GENEALOGY OF THE OTTOMAN SURVEYS

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ABSTRACT

GENEALOGY OF THE OTTOMAN SURVEYS

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Thesis aims to look at the language of the Ottoman Surveys, as discourse, and problematize how the subjects of the empire were registered. It is argued that the Ottoman surveys have discursive regularities corresponding to specific regimes of power. In the 15th and the 16th centuries, reaya was registered by tahrir defters in the form of a landholding household unit on the basis of taxation, timar, çift-hane systems. At the end of the 16th century, empire-wide tahrirs were ceased to be conducted. Within the conditions of the 17th century crisis, taxation system of the empire changed and extraordinary taxes were regularized. Avarız and cizye defters were conducted to identify the revenue sources of the state in the 17th and the 18th centuries. Avarız registers surveyed the expanding taxpaying population with household units and economic status, including some members of askeri class. Cizye defters registered taxpaying non-Muslim households/heads with economic status. In the 19th century, the subjects of the empire were surveyed on the basis of the living individual units starting with 1830s by nüfus defters and with respect to income and property on household based units by temettuat defters. These registers have different characteristics and organization, constituting relations between the subjects and the state via enumeration processes within a discursive framework. This reading
leads us into an understanding the processes of subjectification in the Ottoman polity, embedded in the textual organization of these surveys, from the survey of the country to the survey of the population.

Keywords: the Ottoman Surveys, Subjects of the Empire, Survey of the Country, Survey of the Population
ÖZ

OSMANLI SAYIMLARININ SOYKUTUGU

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The thesis aims to conduct an example of problem oriented sociological and historical analysis. The problem of the thesis is the discursive formations of the Ottoman surveys and the place of the subject in these enumeration processes in the Ottoman history, how the subjects of the Empire had been enumerated and registered in specific discursive frameworks by the administrative mechanisms of the Ottoman Empire.

Enumeration processes of the subjects of the empire were conducted by tahrir defters of the empire in its Classical Age (1300 – 1600). Tahrir surveys were ceased to be conducted at the end of the 16th century. In the 17th and the 18th centuries, different defters were kept, namely avarız and cizye defters. In the 19th century, temettuat and nüfus defters had become the main mechanisms of registration of the subjects of the empire. Each of these defters was product of a specific administrative conduct in different historical periods.

These registers, defters, of the Ottoman Empire has been studied mostly in terms of the information they include, “what they can say about the population of the Ottoman countries, prices, landholding and usage” and so on. In other words, defters were studied in terms of their representational character, what they can represent, as data source, about the actual social and economic conditions of the empire in a given time
period. This kind of studies could be associated with defterology literature and the literature of Ottoman social and economic history.

Moreover, the administrative and fiscal procedures and the roles of the registers were analyzed by other historians with relation to the political and administrative role of the registers, the question of authority, legitimacy and justice.

In this thesis, it is proposed that these defters have certain discursive regularities corresponding to specific regimes of power, which defined the subjects in specific ways. The subjects of the Empire had been registered by means of specific mechanisms. By looking the textual organization of these defters, procedures of their registration and administrative functions of them, it is possible to identify the specific administrative understanding which registered the subjects in a particular discursive framework.

In other words, these defters were the product of the Ottoman administrative mentalities. Surveys of the Empire were conducted by certain trained group of scribes, with specific administrative understanding, which represents the mentalities and understanding about the subjects of the Empire. As underline by Le Goff, administrative and fiscal documents could be source of mentality studies.

“The specificity of the history of mentalities lies rather in the approach than in the material and any source can be useful. Take, for instance, an administrative, fiscal document such as a thirteenth-century or fourteenth-century register of the king’s

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revenues: the organization of the document will reflect a particular vision of authority and administration, and a particular approach to statistics.”

The Ottoman administrative mentality is not referring to the collective consciousness or the collective mentality of a certain time period, but these enumeration processes were the field of operation of Ottoman State discourse with specific rules of formation. The aim of the thesis is to locate the place of the subjects within this discursive framework. “Who were the reaya in the Classical Age, in the 17th and the 18th centuries, who were the tebaa of the 19th century Ottoman Empire, according to these registers?” are the questions of this inquiry. The Ottoman administrative discourses were also corresponding specific regimes of power, a layer in the Ottoman regime of power in general.

Administrative mentalities were not only certain set of ideas and values about what was registered in defters but specific regimes of power made possible what was registered in a certain framework via administrative mentalities. Each group of defters has a certain discursive regularities. In that sense, studying the textual organization of defters could help to map administrative mentalities and specific meaning of being subjects of the registration in a particular time period, which were constituted by specific regimes of power.

Therefore, it will be argued that these surveys have certain discursive regularities corresponding to specific regimes of power. These defters has different characteristics and organization, the archival grid of their own, constituting and corresponding specific ways of relationality with the subjects of the empire by means of these registration processes, enumeration within a specific discursive framework. Here, it is proposed to look the order of the registers, the language, structure, organization of the registers, as discourse, how the subjects of the empire were registered, through which categories and in which order. Such problematization of these defters leads us into an understanding the processes of subjectification in the Ottoman polity.

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The second chapter of the thesis is entitled as “Enumeration of the Subjects”. In this chapter, the theoretical and conceptual framework of the thesis will be formulated. By following Foucault’s theoretical problematic of discursive formations and relations of power, the enumeration processes will be problematized. As underlined before, the surveys of the Ottoman Empire will be considered in terms of their discursive formations. The statements of these registers will be identified with relation to what kind of object, the registered subjects, they defined, within a specific archival grid, the archival network. Studying the discursive formation of the Ottoman tax registers is actually studying the Ottoman administrative mentality. Moreover, problematization of the very way of registration of the subjects within a certain discursive framework could identify the governed body, the subjects of the Empire, represented in the defters, namely, reaya of the Classical Age, changing character of the reaya in the 17th and the 18th centuries, and the tebaa, the population of the 19th century Ottoman polity.

In the third chapter, the Classical taxation system of the Empire will be described with relation to the classical timar and çift-hane systems of the Empire. Tahrir defters will be located in this historical context. Moreover, tahrir defters of the Classical Age will be evaluated in terms of structure and statements of these registers together with the place of subjects in this order of tahrirs by following the Foucauldian formulation of discourse. Registration procedures, administrative and fiscal roles of these defters in the Classical Age of the Empire will be also underlined.

