drama	28	0	28
Köse Kulfallı	25	9	34
Aziz Halifa (Delüceli)	0	34	34
Şahlı	14	35	49
Sinekli-yi Gebran	0	26	26
Kırcal Obası	9	0	9
Sinekli-yi Müslim	10	3	13

Table 26. (Continued)

Manastır-ı sagır	1	56	57
Çakal Pınar (Çatma)	0	15	15
Akalan	0	25	25
Pare	11	0	11
Mişeli	9	19	28
Danişmendlü	4	14	18
Şah Melik	3	14	17
Işıklı	15	82	97
Defterdar	0	27	27
Tura Bey Obası	29	0	29
Yusuflu	31	2	33
Papas	0	31	31
Saltıklı	14	1	15
Beşayaklı (Davud Beğlü)	4	15	19
Gacel Ova	0	43	43

Among all villages of the Manastır nahiye, 13 villages seem to have had religiously mixed populations, though either Muslims or Christians had a majority. The villages of Bağçe Pınarı, Koyun Pınarı, Derviş, Manastır-ı sagır and Saltıklı had only one resident being from the other religion. As for the villages of Manastır-ı sagır Şah Melik, Danişmendlü, Kayacık, and Bağçe Pınarı that had predominantly Christian populations, the Muslims residing in these villages were either the sipahis of these villages or those possessing land there with the *sahib-i arz*'s certificate (*tasarruf temessükü*).<sup>484</sup> Alternatively, these Muslims may have been the new converts as is evident in their names recorded (*nev Müslim* or *Abdullah* as their patronymic).<sup>485</sup> No matter of what, the existence of these Muslim men does not change the religious predominance of Christians in these villages.

<sup>484</sup> For instance, the sipahi is the only Muslim in the village of Kara Hızır. MAD 133. Mustafa b. Abdullah, a new convert living in the village of Evriş, was the only Muslim recorded as a resident of the same village. MAD 133.

<sup>485</sup> Margariti v. Kara Mustafa from the village of Avcılar in the nahiye of Üsküdar was recorded as a new Muslim (*nev Müslim*). MAD 133. Yusuf v. Abdullah from the village of Ahi was of this sort. Also, 2 of the four Muslim residents of the village of Kemal in the Üsküdar nahiye were new converts.

The other line of the story is about those villages that had Muslim majority with only a few Christian dwellers. This type of villages were Yusufllu, Saltıklı, Köse Kulfallı, Koyun Pınarı, Derviş, and Aziz Halifa. The Christian dwellers residing in these villages may have been the “new comers”<sup>486</sup> or sharecroppers from other villagers as well. Alternatively, these men and women might be the ones deserting the neighboring villages due to calamities like plague. Plague did not infrequently visit the Ottoman lands in the early modern period, which has recently been studied by scholars.<sup>487</sup> Despite its frequent appearance in cities, plague was also a devastating factor in villages causing their dwellers’ desertion; at least it was the case until its worst period ended. Indeed, archival sources such as the 1686 avarız register reveal that plague caused a drop in the number of villagers as some departed from villages due to the plague in the Edirne district. The village of Şarabdar Hamza Bey in the Ada sub-district was one that was hit hard by plague after the imperial survey (probably of 1670?). The entry reads:

*karye-i mezbûre evkâfa meşrûta olmağın mukaddemâ hâne vaz‘ olunmayub İbrahim Efendi tahrîrinde [the survey of 1670?] hâne vaz‘ olunmağla ve karye-i mezbûreye ta‘ûn isâbet itmeğın ancak dört [avâriz] hâneye tahammülü vardır fermân Sultânımındır*<sup>488</sup>

Another similar example was the village of Kaba Öyük. It was most likely the plague in 1670 that caused a drop in the number of dwellers in the 1686 avarız register. In fact, the number of residents in the village of Kaba Öyük was 37 households in the 1670 survey, yet 8 casualties from the plague following this date was what decreased the village dwellers’ population. The entry reads:

*ba‘de‘t-tahrîr [following the Edirne survey of 1670?] karye-i mezbûre re‘âyâsına ta‘ûn isâbet itmeğın sekiz nefer re‘âyâsı mürd olub perîşân*

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<sup>486</sup> The register refers to a specific word (*yabancı*) when defining these new comers. The vilages of Avarız, Hacı Kafır, Nefs-i Üsküdar, Kayı, Kara Hızır and Umurca had a good number of *yabancı* villagers. MAD 133.

<sup>487</sup> Daniel Panzac, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda veba: 1700-1850*, trans. Serap Yılmaz (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1997); Nükhet Varlık, *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>488</sup> B.O.A. TT 817, p. 6.

*olmağla ancak iki [avârız] hâneye tahammülü vardır fermân Sultânımındır*<sup>489</sup>

Table 27. Religious composition of villages in the *nâhiye* of Üsküdar

Village name	# of Muslims	# of non-Muslims	Total
Etmekçi	16	0	16
Karabulut	17	3	20
Yahşi Fakih	23	0	23
Akpınar	14	3	17
Uzgaş	11	4	15
Köse Hamza	15	0	15
Avarız	18	13	31
Ulu Şahin	3	0	3
Kafir Hacı	0	31	31
Nefs-i Üsküdar	86	212	298
Kayı	0	93	93
Nusretli	18	5	23
Ahi	9	1	10
Doğancı	20	0	20
Dimitri	0	57	57
Avcılar	37	8	45
Kara Hızır	1	43	44
Kafir Pınarca	0	54	54
Umurca	14	1	15
Sökün	13	5	18
Büyük İsmailce	17	0	17
Pavlikan (Donuz Dere)	0	17	17
Hasköy	2	17	19
Yörücekli	1	18	19
Mihaliç	0	64	64
Lefke	0	65	65
Yahşi Beğlü	47	0	47

<sup>489</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

Table 27. (Continued)

Derviş Depe	0	106	106
Soğucak	0	48	48
Koca Yakublu	41	0	41
Küsti	31	0	31
Kerastal Hacı	18	0	18
Timurhanlı	5	28	33
Türk Pınarca	0	22	22
Kerume	0	36	36
Emrudlu	0	36	36
Kafıralan	0	25	25
Arablı	12	0	12
Hayreddince	27	0	27
Menacılar	0	40	40
Hızır Ağa	12	0	12
Kara Pelid	0	17	17
Kurdcalı	5	22	27
Obruklu	0	23	23
Yenice	0	10	10
Çingane Paşa	0	2	2
Geredeli	16	0	16
Galavanlı	0	17	17
Salihli	16	0	16
Yumuklu	12	0	12
Gülsuret	0	16	16
Sadıklı	25	0	25
Çaraklı	8	0	8
Halifa	41	0	41
Uğuralan	15	0	15
Simavnalı	6	34	40
Hıdır Yörük	12	0	12
Resullü	10	0	10
Pirinççiyad	9	0	9
Kara Pınar	18	0	18
Elhac İbrahim Obası	10	0	10



Table 27. (Continued)

Yeni Yayla	24	0	24
Durmuşlu (Arabacı)	21	0	21
Kırk Paşa	0	32	32
Akça İbrahim	27	0	27
Koyunlu	22	0	22
Evriş	2	29	31
Maraş	12	58	70
Kemal	4	37	41
Kırşehir	18	2	20
Hatun	6	34	40

In the nahiye of Üsküdar, 29 villages were exclusively Muslim, while 21 villages were exclusively Christian. Other than these one faith exclusive villages, there were mixed villages that had Muslim or Christian majority. The villages of Kara Hızır and Evriş seem to have had only one and two Muslim residents respectively. The former's only Muslim resident was the sipahi of the village (*Sipahi Mehmed Bey*). The latter village's Muslims, though, were the new Muslims (*Mehmed veled Abdullah* and *Mustafa veled Abdullah*) who were still residing in the same village even after their conversion.

Table 28. Religious composition of villages in the *nâhiye* of Ada

Village name	# of Muslims	# of non-Muslims	Total
Ahur+Hırvat	79	0	79
İneoğlu	73	0	73
Keniseli	71	0	71
Şahinci	47	0	47
Ömerbeğli	69	0	69
Sofular	59	0	59
Ece Sultan	25	0	25
Bosna	38	1	39
Yundbergos+Tatarlı	66	0	66
Karaağaç	4	51	55
Çörek	8	59	67
Düdükçü Yenicesi	0	70	70
Düdükçü	8	1	9
Saltıklı	31	0	31
Ayntablı	30	0	30
Kulaklı	10	27	37
Doğanca Arzı	30	62	92
Bazarlı	0	81	81
Yarbuş Ata/Tatar	20	30	50
Kafir Doğanca	1	124	125
Kaba Öyük	2	35	37
Türk Doğanca	10	0	10
Kara İshaklı	17	0	17
Küramidli	60	0	60
Timurtaş	28	0	28
Polad	7	48	55
Azadlı	37	80	117
Şarabdar (Keşanlı)	39	67	106
Daye Hatun	11	34	45

Table 28. (Continued)

Köse Dođancı Murad	20	1	21
İlbeđi Bergos	25	2	27
Eymirli	58	0	58
Bulaklı	11	17	28
Karakasım	13	16	29
Sazlıdere	15	0	15
Abalı	23	0	23
Ođul Paşa	36	1	37
Öyüklü Tatarı	9	0	9
Elçili	25	0	25
Sıđırcalu	29	8	37
Çeke Tatarı	22	1	23
İskender	17	162	179

The table below shows the religious fragmentation observed in the villages of the Edirne district in the seventeenth century. In the table ME refers to villages with exclusive Muslim populations, while CE indicates the villages with exclusive Christian dwellers. The letters of ME and CE are used to indicate the villages where no member of the other faith was permanently resided. In other words, when there was no Muslim residing in a Christian village, it is shown as CE. Alternatively, if there was no Christian permanently living in a Muslim village, the village is shown as ME.

Table 29. Number of villages according to religious fragmentation

<b>Nahiye</b>	<b>ME</b>	<b>CE</b>	<b>M-MD</b>	<b>M-CD</b>
Üsküdar	29	21	10	12
Manastır	5	15	7	9
Cirs-i Mustafa Paşa	5	3	3	2
Ada	19	2	7	14
Çöke	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
TOTAL	58 (35%)	41 (25%)	27 (16%)	37 (22%)

ME: Muslim exclusive; CE: Christian exclusive; M-MD: Mixed with Muslim dominance; M-CD: Mixed with Christian dominance

Moreover, there were also mixed villages inhabited by both Christians and Muslims. However, as some of these mixed villages had varying number of members from the other faith (i.e., majority is Muslim with few Christians, or vice versa), they have to be treated differently regarding their dominance. Hence, I used the abbreviations of M-MD (Mixed but Muslim dominant) and M-CD (mixed but Christian dominant) in order to differentiate the religious composition of the villages. As can be clearly seen from the table, in the late seventeenth century, the villages in the Edirne district were significantly segmented in terms of religious affiliations of villagers. 60 percent of the villages comprised religiously homogenous populations. On the other hand, religiously mixed villages were not insignificant either. Unfortunately, the registration practices for the nahiyes of Ada, Üsküdar, Cirs-i Mustafa Paşa, and Manastır was not applicable to the Çöke sub-district, hence its villages were not included into this analysis. Keeping in mind that Çöke nahiye consisted of the highest number of villages in the Edirne kaza, this confession based analysis may have to be amended with other archival documents that supply similar data.

### 4.5.3. *Askeris* in the Edirne villages

Koçi Bey, a seventeenth century author, in his famous treatise prepared for the young Ottoman Sultan Murad IV, would write the following concerning the group of military men called “ulûfeli”:

Ve bölük tâ‘ifesinde cârî olan kânûn ki İstanbul ve Edirne ve Bursa beyninde olan kurâ ve kasabâtda sâkin olmaktır. Cârî olan kânûn bi‘l-küllîye ferâmûş olunub ...etrâf ü eknâfa müstevlî olmuşlardır. Ve kurâ ve kasabâtı kabza-i tasarruflarına almışlardır<sup>490</sup>

Although the above statement was written in relation to a specific group of military men who were now residing in places other than what was assigned to them, what contemporary Ottoman intellectuals like Koçi Bey observed was by no means a groundless gossip. Modern Ottomanist historians have long underlined the permanent establishment of askeri men in rural parts in the vicinity of cities.<sup>491</sup> Indeed, men with specific askeri titles (like *ulûfeli*) were well involved in acquiring landed property in the rural spheres of large cities in the Ottoman Empire. In the villages located around the cities of İstanbul, Bursa and Edirne that were the three seats of the Ottoman Empire, it was a legal matter that Koçi Bey also agreed with. For the Bursa region, for instance, Haim Gerber asserts that the rural hinterland of Bursa was in fact penetrated by urban elites.<sup>492</sup>

Yet, to what extent do we see this penetration? If the involvement of these men was so extensive, did it create a threat for the peasant who held the backbone of the landed property in the Ottoman Empire? In other words, did this penetration reduce the peasant to the status of sharecroppers initially, leading their indebtedness in the middle range, and physically drawing them out from villages eventually?