In the fourth chapter, firstly, the condition of the 17th and the 18th centuries Ottoman Empire will be explained in terms of the transformations experienced by the Empire. Avarız and cizye defters will be located within the conditions of changing taxation system of the Empire. In terms of the question of enumeration of the subjects, avarız and cizye defters will be examined in terms of their structure, statements and order in their discursive framework. The way of enumeration of the subjects in these registers will be identified. Registration procedures, administrative and fiscal roles of these defters in the 17th and 18th centuries will be also mentioned.
In Chapter IV, the historical conditions of the 19th century Ottoman Empire will be discussed by especially focusing on reforms of the first half of the 19th century. Temettuat defters and nüfus defters will be located within this context of reformation of taxation system. Firstly, the first population censuses of the Ottoman will be examined in terms of the problematic of these censuses, the structure, statements and way of registration of the subjects as living beings. Registration procedures, administrative and fiscal roles of these defters in the 19th century will be also underlined. Secondly, the reasons of the conduct of temettuat defters will be held together with the structure, statements and the very way of registration of the subjects in these defters.

Finally, in the conclusion part of the thesis, the transformation from tahrir defters to nüfus defters will be discussed with regard to transformation of mechanisms of enumeration of the subjects. The genealogical study of the Ottoman surveys will show the transformation of problematization and registration of the subjects by the state. This transformation represents the changing characteristics of the subjects within the state’s discourse. This transformation could be formulated in a way that transformation from survey of the country (tahrir-i memleket) to survey of the population (tahrir-i nüfus). This formulation identifies the changing relationality between the state and the subjects, which is referring to the changing regime of the Ottoman power, in its Classical Age, in the 17th and the 18th centuries and in the 19th century.

In this study, the mufassal tahrir of Sultanönü5(980/1572) and some other published mufassal tahrir defters6 will be used for the Classical Age. For the 17th and the 18th centuries, mufassal avarız defter of Kütahya7(1086/1675) and cizye defters8 of different regions will be the sources of this period. For the 19th century, some temettuat defters of Eskişehir and Ankara9(1261/1845) and 1831 nüfus sayımı10 and

5 BOA, TT, nr.1102
7 BOA, MAD, nr. 2498
8 BOA, MAD, nr. 15151; MAD, nr. 1209; MAD, nr. 4277; MAD, nr. 4021; KK, nr. 3810
9 BOA, ML.VRD.TMT, nr. 7833; ML. VRD.TMT, nr. 144
10 BOA, M.VRD.TMT, nr. 7833; ML. VRD.TMT, nr. 144
nüfus defters of Ankara will be used. In addition to these, published mühimme registers will be used to identify the specific formulations done by the Ottoman administration for these enumeration processes and defters.

10 Karal, Enver Ziya. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831; BOA, NFS, nr.1741;1748; 1749; 1750
CHAPTER II

ENUMERATION OF THE SUBJECTS

2.1 Introduction


Karal cites this excerpt from “Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa Layihası”12 to show the state’s interest and understanding of the cadastral and population surveys in the first half of the 17th Century. However, it should be firstly identified that these surveys, namely *tahrir defters*, cannot be considered as genuine cadastral surveys and population censuses, as underlined by Lowry13. In the excerpt, *tahrir* is formulated as the survey of the country (*memleket yazımı*) and *tahrir-i memleket* as lawful conduct of the state. Therefore, what was surveyed and registered is the country (*memleket*). The administrative mentality conducting these surveys could be identified in *mühimme* registers. As underlined in many *mühimme* registers14, *tahrir olanan*, what is surveyed is the country, *sancaks*, *vilayets*, *nahiyes*, *karyes*, *timars* and the *reaya*. By also looking the very organization of *tahrir defters*, it can be said that these

11 Karal, Enver Ziya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğuunda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831*, p.6
12 Özcan underlines that this published layiha is actually a version of *Koçi Bey Risalesi*, Özcan, A. *Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa*. In *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, Vol. 25, 2010, p.250
13 Lowry, Heath W. “The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri As A Source For Social And Economic History: Pitfalls And Limitations”, “The *tahrir defters* were not intended to serve as comprehensive registers of population. Consequently, al studies hitherto published which attempt to extract population statistics from the raw *hane* data they provide are basically guilty of practicing alchemy.”, p.12.
defters have specific way of registration with specific discursive framework registering its own object different than “the population”, which can be found in the 19th century registers of the empire.


Karal is giving this quotation to identify the historical conditions of first population census conducted by the state in the first half of the 19th century. In this excerpt, the conduct of survey, the census is formulated as tahrir-i nüfus, the survey of the population. What was registered by nüfus defters in this time period is based on living individual unit, in the way that accurately formulated by Lütfi as the survey of the population.

In this regard, this discursive transformation of the Ottoman Surveys is the problematic of the thesis, the changing discursive framework of the surveys and their objects, from tahrir-i memleket to tahrir-i nüfus.

* * *

The Ottoman central government began to problematize “the population” in the first half of the 19th century. Population censuses were started to be conducted in this time period. These were not first mechanisms of enumeration of subjects; there was a tradition of such enumeration processes in Ottoman history.

Before the modern population censuses, the state conducted different surveys for different purposes. Registration of subjects was associated with the state’s intention to identify its revenue sources prior to these population censuses. In that sense, the Ottoman defters have their own way of registration and order, corresponding to social, political and administrative organization of the empire.

15 Karal, Enver Ziya. 1943. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ilk nüfus sayımı 1831, p.8
The periodization of this study is formulated according to the established defter tradition of the Ottoman Empire. In the classical age, one of the main criteria of classification between reaya and askeri was taxation. During the 15th and the 16th centuries, reaya was registered by tahrir defters on the basis of the classical taxation system, timar regime and çift-hane system of the Ottoman Empire in its core provinces, Balkans and Anatolia. During the classical age of the empire, reaya was registered in the form of landholding hane(household) unit within the land regime of the empire. At the end of the 16th century, tahrir defters ceased to be conducted.

In the 17th and the 18th centuries, taxation system of the Empire had changed and extraordinary taxes of the Classical Age had been regularized. Avarız and cizye registers had been conducted in order to identify the revenue sources of the state within the conditions of the 17th century, which was characterized by series of crises and changes. In the 17th and the 18th century, the askeri and reaya classification also started to be dissolved and avarız registers aimed to survey the expanding taxpaying population, including some members of askeri class of the Classical Age, with respect to the hane based units and level of income, their occupation and status. Cizye defters of the same period registered taxpaying non-Muslim head and household as unit and level of income in certain categories.

Finally, the subjects had been registered by temettuat defters and nüfus defters in the

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18 İnalçık, H. The Çift Hane System and Peasant Taxation. In From empire to republic : Essays on Ottoman and Turkish social history. (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1995).
19 İnalçık, Halil. The Ottoman Empire; the classical age, 1300-1600. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973)
20 Barkan, “Giriş”. In, Hıdavendigär livass tahrir defterleri.
21 Özel, O. “Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri”, p.35
23 Özel, O. “Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri”; Darling, Linda T. 1996. Revenue-Raising And Legitimacy
26 Özel, O. “Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri”, p.39
27 Özel, O. “Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri”, pp.36-40
19th century Ottoman Empire. In the first half of the 19th century, the taxation system had been reformed and corresponding registers were conducted to identify the revenue sources. In this century, subjects of the Empire was started to be surveyed with respect to their income and property on hane based units by temettuat defters\textsuperscript{28}. Nüfus defters\textsuperscript{29} of the 19th century, on the other hand, was conducted on the basis of the living individual units.

Historians generally problematize these registers in terms of their representational characters as data sources for historical demography, economic history, historical geography and so on\textsuperscript{30}. Some other historians problematize the administrative and fiscal role of these registers within the organization of the Ottoman State\textsuperscript{31}. In addition to these questions, the problematization of the Ottoman surveys as sources of history of the Ottoman administrative mentality in terms of their discursive formation could help to understand posited specific relationality between the state and its subjects.

How can these enumeration processes and their registered forms be problematized as surveys having different discursive regularities? What would be the consequence of such problemazation? For this problematization of the Ottoman surveys, Foucauldian theoretical and conceptual framework will be used.

2.2 Discursive Formations and Relations of Power

Foucault’s works are generally divided into three phases, the archaeology dealing with the problem of discursive formations, genealogy studying the regimes of power and ethics of the self concerning with the problem of the self\textsuperscript{32}. This study is oscillating between the archaeological and the genealogical phases and it is aiming to deal with problems of discursive formations and regimes of power at the same time.

\textsuperscript{28} Küttükoğlu, M. “Osmanlı Sosyal ve İkisadi Tarihi Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri”.
\textsuperscript{29} Karal, E. Z., Osmanlı İmparatorluğuunda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831.
\textsuperscript{30} Lowry, Heath W. “The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri As A Source For Social And Economic History: Pitfalls And Limitations”; For general overview of such studies, Afyoncu, E., “Türkiye’de Tahrir Defterlerine Dayalı Çalışmalar Hakkında Bazı Görüşler, TALİD, U1 (2013), p.267-286.
\textsuperscript{31} Darling, Linda T. 1996. Revenue-Raising And Legitimacy.
for the problem of the enumeration of the subjects. The reason for such oscillation is that, first of all, the registers of enumeration constitutes specific discursive framework of knowledge and secondly subjects are located in a specific place in the social and political space through these registers, that could be identified as the dimension of relations of power.

According to Foucault, “… the term discourse can be defined as the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation”\textsuperscript{33}. The statement is identified as the atom of discourse by Foucault\textsuperscript{34}. The statement is not a proposition or a sentence\textsuperscript{35} but it is a function\textsuperscript{36} which gives a name to things and relates things in a specific form. As formulated by Foucault, “Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, type of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity(an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a discursive formation.”\textsuperscript{37}. Discursive formations, in this regard, is dividing up “…the general place of things said at the specific level of statements.”\textsuperscript{38}.

In that sense, discourse is not a narrative of some practices but it is a practice itself\textsuperscript{39}, which conditions the formation of the objects and “there is no knowledge without a particular discursive practice; and any discursive practice may be defined by the knowledge that it forms.”\textsuperscript{40}. Moreover, any discursive formation has a certain positivity which is referring to the capacity of discourse to posit the discourse-object as the object coming into being. The positivity of discourse is originated from its unity and regularity throughout time\textsuperscript{41}.

\textsuperscript{33} Foucault, Michel. \textit{Archaeology of knowledge}. (London: Routledge, 2002), p.107
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid, p.90
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid, p.91
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, p.97
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid, p.41
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid, p.130
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid, p.51
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid, p.201
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid, p.143
In addition to these, Foucault conceptualizes the archive as the system of statements\textsuperscript{42}, which is giving rise to discourse-objects, like the objects named in the Ottoman surveys. “I shall call an archive, not the totality of texts that have been preserved by a civilization or the set of traces that could be salvaged from its downfall, but the series of rules which determine in a culture the appearance and disappearance of statements, their mode of remaining and their erasure, their paradoxical existence as events and things.”\textsuperscript{43} The archaeology, in Foucauldian sense, studies discourses as practices within the domain of the archive\textsuperscript{44}.

It should be also underlined that “The conditions to which the elements of this division (objects, mode of statement, concepts, thematic choices) are subjected we shall call the rules of formation. The rules of formation are conditions of existence (but also of coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance) in a given discursive division.”\textsuperscript{45} The rules of formation make possible the appearance of object within a given historical period\textsuperscript{46}.

In short, the archaeological study, in Foucauldian sense, identifies and analyzes these rules of discursive practices and it is the systematic description of discourse-objects, which are discursively produced. Moreover, the rules of formation of certain group of statement of discourses are objects of analysis of the archaeology. In this way, how certain set of “things” are presented and how they have become the objects of discourse is studied. By means of such conduct, the rules of formation of discourses are underlined as the conditions of realization of objects of discourses. In other words, with parallel to the discursive formations, there is the formation of object. By mapping the conditions of emergence of objects, describing the limitations of the discourse for the emergence of objects, and analyzing the grid of specification in discursive framework, the very ground of the emergence of objects is studied\textsuperscript{47}. Therefore, the discourse itself is giving raise to the objects by dividing the plane of

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid, p.145
\textsuperscript{44} Foucault, M. Archaeology of knowledge. p.148
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid, p.42
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid, p.36
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
things, classifying and relating those things in a specific grid of intelligibility\textsuperscript{48}. The task of archaeology is to map the discursive formations and to define the limited system of presence, constituted by discourses themselves\textsuperscript{49}.