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<sup>490</sup> Görüceli Koçi Bey, *Koçi Bey Risâlesi*, 51.

<sup>491</sup> For a general reading on the matter in the classical period see İncalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* vol.1. In the second volume of the same study, McGowan, “The age of the Ayan.” For the Balkans see Moacanin, *Town and Country* and McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*. For Anatolian provinces see Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600-1700*. Also see Gerber, *Social origins of the Modern Middle East*.

<sup>492</sup> Gerber, *Social origins of the Modern Middle East*.

In order to answer these questions that will be dealt with in the following pages of this study, one needs to detect the degree of existence of these men in a specific region. Indeed, the men with titles seem to have involved with landholding in the Edirne region. Below, I will initially identify these men and women (if any) involving in agricultural activities in the rural hinterland of Edirne, which will be done by dividing them into two groups. The first group comprises those who seem to have lived in villages as permanent residents. The second group includes those who lived in the city of Edirne yet held some sorts of landed property in villages. Being aware of the fact that the titles may not always underline the askeri status of people because of their inherent problem, the below table was made based the selection of such titles as ağa, bey, paşa, beşe, cümdi, seyid, çelevi, efendi, halife, dede, and so on. Those who were not recorded with an askeri title yet attached to a state position are taken into account, as it is clear that they were in the service of the Sultan.<sup>493</sup>

Table 30. Landholders with askeri titles according to their place of residence

Name of sub-district	# of askeris living in villages	# of askeris living in Edirne
Üsküdar	264	44
Manastır	73	3
Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa	20	2
Ada	345	98
Çöke	N/A	N/A

<sup>493</sup> For example, “*Arnavud Halil bevvab-ı Sultani der Edirne*” is one of these. Karye-i Manastır-ı sagır in the Manastır nahiye. The titles like *bevvab*, *kapucu*, and so on are taken into account in this regard.

It seems that men with askeri titles tended to live mostly in the villages of the sub-districts of Üsküdar and Ada. Furthermore, those who lived in Edirne also seem to have acquired landed property in these nahiyes. It makes sense to say that men of askeri origin *did* live in rural sites of Edirne, though not in significant portions. This was not unknown to contemporary Ottomans during the seventeenth century when Koçi Bey was complaining about the existence of askeri class members in the villages where they were making profit.<sup>494</sup> It seems quite evident that askeris dwelling in Edirne were well involved in the rural economy of Edirne by acquiring landed property in villages that were a significant dependant of the city of Edirne. With the demographic rise in the city of Edirne in the seventeenth century, the rural hinterland of the city was re-organized by increasing the allocations to the city in order to tolerate this population rise that would otherwise be impossible to happen.

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<sup>494</sup> Görüceli Koçi Bey, *Koçi Bey Risâlesi*.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

In the present research I analyzed the Edirne district in its entirety through a new set of data based on archival sources in order to answer the research questions that I raised in Introduction, based on which I reached the following conclusions:

The initial important conclusion that this thesis draws attention to is that Edirne was the “rising star” of the seventeenth century Ottoman political cosmos. There were surely reasons for this. Edirne was not an ordinary city; it was one of the three seats (*tahtgâh-ı selâse*) for the Ottomans, and a frontier hub where military campaigns towards the West and the North were gathered. Hence, Edirne needed special attention. However, the rather different political realities of the seventeenth century brought the city to a new stage. To begin with, during most of the seventeenth century, the consecutive Ottoman sultans continued to reside in Edirne that made the city’s population double. The demographic rise in Edirne in the seventeenth century necessitated the placement of wider rural sites under its jurisdiction in order to better meet the needs of the city. Hence, further integration of the city of Edirne with its rural hinterland was inevitable. Most of the questions that this study sought to answer were related to the organization of rural space around Edirne in the early modern period. Thus, I did not only treat the city per se, but also analyzed its rural surroundings as the city’s crucial interdependent component. Doubtlessly, the city of Edirne witnessed a massive enlargement in the seventeenth century that was not only underlined by the modern scholarship but also by the contemporaries lived in the period. As mentioned above, the city’s physical and demographic enlargement not only brought about a new administrative structure of Edirne, but also necessitated its further integration with its rural surroundings. This occurred in a way that rural



hinterland of Edirne was re-organized in the mid-seventeenth century. As the Edirne *kaza* in the seventeenth century was composed of the villages that were not under its jurisdiction in the sixteenth century, it took a re-organized form that continued to exist until the late nineteenth century. The seventeenth century's administrative re-organization of the Edirne district brought under its control five sub-districts (*nahiye*) covering a region of more than 320 villages.

In this analysis of space organization in the Edirne district, it is a good way to compare it with Bursa that was an "independent district" as well, and had witnessed a similar spatial organization in the late sixteenth century. However, while the re-organization of space in the Bursa case was realized in a way that various rural sites from other sub-provinces were brought under the jurisdiction of Bursa, the organization of space in the Edirne case was more different. What I mean by this is that unlike the Bursa district that brought rural units under its jurisdiction from other sub-provinces that were not in physical proximity with Bursa, the Edirne district was re-organized by bringing rural settlements under its jurisdiction from within the very same sub-province. The city encompassed a larger rural hinterland in order to tolerate the city's demographic boom that it faced throughout the seventeenth and early years of the eighteenth centuries, which was directly related to the existence of the Ottoman sultans in Edirne.

Furthermore, the present research empirically contributes to the literature by assembling a new data set based on a newly discovered survey prepared in the late seventeenth century, which was also related to the very role of the city of Edirne in the seventeenth century. In this respect, it shows that the Ottomans were in the way to register rural sites in a more sound way that was not evident in the previous centuries. In this regard, the unit of measurement as *cerib* shows a new attempt of the Ottomans' changing registration practices in the seventeenth century. It also empirically and quantitatively shows the sizes of peasant farms as well as the so-called estates. Although the previous generation of scholars analyzed land and land possession without empirically proving how land possession of peasants and high status state officials changed in the seventeenth century, this research provides a

concrete set of data that shows the physical extension of peasant farms and estates in the Edirne region in the seventeenth century.

The empirical data used in this dissertation was based mostly on one specific survey register prepared in 1670. The survey register under consideration was not in a unified form in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archive; hence, I brought them together by carefully reading each picece and that eventually allowed me to make my analyses on a meaningful whole. Furthermore, following the final completion of the said survey register, I came to a position that enabled me to understand the reasoning of the Ottoman tax surveys from a wider perspective. In other words, the 1670 Edirne survey had different registration logics from classical tax surveys, which was in line with the changing fiscal and military realities of the second half of the seventeenth century.

For a final word, empirical contributions of this dissertation notwithstanding, new archival evidence and interpretations of the sources will in the future certainly widen our knowledge of city-countryside interaction and socio-agrarian structures in the early modern Ottoman Empire.

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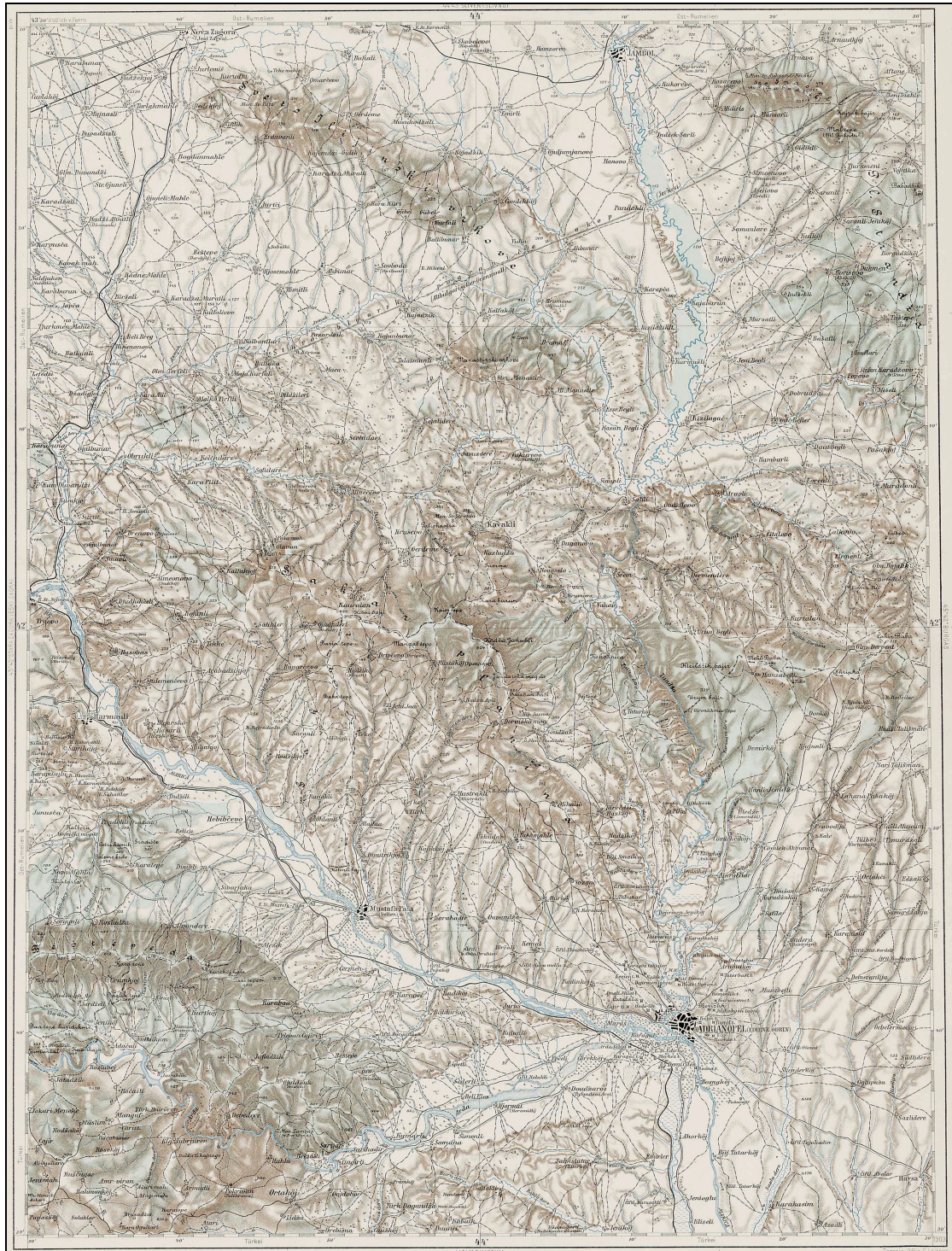
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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A. A Map of the The Edirne Region

(<http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/digkonyv/topo/200e/44-42.jpg>) Accessed on 3 June 2017



Appendix B. List of settlements in the Edirne district

<b>Settlement names in 1670</b>	<b><i>Nahiyes</i> in 1670</b>	<b>Settlement names today</b>	<b>Country</b>
Ahur	Ada	Nea Vyssa	Greece
Mezra'a-i Saruhan	Ada		
Eyneođlu	Ada	Sakkos	Greece
Keniseli	Ada	Orestiada	Greece
Şahinci	Ada	Palaia Sayini	Greece
Ömer Beđli (Umur Bey)	Ada	Palaion Khimonion	Greece
Sofular	Ada	Safiko	Greece
Ece Sultan (Ahmed Fakih)	Ada	Patagi	Greece
Çiftlik-i Kara Yakub	Ada		
Bosna	Ada	Bosna	Turkey
Yundbergos ma'a Tatarlı	Ada	Sterna	Greece
Yurd-ı Ahur-ı miri eş-şehr be-Emir Gazi	Ada		
Karaağaç	Ada	Karaağaç	Turkey
Çörek	Ada	Kastanies	Greece
Düdükçü Yenicesi	Ada		
Düdükçi	Ada		
Saltıklı	Ada	Valtos	Greece
Ayntablı	Ada	Chandras	Greece
Kulaklı ma'a karye-i Topal	Ada	Arzos	Greece
Dođanca Arızı	Ada	Rizia	Greece
Bazarlı	Ada		
Mezra'a-i Kuru eş-şehr be-Tavşan	Ada		
Yarbuz Tatar (Tatar)	Ada		
Kafir Dođancı	Ada	Megali	Greece

		Doxipara	
Kaba Öyük	Ada	Vrysi	Greece
Türk Dođancı	Ada	Mikra Doxipara	Greece
Kara İshaklı	Ada	Lepti	Greece
Küramidli ma'a Sekbanlı	Ada	Keramos	Greece
Müsellem Çiftlik Bahadırılı	Ada		
Mezra'a-i Çalık	Ada		
Timurtaş	Ada	Demirtaş	Turkey
Pulad	Ada	Polat	Turkey
Azadlı	Ada	Azatlı	Turkey
Musa Hacı	Ada		
Koçak	Ada		
Şarabdar nam-ı diđer Keşanlı	Ada	Şerbettar	Turkey
Daye Hatun	Ada	Mandıra/ Tayakadın	Turkey
Mezra'a-i Derzi Ali	Ada		
Köse Dođancı Murad	Ada	Doyran	Turkey
İlbeđli Bergos	Ada	Neos Pyrgos	Greece
Müsellem Çiftlik-i Karaca	Ada		
Emirler	Ada	Kavyli	Greece
Çiftlik-i Yahşi Fakih karye-i Emirler	Ada		
Bulaklı (Kulaklı)	Ada		
Kara Kasım (Mahmudca)	Ada	Karakasım	Turkey
Sazlı Dere	Ada	Sazlıdere	Turkey
Abalı	Ada	Abalar	Turkey
Müsellem Çiftlik-i Bulgurca Ali	Ada		
Müsellem Çiftlik-i Salamuk	Ada		



Ođul Pařa	Ada	Ođulpařa	Turkey
Mezra'a-i Hızırca	Ada		
Mezra'a-i Kebe Kal'alı	Ada		
Öyüklü Tatarı	Ada	Üyüklü Tatar	Turkey
Mezra'a-i Çingane Yurdu	Ada		
İlçili ma'a mezra'a-i Topalak	Ada	Elçili	Turkey
Sıđırcalu (Balaban)	Ada	Sıđırcılı	Turkey
Mezra'a-i Yalamađlı	Ada		
Çeke Tatarlı	Ada	Küçüktatarköy	Turkey
Mezra'a-i Mezid Bey kurb-i Çeke Tat.	Ada		
İskender	Ada	İskender	Turkey
Etmekçi	Üsküdar	Ekmekçi	Turkey
Mezra'a-i Ya'kub	Üsküdar		
Karabulut	Üsküdar	Karabulut	Turkey
Yahři Fakih	Üsküdar		
Akbınar	Üsküdar	Sırpsındıđı	Turkey
Mezra'a-i Küplüce	Üsküdar		
Uzgař	Üsküdar	Uzgac	Turkey
Köse Hamza	Üsküdar	Köse Hamza	Turkey
Havarız	Üsküdar	Avarız	Turkey
Ulu Bayır (Ulu řahin)	Üsküdar		
Kafir Hacı	Üsküdar	Blaguntsi	Bulgaria
Mezra'a-i Çömlekçi	Üsküdar	Çömlekköy	Turkey
Mezra'a-i İsakçı	Üsküdar		
Mezra'a-i Mahmadlı	Üsküdar		
Nefs-i Üsküdar	Üsküdar	Shtit	Bulgaria
Kayı	Üsküdar	Raykova Mogila	Bulgaria

Müsellem Çiftlik-i Sökün nam-ı diğer Budak	Üsküdar		
Nusretli	Üsküdar		
Ahi	Üsküdar	Ahiköy	Turkey
Doğancı	Üsküdar	Budakdoğanca	Turkey
Dimitri	Üsküdar	Dimitrovche	Bulgaria
Avcılar	Üsküdar	Ravna Gora	Bulgaria
Kara Hızır	Üsküdar	Chernodub	Bulgaria
Kafir Pınarca	Üsküdar	İzvotova	Bulgaria
Umurca	Üsküdar		
Müsellem Çiftlik-i Sökün Tatar	Üsküdar		
Mezra'a-i Timurtaş	Üsküdar		
Sökün ma'a mezra'a-i Karaca Süleymanlı	Üsküdar		
Müsellem Çiftlik-i Sonsuz (Tudlu)	Üsküdar		
Büyük İsmailce	Üsküdar	Büyükismailce	Turkey
Donuz Dere (Pavlikan)	Üsküdar		
Hasköy nam-ı diğer Aslıhan	Üsküdar	Sladun	Bulgaria
Yörücekli	Üsküdar	Razdel	Bulgaria
Mihaliç	Üsküdar	Mikhalich	Bulgaria
Lefke	Üsküdar	Levka	Bulgaria
Yahşi Beğlü	Üsküdar	Vaskovo	Bulgaria
Mezra'a-i Yunus	Üsküdar		
Derviş Depe	Üsküdar	Dervishka Mogila	Bulgaria
Soğucak	Üsküdar	Studena	Bulgaria
Mezra'a-i Korucu	Üsküdar		
Mezra'a-i Karabaş	Üsküdar		
Koca Ya'kub	Üsküdar	Lisovo?	Bulgaria



Küstü (Küsti)	Üsküdar	Kostur	Bulgaria
Kerdesal? Hacı	Üsküdar	Blaguntsi	Bulgaria
Timurhanlı	Üsküdar		
Türk Pınarca	Üsküdar		
Gerüce	Üsküdar		
Akhadlı?	Üsküdar		
Kafıralan	Üsküdar	Bulgarska Polyana	Bulgaria
Arablı	Üsküdar	Chernozem	Bulgaria
Hızır Baba	Üsküdar		
Hayreddince	Üsküdar		
Müsellem Çiftlik	Üsküdar		
Mezra'a-i Şadi Fakih	Üsküdar		
Mezra'a-i Şadi Fakih	Üsküdar		
Menacılar	Üsküdar	Polski Gradets	Bulgaria
Hızır Ağa	Üsküdar		
Mezra'a-i yurd-i Sofular	Üsküdar	Mudrets	Bulgaria
Mezra'a-i Bekirli Yurdu	Üsküdar		
Müsellem Çiftlik-i Sofular	Üsküdar		
Kara Pelid	Üsküdar	Mednikarovo	Bulgaria
Müsellem Çiftlik-i Yeni Pınar	Üsküdar		
Kurdcalı?	Üsküdar	Iskritsa	Bulgaria
Obruklu	Üsküdar	Obruchishte	Bulgaria
Müsellem Çiftlik-i Ali Baba	Üsküdar		
Yenice	Üsküdar		
Çingane Paşa	Üsküdar	Voyvodovo	Bulgaria
Geredeli	Üsküdar	Cherepovo	Bulgaria
Kalavanlı	Üsküdar	Glavan	Bulgaria

Salihli	Üsküdar	Branitsa	Bulgaria
Yumuklu	Üsküdar		
Gülsuret	Üsküdar	Dositeevo?	Bulgaria
Sadıklı ma'a mahalle-i Bayır Yolu ve mezraa-i	Üsküdar	Tyanevo	Bulgaria
Müsellem Çiftlik be-nam Soflakçı?	Üsküdar		
Çıtaklı ma'a mezra'a-i Danişmend Deresi	Üsküdar		
Halife	Üsküdar	Pomoshtnik	Bulgaria
Uğur Alaki	Üsküdar		
Simavnalı	Üsküdar	Trojan	Bulgaria
Hıdır Yörük	Üsküdar	Vladimirovo?	Bulgaria
Resullü	Üsküdar		
Pirinçyal	Üsküdar		
Kara Pınar	Üsküdar		
Müsellem Çiftlik-i Uçan	Üsküdar		
Elhac İbrahim Obası	Üsküdar		
Kum	Üsküdar	Pyasuchevo	Bulgaria
Müsellem Çiftlik-i Azizlü	Üsküdar		
Yelli Baba	Üsküdar		
Müsellem Çiftlik-i Babagi	Üsküdar		
Durmuşlu	Üsküdar		
Mezra'a-i Orta Berde	Üsküdar		
Mezra'a-i Şadi Fakih	Üsküdar		
Kırk Paşa	Üsküdar	Generalovo	Bulgaria
Müsellem Çiftlik-i Alan	Üsküdar		
Akça İbrahim	Üsküdar		
Müsellem Çiftlik-i Fakirce	Üsküdar		
Koyunlu	Üsküdar		

Evriş	Üsküdar		
Mar'aş	Üsküdar	Marasia	Greece
Kemal	Üsküdar	Kemal	Turkey
Mezra'a-i Budak	Üsküdar		
Mezra'a-i Aslıhan	Üsküdar		
Kırşehir	Üsküdar		
Mezra'a-i Kemal	Üsküdar		
Hatun	Üsküdar	Kadınköy	Turkey
Kara Oğlanlı	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa		
Mezra'a-i Gökpınar Başı	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa		
Mezra'a-i Kara Veli Çayırı	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa		
Koyunlu	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	Ovcharovo	Bulgaria
Müsellem Çiftlik-i Köşeler	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa		
Saruhanlı	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	Oryakhovo	Bulgaria
Hacı Obası	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	Yerusalimovo	Bulgaria
Süleymanca	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	Bulgarin	Bulgaria
Hisarlı	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	Rogozinovo	Bulgaria

Sula	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	Dositeevo	Bulgaria
Otlu Hacı	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa		
Derzi Pare	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa		
Aladağ	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	Pustrogor	Bulgaria
Habibce	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	Lyubimets	Bulgaria
Mezra'a-i İlyasca	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa		
Mezra'a-i Karamanlı	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	Kharmanli	Bulgaria
Bunaklı	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	Georgi- Dobrevo	Bulgaria
Mezra'a-i Evekli	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa		
Akova	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa		
Mezra'a-i Rumşah	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa		
Mezra'a-i Oyacık	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa		
Müsellem Çiftlik	Cisr-i Mustafa		

	Paşa		
Mezra'a-i Mensal?	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa		
İflahanlı	Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa	Momkovo	Bulgaria
Fikele	Manastır	Matochina	Bulgaria
Vakıf Derbend ma'a karye-i Yeni	Manastır	Ustrem	Bulgaria
Kozluca ma'a karye-i Çukur	Manastır	Ureshnik	Bulgaria
Doğanoğlu Ma'a Karye-i Sirem	Manastır	Duganovo	Bulgaria
Kavaklı	Manastır	Topolovgrad	Bulgaria
Yavuz Dere	Manastır	Dobroselets	Bulgaria
Manastır-ı Kebir	Manastır	Golyam Manastır	Bulgaria
Bağçe Pınarı	Manastır		
Aziz Halife	Manastır	Miladinovtsi	Bulgaria
Dermanlı	Manastır		
Kayacık	Manastır	Skalitsa	Bulgaria
Mezra'a-i Ortakçı nam-ı diğer Ortakçı Çiftlik	Manastır		
Mezra'a-i Savcılı	Manastır		
İskender Pazarı	Manastır		
Mezra'a-i Aşıklar? Yurdu	Manastır		
Mezra'a-i Timurcalı	Manastır		
Koyun Pınarı	Manastır	Ovchi Kladenets	Bulgaria
Derviş	Manastır	Malomir?	Bulgaria
Drama	Manastır	Drama	Bulgaria
Mezra'a-i Eyneoğlu Çiftlik-i Müselleman	Manastır		

Köse Kulfallı (Kulfallı)	Manastır	Savino	Bulgaria
Aziz Halifa Nam-ı diğer Delüceli	Manastır		
Mezra'a-i Eyüçüklü Çiftlik-i müselleman	Manastır		
Şahlı ma'a mahalle-i Sinablı	Manastır	Knyazhevo	Bulgaria
Mezra'a-i Sinablı	Manastır	Sinapovo	Bulgaria
Sinekli-i Gebran	Manastır		
Kırcal Obası	Manastır		
Kara Sinekli-i Müslim	Manastır		
Manastır-ı Sağır	Manastır	Maluk Manastir	Bulgaria
Çakal Pınar nam-ı diğer Çatma	Manastır	Çatmaköy	Turkey
Ak Alan nam-ı diğer Burgucular	Manastır	Polyana	Bulgaria
Mezra'a-i Osman an çiftlik-i Müselleman	Manastır		
Pare? 'an ifraz-ı karye-i Koca Bıçak	Manastır		
Mişeli	Manastır	Dubovo	Bulgaria
Danişmendlü	Manastır	General- Toshevo	Bulgaria
Şah Melek	Manastır		
Işıklı ma'a mahalle-i Gökmen Obası	Manastır	Barisovo	Bulgaria
Defterdar	Manastır		
Tura Bey Obası	Manastır		
Yusuflu	Manastır		
Papas	Manastır	Popovo	Bulgaria
Mezra'a-i Balabanlı Çiftlik-i Müselleman	Manastır		
Saltıklı	Manastır		
Beşayaklı nam-ı diğer Davud Beğlü	Manastır	Zlatinitza	Bulgaria
Mezra'a-i Beşayaklı 'an Çiftlik-i müselleman	Manastır		
Mezra'a-i Küreci	Manastır		