In terms of the Ottoman Surveys, the initial question are “…how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?”\textsuperscript{50}, “… what is this specific existence that emerges from what is said and nowhere else?”\textsuperscript{51}. How could one particular statement appear rather than another in these surveys conducted by the Ottoman State and correspondingly, what would be the specific existence emerging from that is registered?

In Foucault’s argumentation, the relations of power and specific modes of subjection constitute the ground on which “man” raises as an object of knowledge within a certain discursive framework. “According to him, the object, in all its materiality, cannot be separated from the formal frameworks through which we come to know it, frameworks that Foucault, settling upon an ill-chosen word, calls ‘discourse’.”\textsuperscript{52}

In other words, the regimes of power are directly related with the possible forms and domains of knowledge, that which is produced by the relations of power, in other words, configurations of power/knowledge\textsuperscript{53}. Within this space produced by relations of power/knowledge, a particular subjective experience is possible.

For the relationship between the subject, discourse and the relations of power, Foucault underlines that “these ‘power-knowledge relations’ are to be analysed, therefore, not on the basis of a subject of knowledge who is or is not free in relation to the power system, but, on the contrary, the subject who knows, the objects to be known and the modalities of knowledge must be regarded as so many effects of these fundamental implications of power-knowledge and their historical transformations.

\textsuperscript{49} Foucault, Michel. \textit{Archaeology of knowledge}
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid, p.30
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid, p.31
\textsuperscript{52} Veyne, Paul. \textit{Foucault: his thought, his character}. (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2010), p.6
In short, it is not the activity of the subject of knowledge that produces a corpus of knowledge, useful or resistant to power, but power-knowledge, the processes and struggles that traverse it and of which it is made up, that determines the forms and possible domains of knowledge”54

Therefore, the problem of discursive formations and knowledge, in Foucauldian sense, must be understood in terms of relations of power55. As stated by Foucault, “…in any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association. We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth. This is the case for every society…”56. Hence, the study of discursive formations must be conceived with relation to the specific relations of power that constitutes the social body. To put it in different way, the notion of knowledge and the notion of power are complementary parts of one single problem, which is formulated as power/knowledge by Foucault. The formulation of power/knowledge is directly referring to certain regime of power accompanied by a certain discursive framework and vice versa.

The exercise of power57 constitutes specific regimes of power, which produce specific modes of government58 and specific forms of subjectivities. As underlined by Revel, “genealogy of power is indissociable from a history of subjectivity. That is, a genealogy of power is indissociable from an investigation of the way in which

54 Foucault, M. Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison, pp 27-29
the being of the subject is at once the result of apparatuses of objectivation undergone and active practices of subjectification”59.

By following this argumentation it can be said that what is governed is the body being objected to the operations of relations of power/knowledge. The configurations of power/knowledge in the form of apparatuses of objectification give rise to specific forms of subjectivities as the objects of operation of relations of power and as objects of knowledge. Through the relations of power, particular forms of political persona emerge, as governed bodies and bodies to be known.

In that sense, different operation of the relations power/knowledge constitutes different governed bodies. Consequently, there is no singular, unchanging body of the subjects as governed bodies and the object of knowledge in the history of the Ottoman Empire. Because the Ottoman Empire had different “attitudes” toward “the governed” in the case of the surveys, which can be identified as different apparatuses of objectification, in its Classical Age, in the 17th/18th centuries and in the 19th century.

Veyne formulates the issue of “attitudes toward the governed” by following Foucault’s perspective, in the way that “Here we have quite different ‘attitudes’ toward the natural object ‘the governed’, many different ways of treating the governed ‘objectively’... Let us put it this way: there are many different practices, some of which objectify a population, others a fauna, still others a tribe, and so on.”60 and “We shall ask in what political practice people are objectified in such a way…”61

“For ‘the governed’ is neither a unity nor a multiplicity, any more than ‘repression’ (or ‘its diverse forms’) is, or ‘the State’ (or ‘its forms in history’), for the simple reason that there is no such thing as ‘the governed’. There are only multiple objectivizations (‘population’, ‘fauna’, ‘subjects under law’), correlatives of

59 Revel, “Power”, p.377
61 Veyne, Paul. Foucault revolutionizes history, p.151
heterogeneous practices. There are numerous objectivizations, and that is all: a relation between this multiplicity of practices and unity can be posited only if one attempts to credit the practices with a nonexistent unity; ...."\(^{62}\)

The transformation of those different practices objectifying different unity of the governed is the problematic of the thesis, from the *reaya* in the Classical Age to the population in 19\(^{th}\) century. In the case of the Ottoman Surveys, the different modes of registration of the subjects could be identified as different objectification of the subjects within particular discursive frameworks produced by the Ottoman administrative mentalities.

In this regard, the Ottoman Surveys will be analyzed as the different discursive modes of registration of the subjects, which were accompanied by the specific regimes of power in the Ottoman Empire. At the beginning, these *defters* should be located the specific historical context on which they were produced by the Ottoman administrative mentalities.

For the discursive side of the problem, Foucault’s conceptual framework of discursive formations and his way of approach to this subject-matter will be followed. In this part of the study, the statements and the structure of these surveys will be identified and analyzed in the following chapters. This textual analysis will be related with the archival network of these registers within specific historical contexts. The formation of the discourse-objects of the *defters* will be explained accordingly, in terms of the position of the subjects in these registers.

In terms of the power dimension of the problem, Foucault’s approach to the question of power will be followed. According to Foucault, power could be studied by looking the systems of differentiation, the types of objectives, the means of bringing power relations into being, forms of institutionalization and the degrees of rationalization\(^{63}\).

Particularly, for the problem of the Ottoman Surveys, the categories of registration could be identified as the system of differentiations of particular series of *defters* and

\(^{62}\) Veyne, Paul. *Foucault revolutionizes history*, p.160

\(^{63}\) Foucault, Michel. "The Subject and Power.", p.792
the degree of rationalization of these defters is related with the knowledge dimension of the problem. These two points are related with the discursive character of the Ottoman Surveys, which is already formulated for the analysis of discursive formation of the Ottoman Surveys.

To study the relations of power within the defters are operating, the reasons why the state conducted such surveys, as objectives of the state, could be starting point of the inquiry. By underlining these reasons behind the conduct of these surveys, main agenda of the state could be identified. This agenda is directly related with the problematization of the subjects within the framework of a specific mentality. In other words, how the subjects were problematized by the state could be explained in this way. For particular historical periods, the institutionalized forms of the Ottoman defters will be another dimension of the analysis of these surveys as mechanisms bringing power relations into being, according to Foucault’s approach for the analysis of the relations of power.

To sum up, the very specific ways of problematization and registration of the subjects conducted by the Ottoman State will be explained by analyzing the discursive formation of the Ottoman surveys corresponding to the regimes of Ottoman power in three periods, the Classical Age, the 17th and 18th centuries and the 19th century. It is argued that specific body of the governed, the subjects of the Empire, came into being in different forms in these three periods by means of operation of these surveys. The question of how the subjects were registered is directly related with this point. In the Classical Age, reaya was problematized and registered with relation to its position within the classical timar, çift-hane and taxation systems of the Empire. In the 17th and the 18th centuries, changing taxation system of the Empire required other types of mechanisms of registration; these would be avarz and cizye defters with other objectives and procedures of conduct than the Classical tahrir system. In the 19th century, the subjects were problematized in terms of their property and holdings and they were registered accordingly in temettuat defters. Finally, the problematization of the population in the 19th century constitutes the new form of defters, in which the subjects were registered as living individual beings in these censuses. This transformation of the way of the
problematization and registration of the subjects demonstrates the changing character of the relation between the state and its subjects, from \textit{tahrir-i memleket} to \textit{tahrir-i nüfus}, and it show the different subjectivities of the governed in these time periods.
CHAPTER III

TAHRİR DEFTERS OF THE CLASSICAL AGE

In this chapter, there will be an introduction for the tahrir defters of the Ottoman Empire, and then historians’ usage of these defters will be discussed. In addition to these, the methodological discussions of the usage of these sources will be held under the title defterology. With relation to the discussion will be held on defterology, general characteristics of the timar system, the miri land regime, çift-hane system and the taxation system of the empire in its classical age will be mentioned in order to show the administrative domain of these registers. Within this context, the very structure and textual organization of a tahrir defter will be explained. Finally, the discursive framework of the tahrir defters will be evaluated with relation to the problematization of the subjects in the classical regime of the Ottoman Empire.

3.1 Introduction

Tahrir literally means registration (yazma, yazılma)\(^64\). Tahrir defters of the Ottoman Empire were conducted regularly in the Classical Age of the Ottoman Empire. These registers were censuses conducted by state bureaucracy in order to record the sources of tax revenue and for the tax acquisition\(^65\).


\(^{65}\) Öz, M. “Tahrir”, pp. 425-429.
However, *tahrirs* were not genuine population censuses or cadastral surveys. They were conducted to identify the sources of the state revenues could be extracted by taxation. Revenues, which were given military class, *timar* holders, as living (*dirlik*) or were saved, reserved (*has*) by central authority of the state to supply the central expenses of the state, were surveyed and registered by *tahrirs*. Lands cultivated by *reaya* were surveyed and registered together with the cultivators with respect to their tax assessment on *hane* based units. *Vaqf* lands could be also surveyed and registered in *tahrir* surveys. In this regard, *tahrir defters* have a specific discourse and textual organization corresponding to the Ottoman administrative, fiscal and military organization in its Classical Age.

At the beginning, by giving reference to Murphey, the notion of system should be considered critically. “System” cannot be conceived as a strictly closed structure but a system, a structure always in a formation process. Here, terms like classical regime or classical age or classical *tahrir* system refer to an already established and lasting, for a certain period of time, practices had been reproduced continuously as frameworks of a certain administrative, fiscal and military conducts. In other words, the term system is a an analytical abstraction for a certain set of practices in the 15th and 16th centuries, but it should be noted that changes, reconfigurations and practical adjustments were always there, as already underlined by Murphey, in the case of the dynamic framework of the *tahrir system*, which will be discussed as a discursive framework in the following pages.

It is not clear that when the Ottomans employed *tahrir defters* for the first time. *Beyazid I* (1389-1403) was criticized due to the introduction of new fiscal method, *defters*, by Ashik Pashazade. Using *defters* was one of the mechanisms of strong centralization policies of *Beyazid I* accompanying his forceful policy of unification,

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66 Lowry, Heath W, "The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri As A Source For Social And Economic History: Pitfalls And Limitations".
70 Murphey,"Ottoman Census Methods In The Mid-Sixteenth Century: Three Case Histories”.
replacement of native aristocracy by sultan’s kuls, etc. According to İnalcık, “adopting fully the old Islamic and Ilkhanid methods of administration Beyazid was responsible for the development of the semi-feudal state of Osman Gazi and Orhan Gazi with its vassals and uc-beyisis, into a real Islamic Sultanate with traditional institutions.”

The one of oldest tahrir defters known in the Ottoman archives is dated 835 (1431/1432) and it is published by İnalcık. In this defter, already developed Turkish formulas and terminology is used, this could be an indicator of that tahrir defters had been used before Beyazid I. Moreover, this defter includes Persian formulas, that could be also another indicator of a Seljukid or Persian-Ilkhanid origin or influence of the tahrir system.

Empire wide tahrir surveys were conducted in the core provinces, Anatolia and Rumelia, during the 15th and 16th centuries. Tahrir surveys were mainly conducted at the time of an enthronement of a sultan, in a time of a need and after a conquest of a certain area in the 15th and 16th centuries. They were ceased to be kept on an imperial scale at the end of the 16th century.

Tahrir defters were prepared in two forms; one of them was mufassal, detailed form, in which sources of tax revenues were registered, namely taxpaying subjects, reaya and other sources of revenue, like mines. Reaya was registered in mufassal tahrir defter on hane based units in the form of categories of çift-resmi and its associates, in a detailed way and according to their place of residence. These categories of riayet rüşumu were çift, (2) nim-çift, (3) ekinlübennak, (4) cababennak, (5) mücerred, (6)

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72 İnalcık, “Ottoman Methods of Conquest”, p.105
73 There are some other recently published earlier registers. See Radushev, Evg, and Uğur Altuğ. 1422-1423 tarihi köprü, kastorya ve koluna vilayetleri mafossal defterleri: metin, indeks ve tıpkıbasım (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2016)
75 İnalcık, “Ottoman Method of Conquest”, p.110
76 Barkan, Hüdavendigar Livası Tahrir Defterleri, p.16; İnalcık, Arvanid, p.xviii
77 Barkan, Hüdavendigar livası tahrir defterleri, p.6
In the mufassal defter, the detailed register, taxpayers were listed by name and status with respect to their place of residence and assessed tax category. Their agricultural production and live-stock, marketing activities in towns, manufacturing activities were also registered. In mufassal registers, there could be kanunname of the locality which is determining the local taxation practices. Mülk and vaqf lands could be registered also in mufassal tahrir defter.