Mezra'a-i Yalicalı 'an Çiftlik-i Müselleman	Manastır		
Gacel Ova	Manastır	Granitovo	Bulgaria
Sabuncu (Timurhan Çiftliği)	Çöke		
Musabeğli	Çöke	Musabeyli	Turkey
Müsellem Çiftlik tabi'-i karye-i Musa B.	Çöke		
Gerede-i Küçük	Çöke	Küçük Geredeli (haritada)	
Hızırağa	Çöke	Hızırağa	Turkey
Kara Yusuf	Çöke	Karayusuf	Turkey
Saruhanlı-i sağır	Çöke		
Saruhanlı-i kebir	Çöke		
Kayapa	Çöke	Kayapa	Turkey
Ortakçı	Çöke	Ortakçı	Turkey
Timurcilü (Demircili)	Çöke	Timurcalı (Haritada)	Turkey
Sungurculu	Çöke	Sungurculu	Turkey
Yaycılı	Çöke	Yağcılı	Turkey
Müsellem Çiftlik tabi'-i karye-i Sungurculu ve Yaycılı	Çöke		
Timurhanlı	Çöke	Demirhanlı	Turkey
Kuru Pelteli (Burnu Benbeli)	Çöke		
Köş	Çöke	Köş Çiftliği (Haritada)	Turkey
Habiller	Çöke	Habiller/Gabiller	Turkey
Eşekçi	Çöke		
Uluşay (Ulu Paşa?)	Çöke		
Resuller	Çöke		

Mihrali Beşe (Mehter Ali)	Çöke		
Çobanlı	Çöke		
Hacı Umurlu	Çöke	Hacıumur	Turkey
İmralı	Çöke		
Geçdinli	Çöke	Geçkinli	Turkey
Selimbeğli	Çöke		
Taşlık Müsellimi	Çöke	Taşlımüsellim	Turkey
Mezra'a-i Kara Göller tabi'-i karye-i Taşlık Müsellimi	Çöke		
Taşlık Sekbanı	Çöke	Taşlısekban	Turkey
Müsellem Çiftlik der kurb-ı Taşlık Sekbanı	Çöke		
Süle	Çöke	Sülecik	Turkey
Müsellem Çiftlik der kurb-i karye-i Sule	Çöke		
Domurcalu	Çöke	Domurcalı	Turkey
Tatarlar	Çöke	Tatarlar	Turkey
Söğüdcük	Çöke		
Müsellem Çiftlik der kurb-ı karye-i Söğüdcük	Çöke		
Süleyman Danişmendli	Çöke	Süleymandaniş ment	Turkey
Ömer Obası Ma'a Yurd Eyvanlu	Çöke	Ömerobaköy	Turkey
Çeşme nam-ı diğer Yeniköy	Çöke	Çeşmeköy	Turkey
Veysal Nam-ı diğer Sofular	Çöke	Vaysal	Turkey
Malkoçlar	Çöke	Malkoçlar	Turkey
Ocak nam-ı diğer Ebüklü? Baba	Çöke	Kraynovo	Bulgaria
Sohta Obası Nâm-ı Diğer Kurbağılık	Çöke		
Karaağaç nam-ı diğer Esillü?	Çöke		
Dolab	Çöke		

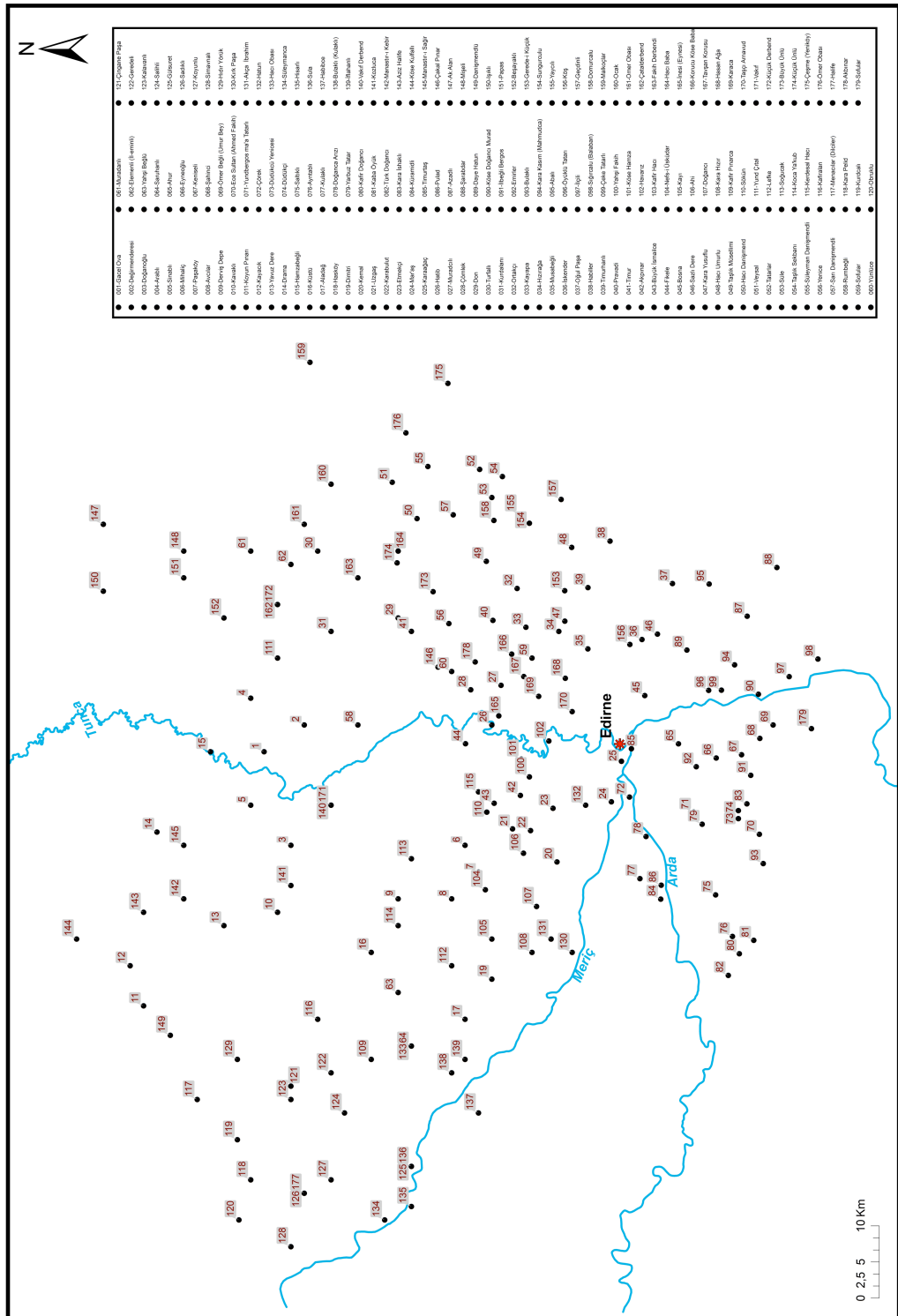


Ömer Obası Nâm-ı Diğer Boyalık-ı Bâlâ Ma'a Zîr	Çöke	Sharhovo (Boyalık)	Bulgaria
Müsellem Çiftlik der kurb-ı Boyalık Bala	Çöke		
Müsellem Çiftlik der kurb-ı Boyalık-ı Zîr ma'a Bâlâ	Çöke		
Kovanlık	Çöke		
Elemenli (İl-eminli)	Çöke	Sitovo	Bulgaria
Haydarlı	Çöke		
Müsellem Çiftlik der kurb-ı Muradanlı	Çöke		
Muradanlı	Çöke	Mamarchevo	Bulgaria
Lalkova Nam-ı diğer Derbend-i sağır	Çöke	Lalkovo	Bulgaria
Çatalderbend (Çataldere-Çatalköy)	Çöke	Razdel	Bulgaria
Müsellem Çiftlik der kurb-ı karye-i Değirmen Dere.	Çöke		
Değirmenderesi	Çöke	Melnitsa	Bulgaria
Hamzabeğli	Çöke	Hamzabeyli	Turkey
Timur	Çöke	Demirköy	Turkey
Rumbeğli	Çöke	Lesovo	Bulgaria
Müsellem Çiftlik be-nam İslamlı der kurb-i Timur	Çöke		
Müsellem Çiftlik Kalaycı der kurb-ı karye-i Timur	Çöke		
Don	Çöke	Donköy	Turkey
Turfallı nam-ı diğer Enceкли	Çöke	Iglika	Bulgaria
Müsellem Çiftlik benam-ı Çakırlı der kurb-ı Hacılar	Çöke		
Küçük Ünlü	Çöke	Küçüköğünlü	Turkey
Kurdalanı	Çöke	Vulcha Polyana	Bulgaria
Fakih Derbendi (Derbend-i Kebir)	Çöke		

Mezra'a-i Balabanlı der kurb-ı karye-i Fakih Derbendi	Çöke		
Mezra'a-i Çiğilli	Çöke		
Hacı Baba	Çöke	Hacılar	Turkey
Büyük Ünlü	Çöke	Büyüköğünlü	Turkey
Hacı Danişmend ma'a karye-i Yunak	Çöke	Hacıdanişment	Turkey
Sarı Danişmendli	Çöke	Sarıdanişment	Turkey
Mezra'a-i Zaviye-i vakf-ı Muhyiddin Baba	Çöke		
Mezra'a-i Yundlu	Çöke		
Mezra'a-i Döldöken	Çöke	Küçükdöllük	Turkey
Paşa	Çöke	Lalapaşa	Turkey
Akpınar	Çöke	Çömlekakpınar	Turkey
Yenice	Çöke	Hanlıyenice	Turkey
Mezra'a-i Peşravlı	Çöke		
Yünlüce	Çöke	Yünlüce	Turkey
Pravadi	Çöke	Sinanköy	Turkey
Çömlek	Çöke	Çömlekköy	Turkey
Mezra'a-i İn-Bükü Nam-ı diğer Delikli Kaya der kurb-ı karye-i Çömlek	Çöke		
Mezra'a-i Çakırlı? Sultan der kurb-ı karye-i Çömlek	Çöke		
Muradcılı	Çöke	Muratçılı	Turkey
Hatib	Çöke	Hatip	Turkey
İnesi (Eynesi)	Çöke		
Vakıf	Çöke		
Korucu Köse Baba	Çöke	Korucu	Turkey
Ummanlık?	Çöke		
Tavşan Korusu	Çöke		

Sofular	Çöke	Menekşesofular	Turkey
Kırık	Çöke		
Hasan Ağa	Çöke	Hasanağa	Turkey
Çaşnigir	Çöke		
Karaca	Çöke	Büyükdöllük	Turkey
Hacı Doğan	Çöke		
Taşçı Arnavud	Çöke	Taşçı Arnavud	Turkey

# Appendix C. Edirne Villages in 1670



## Appendix D. Curriculum Vitae

### PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Karagedikli, Gürer  
Nationality: Turkish (TC)  
Date and Place of Birth: 24 May 1979 , Ankara  
Marital Status: Single  
Phone: +90 312 210 50 33  
Fax: +90 312 210 79 73  
email: gurer@metu.edu.tr

### EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
PHD	METU History Department	2017
MA	Bilkent University History Department	2011
BA	Gazi University Public Finance	2003
High School	İncirli High School, Ankara	1996

### WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Position
2012- Present	METU Department of History	Lecturer

### LANGUAGES

Turkish (native), English (fluent), Ottoman Turkish (advanced reading skills), French (reading)

### PUBLICATIONS

1. Karagedikli G. "Professional Profiles of Christians in Eighteenth Century Ottoman Edirne as Reflected in Probate Inventories" *Archivum Ottomanicum* 33 (2016), pp.191-202.
2. Karagedikli G. "'Altın Çağ' ile Modern Dönem Arasında Osmanlı Yahudileri: Edirne Yahudi Cemaati Örneği (1680-1750) *Kebikeç İnsan Bilimleri İçin Kaynak Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 37 (2014), pp. 305-336.
3. Karagedikli G. "Bir Pâyitahtı Yeniden Düşünmek: 18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Edirne Şehrinin Sosyal ve Mekânsal Yapısı Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler," in Ümit Ekin (ed.), *Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç'e Armağan* (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2013), pp. 221-231.

OSMANLI EDİRNESİNDE KIRSAL MEKAN, TOPRAK VE TOPLUMSAL-TARIMSAL YAPI ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA, 1613-1670

**Giriş**

Bu çalışma, on yedinci yüzyılda Edirne bölgesini analiz etmektedir. Edirne, on yedinci yüzyıl boyunca Osmanlı sultanlarının bizzat orada yaşamalarından ötürü önemli bir mekansal ve demografik büyümeye şahitlik etmiştir. Şehrin bu demografik ve mekansal büyümesi, Edirne'nin durumunu daha iyi anlamamızı sağlayacak bazı bilgileri de gerektirmektedir. Bu bağlamda, eldeki çalışma, incelenen dönemde Edirne şehrinin kırsal çevresi ile entegrasyonu ve organizasyonunda oynadığı rolü daha iyi açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır. Şehrin kırsal çevresinin analizinde ise, toprak ve toprak tasarrufu özellikle üzerinde durulan iki mesele olarak seçilmiştir. Bu noktada, şu sorular sorulabilir: Şehrin sakinlerini besleyebilme olanakları açısından, Edirne şehri on yedinci yüzyıldaki bu ciddi demografik büyümeyi nasıl tolere etmiştir? On yedinci yüzyılın Edirnesi bir önceki yüzyılın şehri değildi; peki kırsal çevresinin durumu neydi?

Her ne kadar basit sorularmış gibi görünse de, bu sorulara cevap vermek için yalnızca kendi ihtiyaçlarını değil ama aynı zamanda imparatorluğun başkenti olan İstanbul'un iâşesi dahil yakın çevresindeki şehirleri de besleyen Edirne kazasının kırsal toplumunu anlamak gerekmektedir. Birbirine derinden bağlı mekanlar olarak Edirne ve kırsalının birbirine bağımlılığı, nüfus hareketliliği, şehirlerin iâşesi, kırsal kesimin hizmet talebi ve benzeri birkaç factor nedeniyle artmıştır. Dolayısıyla, Edirne'nin kırsal çevresi şehrin tamamlayıcı ünitesi olarak değil ama onun vazgeçilmez parçası olarak dikkate alınmalıdır. Bu durum, yerleşim örüntülerini, bu yerleşimlerin doğasını ve şehirle ilişkilerini ortaya koyan Edirne bölgesinin bütüncül bir biçimde incelenmesiyle anlaşılabilir. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma, durağan değil

bilakis dinamik olarak deęişen durumlara baęlı olarak şekil deęiřtiren Edirne'yi kırsal hinterlandı üzerinden anlamayı amaçlayan bir çalışmadır. Modern historiyoğrafya Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki farklı şehirlerle ilgilenen önemli sayıda çalışma üretmiştir. Ne yazık ki, Osmanlı şehrini kırsalı ile birlikte bu şekilde ele alan çalışma sayısı pek azdır. Çünkü, varolan literatürün çok önemli bir kısmı ya münhasıran şehre ya da kırsal kesime dikkat çekmiştir. Dolayısı ile, Osmanlı tarihyazımındaki alakalı çalışmalara bakmak yerinde olacaktır. Literatürde, klasik dönem sonrasına yoğunlaşan bölge çalışmaları, yukarıda belirtilen gibi bir çalışmayı hala ihtiva etmemektedir. Bunun farklı nedenleri vardır. Bunlardan en önemlilerinden birisi, her ne kadar kırsal topluluklar üzerine yapılan çalışmalar son yıllarda literatürde önemli bir porsiyon oluştursa da, bir bölgeyi bütün halinde görmeyi sağlayan alakalı kaynakların eksikliğidir.

1960lar ile 1980ler arasında, Türkiye'deki Osmanlı Tarihi arařtırmacıları ülkenin az gelişmişlięi hakkında çok ilginç bir tartışmanın içindeydiler. Bu entellektüel tartışma, daha ziyade feodalizm ve Asya tipi üretim tarzı kuramsal çerçeveleri etrafında şekilleniyordu. Fakat, bu entelektüel tartışmaları domine eden Osmanlı tarihçilerinin katkıları deęil, Osmanlı tarihçisi olmayan ve kaynakları tanımayan ama Avrupa'daki çalışmaların teorik açıklamalarından yararlanan aydınların katkılarıydı. Avrupa'daki teorik tartışmalardan etkilenen bu Osmanlı tarihçisi olmayan arařtırmacılar, Türk tarihçilerinin çalışmalarını da etkilediler. Bu arada, Bu arařtırmacılar bir taraftan Osmanlı tarihçilerini etkilerlerken, bir taraftan da devlet yapısını ve toplumsal ilişkileri aydınlatmak için arşiv vesaiği kullanan Osmanlı tarihi arařtırmacılarının ampirik çalışmalarından istifade etmişlerdir.

Osmanlı tarihi arařtırmacıları ile Osmanlı tarihi uzmanı olmayan arařtırmacıları arasındaki bu etkileşim, Osmanlı tarihçilerinin çok özel bir arşiv vesaiği türü olan tahrir defterlerinin kullanmaya başladıkları bir döneme tesadüf etti. Tahrir defterleri kullanarak üretilen çalışmalar, bu alanı erken 1990lara kadar domine edecekti. Daha sonraları ise arařtırma soruları daha ziyade entelektüel ve kültür tarihi çalışmalarına kaydı. Osmanlı tarihi çalışmalarının o dönemdeki bir ayaęını oluşturan defteroloji arařtırmalarının en parlak günlerinde, klasik dönem Osmanlı kırsal toplumlarını açıklamaya çalışan Osmanlı tarihçileri çok şanslıydılar. Zira, sürekli tutulan Osmanlı

tahrir kayıtları tarihçilere on altıncı yüzyıl toplumsal ve kırsal gerçeklerini yeniden yapılandırma olanağı verdi.

Klasik dönem sonrasında Osmanlı devleti tahrir defterlerinin muadili olan kayıtlar tutmamışlardır. Bu durum, klasik dönem sonrası periyotlara eğilen tarihçileri, klasik dönem uzmanlarına nazaran daha az şanslı yapmıştır. Her ne kadar, Osmanlı Devleti kendi vergi gelirlerini kayıt altına almak için farklı türde kayıt tutma pratiklerini devam ettirmişlerse de, bu kayıtların hiçbirisi tarihçiler için erken dönem tahrirleri gibi tüm resmi gösterecek olanakları sunmamıştır. Daha evvelde de zikredildiği üzere, post-klasik dönem Osmanlı Devleti'nde farklı coğrafi bağlamlar söz konusu olduğunda, sonraki kuşak Osmanlı tarihçileri o kadar da şanslı değillerdi. Dolayısıyla ile, araştırmacılar klasik dönem sonrası kırsal toplumu analiz etmek için bu dönemde artık tahrir defterleri tutulmadığı için, çok farklı arşiv belgelerini birlikte kullanmışlardır .

Osmanlı tarihini araştıranlar, klasik dönem tahrir defterlerinin sunduğu verileri sınama olanağını yeni bir bilgi madeni olan mufassal avarız defterlerini keşfettiklerinde bulmuşlardır. Coğrafi kapsam, nüfus ve üretim anlamında hiçbir arşiv kaydı klasik dönem tahrirlerinin sunduğu bilgiyi ihtiva etmemektedir. Ne var ki, tarihçiler mufassal avarız defterlerinin sunduğu veri setiyle on yedinci yüzyıl yerleşim örüntüleri ve demografik durum hakkında önemli çıkarsamalar yapılacağını belirttiler. Bu defterlerin sunduğu verilerin kırsal kesimin tüm resmini vereceğini de iddia ettiler. Örneğin, Amasya ve kırsalı çevresine eğilen çalışmada, Oktay Özel bir dizi ekonomik, siyasi ve iklimsel zorluklar yaşayan Osmanlı sisteminin temelini oluşturan klasik tımar rejiminin çözüldüğü on yedinci yüzyılda, Orta Anadolu'da kırsal toplumun ciddi çalkantılar yaşadığını iddia etmiştir. Celali eşkıyaları olarak bilinen işsiz genç erkeklerden mürekkep grupların, Anadolu kırsalını tarumar ettiklerini belirtmiştir.

İkinci bir tarihsel araştırma alanı ise farklı coğrafi bağlamlarda sicil koleksiyonlarına dayalı olarak yapılan araştırmalardır. Bu çalışmalar, araştırma konularını daha bütüncül bir biçimde ele almışlar ve şehri kırsal hinterlandı ile birlikte değerlendirmişlerdir. Bu tür belge türlerinden yararlanan Özer Ergenç, on altıncı yüzyıl Bursa'sı üzerine yaptığı çalışmada, Bursa şehrinin kırsal çevresinin şehrin



büyüyen nüfusuna ve uyumlu bir şekilde genişlediğini ve kendini adapte ettiğini belirtmiştir. Bu durum, on altıncı yüzyılın ikinci yarısında açıkça gözlemlenen nüfus baskısı ile de uyumlu bir durumdur. Bunun olabilmesi ise, on altıncı yüzyılda Bursa'nın idari organizasyonunda farklı sancaklardan kırsal birimler Bursa'nın idari kontrolüne girmiştir ki, büyüyen nüfusuyla şehrin etki alanını arttırmıştır. Özer Ergenç, kadı mahkemesi kayıtlarından yararlanarak benzer bir resmi disiplinlerarası bir yöntemle Ankara için de çizmiştir. Kadı mahkemesi kayıtlarını kullanan diğer tarihçiler de, Osmanlı Devleti'nin ciddi ekonomik ve politik dönüşümler yaşadığı on yedinci ve on sekizinci yüzyıllarda Osmanlı şehrinin kırsalı ile olan ilişkisini anlamaya çalışmışlardır. Ne var ki, gerekli tahrir defteri eksikliği, bu tarihçileri çalışmalarında bölgelerini bütüncül bir şekilde analiz etmelerini engellemiştir.

2000'li yılların başından itibaren, Osmanlı bağlamında merkez-taşra ilişkilerini çalışan bazı Osmanlı tarihçileri uzun zamandır gerileme paradigması (zayıflayan merkezi otorite ve güçlenen taşra güçleri vb.) üzerinden değerlendirilen Osmanlı on sekizinci yüzyılını revize etmeye başlamışlardır. Dina R. Khoury, devletle Musul toplumu arasındaki ilişkileri incelemiş ve “merkezileşme/adem-i merkezileşme paradigması etkisini” test etmiştir. Diğerleri de, on sekizinci ve on dokuzuncu yüzyıllarda farklı topraksal bağlamlar için benzer akademik çalışmalar sunmuşlardır. “Devlet-toplum dikotomisi” üzerinden yerel politiği anlamaya çalışan tüm bu akademik çalışmalar, Osmanlı tarihçilerinin bilgi birikimlerine önemli katkılar sunmuştur.

Tarım imparatorluklarında toprak hayatta kalmanın, üretmenin ve çekişmenin birincil aracıydı. Osmanlı imparatorluğu kesinlikle bunlardan biriydi. Toprağın bu önemini es geçmeyen Osmanlı tarihyazımı, bu önemli meseleyi genel olarak üç araştırma kolundan incelemiştir. Bunlardan birincisi, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda toprak ve toprak tasarrufunu klasik tahrir defterlerine dayanarak analiz etmiştir. İkinci araştırma kolu, bu meseleyi on dokuzuncu yüzyıl toprak reformu bağlamında 1858 Arazi Kanunnamesi üzerinden incelemiştir. Üçüncüsü ise, toprak ve toprak tasarrufunu fetva koleksiyonlarına dayanarak incelemiştir. Birkaç istisna dışında, on altıncı yüzyıldan sonra - ve on dokuzuncu yüzyıldan önce - Osmanlı Devleti'nde toprak tasarrufu meselesi, gerekli ampirik verinin yoksunluğundan ötürü

geçştirilmiştir. Bu istisnalar arasından birinin özellikle belirtilmesi gerekir. Osmanlı Anadolu'sunda toprak kullanımı meselesi üzerine çalışmalarında, Özer Ergenç ve Hülya Taş, Hatay, Bursa, Konya, Amasya ve Harput şeriyeye sicillerinden derledikleri mahkeme kayıtları yoluyla toprak tasarrufu tiplerini analiz ettiler. Yazarlar, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl reformlarındaki uygulamaların aslında önceki iki yüzyıl için de geçerli olduğunu gösterdiler. Dolayısıyla, 1858 Arazi Kanunnamesi ve sonrasındaki gelişmelerin on yedinci ve on sekizinci yüzyıllardaki toprak sistemi incelenmeden bir anlam ifade edemeyeceğini belirttiler.