The second form of tahrir defters was icmal defteri, the summary. In the icmal defteri, members of askeri class, timar and zeamet holders were registered according to their place of residence and holdings. In an icmal defter, the summary register, timar, zeamet holders were listed together with the identified revenues assigned to them. Taxpaying population was not written in icmal defter. According to İnalcık, this distinction or classification of mufassal and icmal was corresponding to the fundamental division between askeri and reaya in Ottoman society.

According to İnalcık, “an Ottoman survey is not a cadastre in the modern sense. But the Ottoman system of registration of land and population, comparable to the English doomsday book, was functional and practical and made a systematic cadastral registration unnecessary, which was in any case an impossible task under medieval conditions.” In this regard, tahrir surveys are mainly about the registration of all potential revenue sources of the state. They were also functioning as general inspection. Instructions about how the registration would be made were given to the surveyors and accordingly they conducted the surveys. During the surveys, “timar

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79 Barkan, Hüdavendigar livasi tahrir defterleri.
81 Darling, Linda T. 1996. Revenue-Raising And Legitimacy, p. 32
82 İnalcık, Hicri 835 Tarihli Süret-I Defter-I Sancak-I Arvanid.
83 Darling, Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy, p.32
84 İnalcık, Method of Conquest, p.112
85 İnalcık, Halil, “The Ottoman State: Economy and Society:1300-1600.,” in An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1914, ed. İnalcık H., Quataert D. New York: Cambridge University Press 1994, p. 138
86 Ibid, p.132
87 Ibid, p.132
88 Ibid, p.134
or ziamet holders bring their own dependent reaya into the presence of the surveyor with the grown-up sons fit for tax liability"\(^{89}\). There was always possibility of not being able to register the reaya, in the form of flight, hide, and so on\(^{90}\). The registration of reaya was under the responsibility of timar and ziamet holders, the members of the askeri class\(^{91}\). Moreover, “survey books not only constituted a record and reference to identify the resources to be assigned to the military, but also were a status book for the land and population which determined, until the next survey, the social position and tax liabilities of lands, persons and groups.”\(^{92}\) Therefore, tahrir surveys and their records were ensuring the control of the central administration of the empire over reaya, their peasant farms\(^{93}\) and timar and ziamet holders\(^{94}\).

3.2 The Usage of defters

These defters are used by historians mostly as a source of social, economic and administrative history of the Ottoman Empire. Tahrir defters are used in terms of the information included in them, such as the number of households, the land usage, prices, agricultural production and so on. In other words, tahrir defters are problematized in terms of their representational character, as a data source for the Ottoman social and economic history\(^{95}\). Moreover, some historians also used these registers to study the administrative functioning of the Empire\(^{96}\).

Studies on tahrir defters started with Barkan’s pioneering works\(^{97}\). Barkan’s main question is that how these defters could be used as statistical data sources of their time as sources of social, economic and demographic history\(^{98}\). Moreover, he...
underlines that *tahrir defters* had an essential role for a strongly centralized state. In the case of the Ottoman Empire, *tahrir* system was necessary for functioning of the *timar* system on the ground of the *miri* land regime\(^99\).

*Tahrir* registers includes the information about the land used by *reaya* households, registered according to adult males as heads of households, tax liabilities and their amounts, villages and their *timar* holders or *mülk* or *vaqf* holders, the agricultural production in those villages, animal husbandry and so on\(^100\). Moreover, the information about tax exempted groups, like miners, and bazaars could be found in these registers\(^101\). Barkan underlines the importance of registration of these in quantitative forms in *tahrir defters* and he firstly proposed the usage of *tahrir defters* as sources of historical demography\(^102\).

According to Barkan, *tahrir* surveys and registers were the base of the administrative and fiscal organization of the empire\(^103\). These registers had been conducted in the Turkic and Islamic states before the Ottoman Empire and they were modified according to the needs of the time period in the hands of the Ottoman administration\(^104\). *Tahrir* surveys were conducted to make tax assessments *just*\(^105\) and they had been conducted since the time of first *sultans* of the empire\(^106\). The aim of *tahrirs* to give an order and to make an inspection according to the already established order of the state based on *miri* land regime and one of the most important function of these surveys was to regulate the affairs of *timar* system\(^107\). Inspection was also another function of these surveys and registers\(^108\). Determination of the state’s revenues and functioning of *timar* system required such kind of

\(^{99}\) Barkan, *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrir defterleri*.

\(^{100}\) Barkan, “Türkiye’de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri I”, p.21

\(^{101}\) Ibid. p.21

\(^{102}\) Barkan, *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrir defterleri*, p.4

\(^{103}\) Ibid. p.21

\(^{104}\) Ibid. p.26

\(^{105}\) Ibid. p.26

\(^{106}\) Ibid., p.33

\(^{107}\) Ibid. pp.36,37

\(^{108}\) Barkan, *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrir defterleri*, p.17
surveys. In this respect, the *tahrir* survey was a very important mechanism for the organization of the empire. These surveys were conducted after an enthronement of a *sultan* or each 30-40 years in the time of need and after the conquest of certain areas to establish the order of the state. The ultimate aim of *tahrir* surveys was the collection of taxes and military recruitment. Barkan explains cessation of *tahrir* surveys just after the beginning of the 17th century with the decay of the organization of the Ottoman Empire.

Another prominent and pioneering study on *tahrir defters* is İnalcık’s *835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*. It is actually an *icmal*, summary, *defter*, although it was originated from a *mufassal*, detailed, *defter*. According to İnalcık, this register was organized according to *timar* holders with reference to the administrative organization of the province. İnalcık also identifies this kind of *tahrir* registers as sources of historical studies on the Ottoman *timar* system. Although, *reaya* was not registered in this *icmal defter*, the most important element of the body of *timars* was the subjects, *raïyyet*. In that sense, *timar* holders had control over the land and the subjects with certain rights under the control of the state.

Thereafter the publication of Nejat Göyünç’s *sancak* based study on Mardin, XV. *Yüzyılda Mardin Sancağı*, it can be said that new field of study was opened in the Ottoman historiography. Göyünç’s work had become a “model” for later specific historical studies. In this work, Göyünç underlines that the purpose of the study is to identify the administrative organization, demographic and economic conditions of the region of Mardin. The author uses detailed (*mufassal*) and summary (*icmal*) *tahrir defters* for the study. These registers were utilized as sources for *sancak kanunnames*, *timar* and *zeamet* holders, members of *askeri* class in the *sancak* at

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109 *Ibid*, p.5
110 *Ibid*, p.6
111 *Ibid*, p.16
112 *Ibid*, p.6
113 *İnalcık, Hicri 835 Tarihi Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, p.vii
114 *Ibid*, p.xxii
115 *Ibid*, p.xxxi
116 *Ibid*, pp.xxxi, xxxii
those times, settlement patterns, Muslim, non-Muslim and nomad groups, town
districts, manufactures also by mainly identifying the number of these present at that
time period. This work opened a field for later on many similar *sancak* based studies
of the 15th and the 16th centuries by mainly depending on *tahrir defters*\(^{118}\).

There are also other historical studies not following the path opened by Göyünç’s
*sancak* based study and his perspective on *tahrir* registers of the Ottoman Empire.
One of them is the study conducted by İslamoğlu-İnan from a Marxist perspective. In
this work, the author used a series of *tahrir defters* of North-Central Anatolia dated
mainly from 1520s to 1570s in a comparative way. İslamoğlu-İnan conceptualize
*tahrir* registers as mechanisms of surplus extraction and she utilized these registers
as historical sources of demographic history, history of agricultural production,
taxation, economy, and history of commerical development in the North-Central
Anatolia\(^{119}\).

3.3 The Defterology

The methodological questions concerning the usage of *tahrir defters* are addressed
by Lowry. These methodological discussions for usage of the *tahrir defters* are
conceptualized under the term *defterology* by Lowry\(^ {120}\). By underlining the lack of
methodological debates on how to use *tahrir defters* in the field of *defterology,*
Lowry gives a brief overview of studies on *tahrir defter* by focusing on their
approaches to these sources\(^ {121}\).

He identifies four main approaches. The Hungarian school, beginning with works of
Fekete, has “a tendency to focus upon the *tahrirs* as a toponymical and topographical
source for a given geographical area”\(^ {122}\). The Barkan-Braudelian school, on the other
hand, is giving emphasis on the quantitative character of *tahrirs*. The population of

\(^{118}\) Afyoncu, Erhan. “Türkiye'de Tahrir Defterlerine Dayalı Olarak Hazırlanmış Çalışmalar Hakkında Bazı Görüşler”. *TALİD*,
I/1, 2013, pp.267, 268.

\(^{119}\) İslamoğlu-İnan, Huricihan. *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire: Agrarian Power Relations and Regional Economic
Development in Ottoman Anatolia During the Sixteenth Century*. (Leiden: Brill, 1994)

\(^{120}\) Lowry, Heath W. “The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri as a Source For Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations”,
p.3

\(^{121}\) Ibid, p.3

\(^{122}\) Ibid, p.3
the Empire for a given time period is tried to be derived from these sources. Moreover, their focus is on the global level rather than local scale. Third school is the Turkish school initiated by İnalcık. This school focuses “on the publication and analysis of the contents of a single register” and it has gradually evolved into the publication and analysis of series of sources for a given locality. The final school Lowry named is the French school and they are characterized by their microscopic approach, which is referring to the analysis of a single term, like a taxable crop, according to Lowry.

According to Lowry, “the tahrir defters alone do not provide the basis for any kind of quantitative study, be it toponymy, topography, taxation, agricultural production, or population. In order to obtain an overall perspective in any of these areas the tahrirs must be used in conjunction with other surviving contemporary records, in particular, with surviving vakıf defters.” Mufassal registers should be preferred to the icmal registers. Tahrir defters should be used serially. These registers are not comprehensive registers of population or censuses, “...all studies hitherto published which attempt to extract population statistics from the raw hane data they provide are basically guilty of practicing alchemy.” Tahrir defters registered non-Muslim areas are more useful than defters registered regions predominantly Muslims. Tahrir defters of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are more reliable than defters of the period after the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Pre-1520 registers could be identified as Turco-Persian because of their terminology and in post-1520 register the terminology became Arabic. Moreover, post-1520 registers frequently repeat the information included by former defters. In other words, there is a certain tendency of the information to be fixed included by tahrir defters after 1520. In addition to these dictums, Lowry, concludes that tahrir defters “were tax-

123 Ibid, p.4
124 Ibid, p.5
125 Ibid, p.5
126 Ibid, p.8
127 Ibid, p.12
128 Ibid, p.13
129 Ibid, p.14
registers for the *timar* system and nothing else. As such, they list only tax-paying units the revenues of which were earmarked for the *timariots.*

In this regard, it can be said that *tahrir defters* are conceived and used in terms of the information they included about the military, administrative and fiscal organization of the state. The information embodied by these register are used as data sets for the population, agricultural and industrial production, settlement patterns for the time period covered by them. Moreover, these registers are operationalized to gain information about the administrative and fiscal organization of the Ottoman state. Depending on these registers, many important debates on the classical age of the empire are made, like population pressure of the second half of the 16th century, changing settlement patterns and so on. By following the methodological framework formulated by Lowry, it is an imperative that *tahrirs* should be evaluated with relation to the *timar* system. In addition to this, *çift-hane* system, as complementary part of the *timar timar* system, should be looked with relation to *timar* and *tahrir* system. When we consider *timar* and *çift-hane* systems as pillars of the Ottoman classical agricultural structure, *tahrir* system must be conceived together with these two.

### 3.4 The Classical Age of the Ottoman Empire

#### 3.4.1 The *Timar* system and the *Miri* Land Regime

By following Lowry’s argumentation, the general characteristics of *timar* system will be discussed briefly and the functioning of *tahrir* surveys and *tahrir defters* will be identified with relation to the *timar* system and *çift-hane* system in the classical age of the Ottoman Empire. *Timar* system was based on the *miri* land regime. In order to explain how the *timar* system worked, the characteristics of the *miri* land regime should be underlined.