Kısa süre önce tarihçiler, on yedinci yüzyıl Osmanlı fütuhâtı sırasında/sonrasında tutulan yeni bir tahrir defteri türünü keşfettiler. Bu araştırma için de önem arz eden bir tür olan bu tahrir kaydı, Osmanlıların Girit'i fethettiği 1669 tarihinden sonra tutulmuştur. 1996 senesinden yayınlanan makalesinde Molly Greene, Osmanlıların 1669 tarihinde adayı fethetmelerinin ardından Osmanlı idari sistemine dahil edilecek olan Girit için yapılan işte bu tahrir defterini incelemiştir. Fethedilen toprakların tahririni yapmak, Osmanlılar için kuşkusuz yeni bir uygulama değildi. Ne var ki, yeni olan şey, Osmanlıların Girit adasındaki toprakları kayda geçirirken bu tahrirde yeni kayıt pratiklerini kullanmalarıydı. 1669 Girit tahriri diğer bazı tarihçiler tarafından da çalışılmıştır. Klasik dönem tahrirleriyle bazı benzerlikleri bir yana, araştırmacılar bu tahririn yeni tür bir tahrir olduğu konusunda hem fikir olmuşlardır. Her ne kadar Osmanlı tarihini çalışan araştırmacılar Girit tahriri benzeri kayıtların Osmanlı memleketinde yaygın bir pratik olmadığını belirtseler de, Osmanlıların on yedinci ve on sekizinci yüzyıllarda tecrübe ettikleri kayıt tutma pratikleri konusunda sahip olduğumuz bilgi birikimine daha fazla ışık tutan yeni tahrir kayıtları bulunmuştur. Girit'e benzer bir şekilde, 1681'de fethedildikten sonra, Osmanlı merkezi idaresi Podolia için de bir tahrir kaydı yapmıştır. Bu toprak, IV. Mehmed'in saltanatı sırasında fethedilen son toprak parçası olmuştur. Osmanlılar, 1715'te Mora'yı Venedik'ten yeniden aldıklarında, „Mora için de tahrir kaydı tutmuşlardır. Mora tahriri, daha sonra Ege adalarında uygulamaya geçirilen bir dizi yeni tahrir kaydı tarafından takip edilmiştir.

Her ne kadar, bu yeni tahrirler Osmanlı memleketinde on yedinci ve on sekizinci yüzyıllarda tutulan kayıtlarla bütünüyle benzer kayıtlar olmasa da (örneğin Podolia,

Mora ya da Semendire gibi), Girit tahriri benzeri kayıtlar Osmanlı topraklarında genel uygulama halini almamıştır. Ne var ki, yakın zamandaki araştırmaların büyük bir çoğunluğu, on yedinci ve on sekizinci yüzyıllarda yapılan tahrirleri, Osmanlıların yeni fethedilen toprakları nasıl bir şekilde politik ve idari sistemlerine eklemlediklerini analiz etmek için kullandılar.

Dünyadaki tarih araştırmaları ajandasına da paralel olarak, Osmanlı tarihi çalışmalarının en yeni araştırma alanı “mekansal-dönüş” olmuştur. Bu bağlamda, iki çok yeni proje zikredilmeyi hak etmektedir. Birincisi, Ali Yaycıoğlu ve Cemal Kafadar’ın birlikte editörlüğünü yaptıkları ve bir dizi makaleden oluşacak kitaplarıdır ki, mekan anlayışımıza yeni boyutlar getireceği bir gerçektir. İkincisi ise, daha dar bir coğrafi bağlamı olan Girit hakkındadır. Mekan üzerine yapılan bu çalışmalar, erken modern Osmanlı dünyasında gerek imparatorluk gerekse yerel düzeylerde kavramsal çerçeveleri yorumlamamız için bilgi birikimimize önemli katkılar sağlamışlardır. Edirne içinse, literatürün neredeyse tamamı doğrudan şehre odaklanmıştır. Konu üzerine en yeni çalışma Yunus Uğur’un doktora tezidir. Uğur tezinde, şehri en küçük idari birim mahalle üzerinden incelemiştir.

Bu tezde, ben Osmanlı şehrinin kırsal hinterlandı ile olan etkileşimini Edirne kazası üzerinden ele alıyorum. Varolan literatür ışığında, büyük bir nüfus artışına şahitlik ettiği ve iâşe ihtiyacının inanılmaz arttığı on yedinci yüzyılda, Edirne’nin kırsal çevresi ile ilişkilerinin yeniden organize edildiğini iddia ediyorum. Dolayısıyla, şehrin bu büyüyen nüfusu sadece şehrin iç organizasyonunun değil, onun kırsal çevresinin de yeniden yapılandırılmasını beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu bağlamda, on altıncı yüzyılda Bursa kazasına benzer bir biçimde, şehrin tahsisatlarının arttırılması yoluyla on yedinci yüzyılın Edirne kazasında da kırsal mekan yeniden organize edilmiştir. Bu da, şehrin büyüyen nüfusunun iâşe talebini rahatlatmada birincil çözüm olmuştur. Ne var ki, Bursa örneğinden farklı olarak, Edirne’nin kırsal çevresinin yeniden organizasyonu aynı liva içerisinde tahsisatlar yapılarak gerçekleştirilmiştir.

## Kaynaklar

Bu hipotezleri sınamak için, çalışmamda ben, tahrir defterleri, avarız defterleri, kadı sicilleri, çağdaş Osmanlı ve Batılı yazarların yazdıkları eserler gibi bir çok farklı kaynak türü kullandım. Ne var ki, bu tez özellikle bir tahrir kaydının sunduğu ampirik veriyi detaylıca kullanacaktır.. İki bölümden oluşan bu tahrir, Osmanlıların Girit'i fethettiği yılda hazırlanmış olan 1670 tarihli Edirne mufassal tahrir defteridir. Bu defterin Edirne kazası için yapılan daha evvelki tahrir defterlerinden farkı, Edirne kazasının yerleşim tiplerini daha net bir biçimde ortaya koymasındadır. Bununla birlikte, toprak türleri ve çiftlik büyüklükleri de daha net bir şekilde kayda geçirilmiştir. Tezin üçüncü bölümünde daha ayrıntılı bir biçimde ele alınmıştır.

Tezin ana kaynağı olan bu tahrir defterinin sunduğu bilgilerin yanında, diğer arşiv belgeleri ve çağdaş kaynakları da bölge hakkında büyük resmi görmemizi sağlayan ampirik veri setine tamamlayıcı bilgi sunmak için kullanılmıştır. Bunlardan birincisi, on altıncı yüzyılın sonu ve on yedinci yüzyılın hemen başlarında Osmanlıların Edirne için hazırladığı tahrir defterleridir. Üç klasik tapu tahrir defteri eldeki verilerle mukayeseli olarak kullanılmıştır. Bunlar TT 729, TT 1001 ve TT 648 numaralı defterlerdir. Bunların tümü İstanbul'da Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri'nde tutulmaktadır. Her ne kadar klasik tapu tahrir defterleri 1670 Edirne tahrir defterinden farklı özellikler ihtiva etse de, on altıncı yüzyıl ve on yedinci yüzyıl tahrirleri bu çalışma için çok büyük önem arz etmektedirler. İlk, yerleşimlerin adı, yeri, eski ve yeni taksimattaki durumlarını görmek ancak bu on altıncı yüzyıl ve on yedinci yüzyıl tahrir defterlerini okumakla mümkün olmaktadır. İlâveten, yerleşim birimlerinin terk edilmiş ya da hala meskun yerler olup olmadığı da, eski tahrirlerle mukayese edilerek görülmektedir. İkinci olarak, miri rejim içindeki yerleşimlerin durumu için, köylerin ne tür tahsisat biçimine tekabül ettiğini (örn. timar, zeamet, hass) bulmak önem göstermektedir. Üçüncü olarak, on altıncı yüzyıl sonu ve on yedinci yüzyılın başlarının son tahrir defterleri, 1670 Edirne tahririnde belirtilen hasıl miktarlarını mukayese etmemiz için önemli bilgiler sunmaktadır. Maalesef, 1670 Edirne tahriri kaydedilen tüm yerleşim birimleri için hasıl miktarlarını

kaydetmemiştir. Bu durum, on altıncı yüzyıl ve on yedinci yüzyıl klasik dönem tahrir kayıtlarının okunmasını gerekli kılmaktadır.

Ek olarak, diğer bir arşiv belgesi ise 1686 yılında kayda geçirilmiş mufassal avarız defteridir. İstanbul'daki Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivlerinde TT 817 katalog numaralı bu defter, 1670 Edirne tahririndeki verileri birlikte değerlendirebileceğimiz bilgiler sunmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, bu defter köy sakinlerinin olası karışıklık ya da doğal afet durumlarında nerelere gittikleri konusunda da çok önemli bilgiler vermektedir. Bu doğal afetlerin başında Osmanlı topraklarını sıklıkla ziyaret eden veba gelmektedir. Bu defterden bugüne kadar iki tarihçi kısaca bahsetmiştir. Suraiya Faroqhi, Edirne civarında 1690 tarihinde meydana gelmiş bir sel felaketi üzerine olan çalışmasında, bu defterden kısaca bahseder. Ne var ki, Faroqhi bunu Edirne kazası sınırlarında olan Ada nahiyesine tabi bazı köy isimlerini netleştirmek için kullanmıştır. Faroqhi'den başka, Stefka Parveva da bu defteri geç on yedinci yüzyılda Edirne bölgesi üzerine çalışmasında kısaca zikretmiştir. Bu kaynaklara ek olarak, bu tezde bir icmal defter de kullanılmıştır. Bu icmal kayıt bize Edirne'deki köylerin ve mahallelerin durumu hakkında kısa der-kenarlar sunmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada kullanılan bir diğer arşiv kaynağı ise, Edirne Şeriyye Sicillerindeki kayıtlardan oluşmaktadır. Maalesef, on sekizinci yüzyılın başlarına kadar, Edirne kadı sicilleri tereke ya da muhalefat defterlerinden başka kayıt ihtiva etmemektedir. Bu kayıtlar, ölen askeri ya da sivil kimselerin öldükten sonra kayda geçen mal varlıklarını içerir. Yalnızca şehirliler değil aynı zamanda kırsalda yaşayanların da hayatları mal varlıkları hakkında tafsilatlı bilgiler sunan bu kayıtlar, bize çok önemli bilgiler verir. Bu tezde, kırsalda yaşayan kişilerin mal varlıkları incelenmiş ve eldeki veri ile mukayese edilmiştir. Tüm sınırlarına ve problemlerine rağmen, muhalefat kayıtları kırsalda ve şehirde yaşayan kişilerin ölmeden öndeki durumu hakkında veriler sunar. Bunun için, 1670 Edirne tahririnin düzenlendiği tarihten başlayarak on yıl içindeki terekeler incelenmiştir.

Hem Osmanlı hem de Avrupalı çağdaş gözlemcilerin yazdıkları, bu çalışmanın kullandığı kantitatif veri setini tamamlayıcı kalitatif bilgiler sunmaktadır. Tarih-i Naima, Tarih-i Raşid, Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, Katip Çelebi'nin Fezleke'si gibi çağdaş Osmanlı kronikleri bu çalışmada kullanılan bazı Osmanlı yazarlarından

eserlerdir. Bunlarla birlikte, Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekayinamesi incelenen dönemde Osmanlı padişahı olan IV. Mehmed'in günlük hayatı ve politik gelişmeler hakkında çok yakından ve ayrıntılı bilgiler içermektedir. Bu çağdaş gözlemcinin eserinin önemi, IV. Mehmed'in bizzat olay kaydedicisi olmasıdır. Şöyle ki, yazar, Osmanlı sultanının gittiği ve katıldığı av partilerini yakından gözlemeleme fırsatı bulmuştur. IV. Mehmed'in av seyahatleri Edirne civarındaki köyleri sıklıkla içermiştir. Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekayinamesi'nin Edirne köyleri hakkında da detaylı gözlemler sunması bakımından değerli bir eserdir.

Çağdaş Batılı gözlemcilerin yazdıkları da Edirne şehri ve kırsal çevresi hakkında tafsilatlı bilgiler sunmaktadır. Özellikle IV. Mehmed'in Edirne şehrinde uzun süreler kalması ve kırsal bölgelerde uzun av seyahatlerine çıkması, Batılı resmi ziyaretçilerin bu şehre sultanı görmek için sıklıkla gelmeleri sonucunu doğurmuştur. Bunlar arasında da John Covel'in yazdığı günlük Edirne köyleri hakkında çok ayrıntılı bilgiler sunmaktadır.

Sonuç olarak, yukarı belirtilen kaynaklara dayanarak, tezde öne sürülen argümanları sınamak için, eldeki çalışma literature yeni ampirik verilerle katkı sunmayı hedeflemektedir. On yedinci yüzyıl boyunca imparatorluğun *de facto* başşehri olan Edirne için çıkarılan bu verilerle, erken modern dönemde mekanın nasıl algılandığı ve yeniden nasıl organize edildiği açıklanmaya çalışılmaktadır. İlaveten, bu çalışma erken modern Osmanlı imparatorluğunda toprak kullanımı, toprak tasarrufu ve çiftlik tartışmaları üzerine yapılan akademik çalışmalara katkı yapmayı hedeflemektedir.

Bu yolla, eldeki tez tematik bir yapıda birbirini takip eden bölümlerden oluşmaktadır. Giriş ve Sonuç bölümlerinin haricinde, tez üç ana kısımdan oluşmaktadır. İkinci bölümde, Edirne'nin Osmanlı sosyo-politik dünyasındaki yeri incelenmektedir. Bunun için, Edirne'nin on dördüncü yüzyıldaki fethinden yirminci yüzyıl başlarına kadar kısa bir tarihi arka planı verilmektedir. Bu, şehrin demografik ve sosyal dokusunu daha iyi anlamamızı sağlayacaktır.

Üçüncü bölüm, on yedinci yüzyıl sonlarında Edirne kazasında toprak ve toprak tasarrufu konusunu incelemektedir. 1670 tarihli Edirne tahrir defterinin sunduğu

verilere dayanarak yapılan bu bölümde, Osmanlıların metrik olarak kayda geçirdiği toprak türleri analizin temelini oluşturmaktadır. Toprağın sosyo-ekonomik kullanımı açısından da bize çok değerli bilgiler sunan eldeki veri, mekansal analiz için de temel teşkil etmektedir. Bu ise, erken modern Osmanlı dünyasında toprak ve toprak kullanımı üzerine bilgilerimizi genişletmektedir. Edirne bölgesinin toprak örtüsünün kısa bir tarifinden sonra, bu bölüm aynı zamanda köylülerin toprak tasarrufları ve büyük çiftlik oluşumları ile de ilgilenmektedir..

Dördüncü bölümde, kırsal yapıyı, yerleşim tiplerini (köy, mezraa ve müselleme çiftlik) ve bu yerleşimlerin tahsisatlar içindeki yerlerini (hass, zeamet, timar) daha iyi açıklamak için, Edirne kazası nahiyeleri ile birlikte analiz edilecektir. Bu kırsal yerleşim birimleri haritalar üzerinde de gösterilmektedir. Bu da coğrafi bilgi sistemleri olarak bilinen bir program yardımı ile oluşturulan haritalar yoluyla yapılmıştır. Bu haritalar analizimiz için önemlidir, zira yerleşimlerin nerede oldukları, sakinlerinin olup olmadıkları, ya da toprakların civar bölgelerdeki kişiler tarafından tasarruf edilip edilmediklerini bize görsel olarak sunmaktadır. Her ne kadar haritalama işlemi 1670 Edirne tahririne dayalı verilerden çıkarılmışsa da, erken dönem klasik tahrir defterleri de kullanılmıştır. Bu bölüm aynı zamanda Edirne kazasının nahiyelerinin nüfus durumunu da dini kimlikler üzerinden analiz etmektedir ki, dini kompozisyonlar birbirinden farklılık göstermektedir. Ek olarak, Edirne köylerinde yaşayan askeri lakaplı devlet görevlileri de bu bölümün üzerinde durduğu durumlardan biridir. Edirne kazasındaki köylerde yaşayan askeri zümre mensupları bu tezin ana argümanı açısından çok büyük önem taşımaktadır. Nihai bir söz olarak, bu bölüm Edirne şehrinin ve kırsal çevresiyle ilişkisinin Osmanlı sultanlarının fiziki olarak yaşadıkları ve şehrin nüfusunun katlandığı on yedinci yüzyıl boyunca nasıl derinleştiği ve yeniden organize edildiğini göstermektedir. Şehirdeki bu demografik sıçrama aynı dönemde keskin bir mekansal genişleme yaşayan şehrin kırsal hinterlandı ile daha iyi anlaşılabilir. Bundan sonra, çalışma doğrudan şehrin idari kontrolünde bulunan ve durağan değil dinamik bir yapı gösteren kırsal çevreye odaklanmaktadır. Bu yapı, değişen durumlara göre farklı şekiller almasıyla da önem arz etmektedir. Diğer bir ifade ile, idari bir dille ifade etmek gerekirse, bu bölüm Edirne şehrinin on yedinci yüzyılda yaşadığı demografik büyümeyi, daha geniş bir kırsal hinterlandı kontrolü altına alarak nasıl tolere ettiğini

göstermektedir. Bu dönem aynı zamanda Edirne kazasının on yedinci yüzyılda doğal sınırlarına ulaştığı dönemdir.

### **Post-klasik Osmanlı memleketinde tahrirler ve mekan: *Tahrîr-i Cedîd-i Edirne***

Bu bölümdeki değerlendirmeler ve analizler 1670 tarihli Edirne tahrir defterinden derlenen verilere dayanmaktadır. Bu defter, bazı farklılıklar ihtiva etmesiyle birlikte, 1669 senesinde hazırlanmış Girit tahriri ile benzerlik göstermektedir. İki defter de, toprak kayıtlarını klasik tahrir defterlerinde olmayan bir pratik üzerinden yapmıştır. Şöyle ki, on altıncı yüzyıl tahrirlerinde toprak büyüklükleri daha ziyade muğlak bir birim olan çift üzerinde yapılırken, Girit ve Edirne tahrirlerinde toprak ölçümleri daha net bir birim olan cerib üzerinden yapılmıştır. Bununla birlikte, Edirne tahriri Girit tahririnden farklılıklar da göstermektedir. Köylerin birbirine karışan ve sıklıkla problem yaratan sınırları bu defterde dikkate alınmış ve köy sınırları belli belirteçlerle çizilmiştir. Bu, tahrircilerin köy sınırları konusunda ne kadar dikkatli olduklarının bir göstergesidir. Her köyün kaydının başlangıcında, köyün fiziki sınırları belirtilmiştir. Bunu yaparken kullanılan göstergeler, dönemin sınır belirtme ifadeleri olan göl, orman, nehir, delikli taş vb. belirteçler yoluyla yapılmıştır.

1670 tarihli Edirne tahririnin sunduğu ham veriyi değerlendirmeye geçmeden önce, bu defteri tanıtmak faydalı olacaktır. Değerlendirme altındaki Edirne tahrir defteri 1670 tarihinde, yani tam da Osmanlıların yeni mali deneyimler yaşadığı bir dönem olan on yedinci yüzyılın sonlarında yapılmıştır. Bu defter on altıncı yüzyıl klasik dönem tahrirleriyle hem benzerlikler hem de farklılıklar barındırmaktadır. İki kısımdan mürekkep olan 1670 Edirne tahrir defteri mufassal bir defterdir ve bu tezde ilk kez kullanılmaktadır. İstanbul'da Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri'nde bulunan bu defterin bölümleri aynı katalog içinde bir araya getirilmemiştir. Ben, Edirne Kazası'na ait olduğu ilk sayfasında yazılı bu defterin ilk kısmı olan MAD 133'ü bulduğum zaman, Çöke nahiyesinin yerleşim birimlerinin bu defterde kayıtlı olmadığını fark ettim. Bu aslında biraz hayal kırıklığı da yaratmıştı. Zira, on yedinci yüzyılda Çöke nahiyesi Edirne kazasının çok önemli bir bölümünü oluşturmaktaydı.



Arşivde daha fazla mesai harcayarak defterin geri kalan kısımlarını aradığımda, MAD 133'ün eksik kısmı olan defteri de buldum. Bu defter MAD 556 katalog numarası ile arşivde bulunmaktadır ve Çöke nahiyesinin yerleşim ünitelerinin kayıtlarını ihtiva etmektedir. Defterin ilk sayfası bunu açıkça yazmaktadır: “mufassal defter-i tahrîr-i cedîd-i nahiye-i Çöke tâbi-i Edirne el-mahrûsa.”

Edirne kazasının dört nahiyesinde bulunan köylerin toprak detaylarını barındıran defterin birinci kısmı olan MAD 133'de (Ada, Manastır, Üsküdar, Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa) tahririn hangi tarihte yapıldığı konusunda herhangi bir kayıt bulunmamaktadır. Defterin bu kısmının der-kenarlarında ise, 1669 tarihinde yeni “satış (*fîrûht*)”ların yapıldığı kaydı görünür. Ne var ki, defterin düzenlendiği tarih, MAD 556'da net olarak belirtilmemiştir. Defterin bu kısmının ilk sayfasında “fî 24 Şevvali'l-mu'azzam sene 1081” ifadesi geçmektedir. Köy sakinlerinin tasarruflarında bulunan topraklar söz konusu olduğunda, MAD 133 ve MAD 556 aynı defterin iki tamamlayıcı kısmıdır.

İlaveten, aynı defterin farklı katalog numarasıyla arşive girmiş iki farklı parçasının olmasının yanında, MAD 133'ün sayfaları da doğru bir şekilde ciltlenmemiştir. Dolayısıyla, tahrir defterinin bu bölümü doğru sayfa numaralarına sahip değildir. Bu durum, MAD 133'ün sayfalarında iki farklı türde rakamın bulunmasından anlaşılmaktadır. Ek olarak, bazı sayfalar aniden bitmektedir. Mesela, Kafir Doğancı köyünün kaydının aniden kesilmesi Ada nahiyesi kayıtlarının sona erdiği izlenimi vermektedir. Ne var ki, Kafir Doğancı köyünün kayıt ayrıntıları ilerleyen sayfalarda yeniden ortaya çıkmaktadır. Yani, Ada nahiyesinin köylerinin sayımı bitmemiş, sadece defter düzgün ciltlenmediğinden böyle bir izlenim uyandırmıştır. Dolayısıyla, defterin doğru formunun bulunması için, MAD 133'ün tüm sayfalarını çok dikkatli bir şekilde okudum.

1670 Edirne tahririni daha önce kimsenin kullanmadığını söylemiştim. Ne ki, Stefka Parveva, Sofya'daki St Cyril ve Methodius Ulusal Kütüphanesi arşivinde bulduğu bazı dağınık parça belgeler ile Edirne kazasının 21 adet köyünün ve mezraasının analizini yapmıştır. Açıkçası, 21 adet yerleşim yeri, on yedinci yüzyılda Edirne kazasının çok küçük bir kısmını oluşturmaktadır. Benim Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivlerinde bulduğum 1670 Edirne tahriri ise, Edirne kazasının tüm nahiyeleri ve

köylerinin detaylarını barındırmaktadır ki, toplam 350 civarında kırsal yerleşime tekabül etmektedir.

Stefka Parveva'nın analiz ettiği parça belgelerdeki der-kenar notlar, benim arşivde bulduğum 1670 tarihli Edirne tahririnin sayfalarında yoktur. Bu, Parveva'nın bulunduğu parça belgelerin tahririn alanda kaydedildiği sırada tutulmuş müsveddeleri olabileceği fikrini akla getirmektedir. Bu ilk müsveddelerin geri kalan kısımları büyük ihtimalle tahrib oldu ya da kayboldu. Parveva'nın Bulgar arşivlerinde bulunduğu belgeler Mihaliç, İflahanlı, Maraş, Hasköy, Büyük İsmailce, Sökün, Pavlikan, Yürücekler, Koyunlu, Yürüş, Kaba Öyük, Ayntablı, Omurca, Kafir Hacı, Karaağaç, Kemal, Glavanlı, Akpınar, Düdükçi, Düdükçi Yenicesi, , Etmekçi ve Saltıklı köylerinin detaylarını içermektedir. Parveva bu köylerin durumlarını yayınladığı birkaç makalede ele almıştır. Daha sonra aynı arşivde başka köylerin de kayıtlarını bulmuştur.

Daha evvel zikrettiğim gibi, benim Osmanlı Arşivlerinde bulduğum 1670 tarihli Edirne tahriri aşağı yukarı 350 adet kırsal yerleşim biriminin detaylı kayıtlarını ihtiva etmektedir. Bu birimlerin çok önemli bir kısmı köy, geri kalanı ise mezraa ve müselleme çiftliktir. Beş nahiye altında kaydedilen tüm bu kırsal yerleşimler, Edirne kazasının on yedinci yüzyılın sonlarında tamamını oluşturmaktadır. Ek olarak, bu müsveddeler İstanbul'a gönderildiği zaman, kayıtlar defter-i atikteki kayıtlarla karşılaştırılmış ve tek bir defter haline sokulmuştur.. Beni, Bulgar belgelerinin bu tahririn ilk müsveddeleri olduğuna yönelten bir diğer ipucu ise, belgelerdeki der-kenarlardır. Normalde, her köyün sakinleri tasarruflarında bulunan toprak büyüklüklerine göre kayda geçirilmiş ve bu kayıtlarda rakamlar alt alta toplanmış ve yekun bulunmuştur. Benim bulduğum 1670 Edirne tahririnde ise bu der-kenarlar yoktur. Yani bu parça belgelerin, ilk yazılan eskiz kayıtları olduğu malumdur.

1670 tarihli Edirne tahrir defteri bu kayıt sürecinin nihai basamağı olan defterhane-i amirede mahfuz tahririn son halidir. Yani Parveva'nın Bulgar arşivinde bulunduğu parça belgeler, bizim tahririmizin alanda tutulmuş eskiz kayıtları olmalıdır. İlaveten, bizim defterimizde olan bazı kayıtlar Parveva'nın kullandığı belgelerde görünmemektedir. Bunlar, alanda defter edilen kayıtların defterhane-i amirede mahfuz son tahrir (*defter-i atik*) kayıtları ile mukayese edilmesinden gelen eski

verilerdir. Mesela, Büyük İsmailce köyü için Parveva'nın Bulgar arşivlerinde bulunduğu belgelere bakıldığında, bu köy için eski defterlere herhangi bir atıf bulunmamaktadır. Buna karşın, benim bulduğum defterde, Büyük İsmailce köyünün Edirne'de bulunan Sultan Bayezid vakfına mülhak bir köy olduğu yazılmaktadır. Bu bilgi de bir önceki tahrir kaydına referansla verilmektedir. Bu kayıt, bu köyün bir önceki defterde gelirin 13672 akçe olduğunu belirtmektedir. Bulgar arşivlerinin belgeleri ise bu kayıtları ihtiva etmemektedir.

Ek olarak, klasik dönemin tahrir defterlerinin aksine, 1670 tarihli Edirne tahrir defteri tahririn yapıldığı dönemki mali gelişmeler hakkında detaylı bilgiler sunmaktadır. Klasik dönemde, tahrir defterleri dirlikleri kaydettiğinden ve dirlikler de hazineye değil doğrudan dirlik sahibine gittiğinden, tahriri yapan o dirliğin gerçek hasılının ne kadar olduğu hakkında çok da dikkatli olmamış olabilir. Bu da, o dirliklerin klasik dönemde gerçek miktarının tahrir defterlerine girmemiş olabileceği sorusunu aklımıza getirmektedir. Yani, bu veriler kuvvetle muhtemel itibari rakamlar olduğundan, farklı tarihlerde kaydedilmiş tahrirlere bakıp hasıl miktarları üzerinden analiz yapmak sakıncalı görünmektedir. Ne var ki, on yedinci yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren, değişen askeri ve mali koşulların da zorlamasıyla, Osmanlılar boşalan dirlikleri miri mukataa olarak ihale etmeye başlamışlardır. İşte 1670 tarihli Edirne tahrir defteri tam da böyle bir dönemde kaydedilmiştir. Dirliklerin itibari değil gerçek değerini yani o dönemdeki hasılını ortaya koymuş olmalıdır.

## **Sonuç**

Bu çalışma, Edirne kazasını bütüncül bir şekilde eldeki arşiv belgelerine dayanarak analiz etmiştir. Bu analizde, giriş kısmında sorulan sorulara yanıt bulunmaya çalışılmıştır. Bunun neticesinde şu sonuçlara ulaşılmıştır:

Dikkat çekilmesi gereken ilk önemli sonuç, Edirne şehrinin on yedinci yüzyılın Osmanlı politik dünyasının “yükselen yıldızı” olduğudur. Bunun tabii ki sebepleri vardı. Şöyle ki, Edirne sıradan bir şehir değildi; tahtgâh-ı selâsedan biri olarak Osmanlılar için her daim önemini muhafaza eden Edirne şehri, ilk zamanlar devletin Rumelideki fütuhatının merkezi olmuştur. Bu merkezden de hem Kuzeye hem de

Batıya fetihler gerçekleşmiştir. Aynı zamanda, Edirne payitaht olması nedeniyle de Osmanlı padişahlarının hassı statüsündeydi ve Osmanlı sutanlarının önemli gelir kalemlerini barındırmaktaydı. Bu öneminden ötürü, Edirne özel bir ilgi görmüştür. Ne ki, on yedinci yüzyılın farklı politik gerekçeleri ve gerçekleri şehri farklı bir seviyeye getirmiştir. Şöyle ki, on yedinci yüzyılın çok büyük bir bölümünde farklı Osmanlı sultanları Edirne’de ikamet etmeyi tercih etmişlerdir. Sultanın şehirdeki fiziki varlığı, şehrin nüfusunu neredeyse ikiye katlamıştır.

Şüphesiz, Edirne’nin on yedinci yüzyıl boyunca yaşadığı nüfus büyümesi yalnızca modern araştırmacılarca belirtilmemiş, aynı zamanda çağdaş yazarlarca da altı çizilmiştir. Hem çağdaşlarca hem de modern tarihçilerce belirtilen bu durum, yani Edirne şehrinin on yedinci yüzyılda yaşadığı demografik büyüme, şehrin kontrolü altına daha büyük bir kırsal çevreyi almasını gerekli kılmıştır. Bu kırsal hinterland şehrin ihtiyaçlarını daha iyi karşılamak için gerekli olan alanı oluşturmaktaydı. Dolayısıyla, Edirne şehrinin kırsal hinterlandı ile daha derin bir entegrasyonu kaçınılmazdı. İşte bu çalışmanın cevaplamaya çalıştığı soruların çok büyük bir bölümü, erken modern dönemde kırsal mekanın organize edilmesi ile alakalıdır. Bunun için, bu çalışma yalnızca şehri tek başına analiz etmemiş, aynı zamanda kırsal çevreyi şehrin ayrılmaz bir parçası olarak açıklamaya dahil etmiştir. Daha evvel de zikredildiği üzere, şehrin yaşadığı fiziki ve demografik büyüme yalnızca şehrin yeniden organize edilmesini gerektirmedi. Bu durum, aynı zamanda, idari anlamda daha kompleks bir hal alan şehrin kırsal çevresi ile daha derinden entegrasyonunu da beraberinde getirdi.

Bu durumu on yedinci yüzyıl ortalarında daha net görmekteyiz. Şöyle ki, on yedinci yüzyılın ortalarına kadar Edirne’nin idari ve adli kontrolünde olmayan kırsal yerleşimler, bu dönemde Edirne kazasının sınırlarına dahil edilmişlerdir. Her ne kadar, bu kırsal yerleşimlerin bazıları zaman zaman başka idari birimlerin sınırlarına girse de, Edirne kazasının on yedinci yüzyılda kazandığı bu yeni durum takip eden iki yüzyıl boyunca da devam etmiştir. On dokuzuncu yüzyılın son çeyreğinde ise, yeni bir idari organizasyona tabi olmuştur. On yedinci yüzyılın ikinci yarısındaki Edirne kazası, kontrolü altına devasa bir kırsal alanı dahil etmiştir. Bu alan da 350 civarında bir kırsal yerleşime tekabül etmiştir.

Bu mekansal deęişim analizinde, Edirne'yi Bursa ile mukayese etmek, bize daha anlamlı ıkarsamalar yapma olanađı verecektir. Hem Edirne hem de Bursa, Osmanlı idari jargonunda “serbest kaza” olarak bilinen iki idari birimdir. Yani, ne Edirne ne de Bursa valilerin mdahale edebildiđi Őehirler deđildir. Hem Bursa'nın hem de Edirne'nin asayiş iřleri dođrudan padiřahın belirlediđi kiřilerce yapılmaktadır. Edirne'de bostancıbařı, Bursa'da ise hassa harc emini bu grevleri yerine getirmektedir. Bursa Őehri, on altıncı yzyılın ikinci yarısında Őehrin yařadığı nfus bymesine bađlı olarak, benzer bir mekan organizasyonuna Őahit olmuřtur. Bu organizasyonda, Őehrin idari ve adli denetimine daha byk bir kırsal alan dahil edilmiřtir. Lakin, bu dahil edilen kırsal alan farklı sancaklarda bulunan yerlerden oluřmuřtur. Edirne'de ise durum farklıdır. Őyle ki, Bursa'nın mekan organizasyonunda Őehrin kontrolne giren kırsal yerleřimler Bursa ile fiziki yakınlığı olmayan yerlerden oluřurken, Edirne'nin mekansal yeniden organizasyonu, aynı sancađın farklı kazalarından ve Edirne'ye fiziki yakınlığı olan yerlerden yapılmıřtır. On yedinci yzyılda Edirne'de fiziki olarak bulunan Osmanlı sultanları ile dođrudan ilgili olan nfus bymesini ve bu nfusun iaře ihtiyaı,, Edirne'nin on yedinci yzyılda daha byk bir kırsal hinterlandı bnyesine dahil etmesiyle karřılanmıřtır.

Ek olarak, bu alıřma yeni bir veri seti ile literature ampirik olarak katkı sađlamaktadır. Bu veri seti, arřivlerde yeni bulunan bir post-klasik tahrir defterinin bize sunduđu bilgilerden derlenmiřtir. Bu defterin hazırlanması da Őehrin on yedinci yzyılda yařadığı “ykselen yıldız” olması zelliđiyle dođrudan ilgilidir. Bu bađlamda, bu alıřma Osmanlıların on yedinci yzyılda daha kesin bir kayıt yntemini uygulamaya koyduklarının kanıtını sunmaktadır. Őyle ki, toprakların llmesinde birim olarak ceribin kullanılması, Osmanlıların deđiřen bir kayıt pratiđini on yedinci yzyılda uygulamaya geirdiklerini gstermektedir. Bu l biminin kullanılması, yani Osmanlıların toprak byklklerini daha kesin llerle bilme abası bazı ihtiyaların sonucu olmuřtur. Yani, bu dnemin kayıt pratiđi iki trendin ortaya ıkması ile alakalıdır. Bunlar, bir taraftan kyllerin tasarrufunda olan toprakların klmesi, diđer yandan da Őehirli askeri zmrelerin elinde temerkz eden toprakların bymesi, yani iftlikleřme srecidir. Bu alıřma, Edirne rneđinden, bu iki trendi de ampirik olarak aıklamaktadır. On yedinci yzyıl

sonlarına gelindiğinde, reayanın elindeki toprak büyüklüklerinin klasik dönem tahrirlerinin söylediği toprak büyüklükleriyle uzaktan yakından bir alakası olmadığı gözlenmektedir. Kuşkusuz bu durum, kırsal yerleşimlerin topografik durumu ile de alakalıdır. Eldeki arşiv kaynaklarının bu tür çıkarsamalar yapacak veriler sunmaması nedeniyle, daha evvelki kuşak Osmanlı tarihçileri hem raiyyet çiftliklerini hem de ekabir çiftliklerini ampirik olarak sınamamışlardır. Her ne kadar bazı çalışmalar kimi açıklamalar getirmişse de, bunlar bir bölgede hem reaya çiftliğinin dönüşümünü hem de ekabir çiftliklerinin oluşumlarını bütüncül olarak açıklayamamışlardır. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışma çok sağlam bir veri setiyle, Edirne bölgesinde hem reaya çiftliklerinin hem de büyük çiftliklerin fiziki boyutlarını ortaya koymaktadır.

Son olarak, bu tezde kullanılan ampirik veri seti klasik dönem sonrasında hazırlanan bir tahrir defterinden elde edilmiştir. Bu tahrir defteri de, İstanbul'daki Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivlerinde tek bir katalog numarası altında bulunmamıştır. Farklı katalog numaralarıyla arşive giren aynı tahrir defterinin parçalarını ben bir araya getirdim ve defteri dikkatlice okuyarak orginal formunu buldum. Tahrir defterinin bir araya getirilişi, bana analizimi anlamlı bir bütün üzerinden yapma olanağı verdi. Bu bize Osmanlı tahrir defterlerinin hazırlanışının mantığını daha geniş bir perspektiften anlama olanağı vermiştir. Şöyle ki, 1670 tarihli Edirne tahriri klasik dönem tahrirlerinden farklı kayıt mantığına sahiptir. Ki, bu değişik kayıt mantığı on yedinci yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren gözlemlenen mali ve askeri dönüşümlerle paralellik göstermektedir.

Son bir söz olarak, bu tezin ampirik katkıları bir kenara, yakın gelecekte yeni arşiv belgelerinin bulunması ve kaynakların yeniden yorumlanmasıyla hem Osmanlı bağlamında şehir-kır ilişkisi hem de tarımsal-kırsal yapı hakkındaki bilgilerimiz daha da artacaktır.

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