The *miri* land regime is basically state-owned land regime which is giving the state the authority over the whole agricultural domain. *Sipahis* were agents of the state

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130 *Ibid.* p.8

131 İnalcık, Halil. “Village, Peasant and Empire”. In *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies. 1987), p.142
in the countryside. Their presence actually meant the presence of the state. Through those sipahis, the state had supervision over the land and peasant farming\textsuperscript{132}.

The miri lands were divided into two categories, tapulu arazi and mukataalı arazi\textsuperscript{133}. Tapulu arazi was given to a peasant family for agricultural production. This land could not be sold, donated or turned to a vaqf, but it could only be transferred from father to son for cultivation\textsuperscript{134}. This family unit, çift-hane, was the basis of the Ottoman agricultural production, which will be discussed in detail, in its core provinces in its classical age. Mukataali arazi, on the other hand, is the land rented by the state to private individuals for a payment of a sum of money\textsuperscript{135}.

According to Barkan, in the time period when the monetary economy was not developed, collection of tax revenues collected by in kind, translation of these revenues into cash, distribution of these revenues by a central treasury to state officials for their livelihood was a very difficult task. Many methods were developed for this task in the East and the West. In the Ottoman Empire, the very organization of timariots, timar holding provincial cavalary army had been used successfully for ages\textsuperscript{136}. The development of askeri fiefs by these means was depending on the distribution of land for timariots. However, the distributed land and people living on the land were legally subjected to the sultan, and they were legally owned by the sultan\textsuperscript{137}. The Ottoman fief holders had rights determined by the sultan’s kanun to collect some tax revenues from people living on the land, the subjects of the sultan, namely the reaya. It was principle that who violates the law, the kanun, would be deposed of their timars. These fiefs were given to cavalaries for certain services for certain time period and these were depending on the will of the sultan. These fiefs

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid, p.142
\textsuperscript{133} Ibid, p.143
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid, p.143
\textsuperscript{135} Ibid, p.144
\textsuperscript{136} Barkan, Ömer Lütfi, “Timar”, in \textit{Türkiyede Toprak Meselesi: Toplu Eserler 1}, (İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1980), p. 806
\textsuperscript{137} Barkan, “Timar”, p.816.
could be transferred from father to son under the condition of a given services by the sultan\textsuperscript{138}.

Timar holders use the revenue they collect in the form of taxes from \textit{reaya} in order to perform their duties. Moreover, it is not possible accept \textit{timar} units as an independent and autonomous from any external mechanisms simply because the legal framework of tax collection were already determined and controlled by a central state organization and due to the rights and duties of \textit{timariots}, many state officials were interfering into affairs of \textit{timars} units\textsuperscript{139}. Sipahis were also inspected during \textit{tahrir} surveys. Surplus revenues, which were not identified in their \textit{berats}, were taken from \textit{timariots}\textsuperscript{140}. \textit{Timariots} were frequently reappointed for different places in order to prevent \textit{timar} fiefs to become a property of a \textit{timariots} family and establishment of certain focals of authority by \textit{timariots} in the provinces\textsuperscript{141}. Therefore, \textit{timariots} cannot be considered as an aristocratic group, like feudal seigneurs in the Western Europe, having a certain autonomy because of the continuous intervention of the imperial center through close inspections and interferences\textsuperscript{142}.

On the production side of the \textit{timar} system, \textit{reaya} was bounded on the land and there were some enforcement mechanisms of that dependence. Peasants who left \textit{timar} fiefs or engaged in different activities would be enforced by \textit{timariots} to turn back to the \textit{timar} fief or they could pay the compensation, namely \textit{çift-bozan resmi}\textsuperscript{143}.

### 3.4.2 The \textit{Çift-hane} system

The Ottoman military, administrative and financial organization, in its classical age, was based on the complementary part of the \textit{timar} system, on the production side, that is \textit{çift-hane} system. Basically \textit{çift-hane} system organizes the agricultural production through peasant households, \textit{hanes}, having a pair of oxen and they were

\textsuperscript{138} Barkan, “Timar”, p.816
\textsuperscript{139} \textit{Ibid}, p.838.
\textsuperscript{140} \textit{Ibid}, p.842.
\textsuperscript{141} \textit{Ibid}, pp.847, 849.
\textsuperscript{142} \textit{Ibid}, p.843.
\textsuperscript{143} \textit{Ibid}, p.834.
given possession of a land, raiyyet çiftlik, which was large enough to sustain the life of a peasant family and to pay “the rent” of the land to the state.\textsuperscript{144}

The family farm unit constitutes the basis of the çift-hane system. The agricultural production was based on the peasant family labour and a pair of oxen together with a farm to maintain the subsistence of the family.\textsuperscript{145} According to İnalcık, çift-hane was “the basic agrarian structure in the core lands of the Ottoman Empire.”\textsuperscript{146} Within the context of the çift-hane system, peasants were free and dependant. They were dependant because their use of land and (non)mobility were limited and controlled by the state. They were free because they could organize the agricultural production on the land.\textsuperscript{147} Peasant household, the land and a pair of oxen were there essential elements of the çift-hane system and these “…three elements were considered as forming an indissoluble agrarian and fiscal unit.”\textsuperscript{148}

This raiyyet çiftlik was the basic unit of agricultural production, agricultural economy and taxation in the classical age of the Ottoman Empire. The state enforced legal frameworks to prevent division and disappearance of this land unit. State owned miri land regime was the ground of such agricultural, economic and fiscal unit.\textsuperscript{149} Within the context of the miri land regime, the land used by reaya could not be fragmented by means of inheritance. This land could not be exchanged and the owner/user of a specific land piece could not be changed. Acts like these endangering the small scale peasant household production unit, namely çift-hane unit, were forbidden by the law.\textsuperscript{150} The indivisibility of the çiftlik unit was underlined in the kanun. “The law reads: ‘It is by no means permissible for çiftlik and bashtinas [çiftlik in Slavic provinces] to be divided up and parcelled out’”, although there were

\textsuperscript{144} İnalcık, H. “the Çift Hane System and Peasant Taxation”. In From Empire to Republic: Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History. (İstanbul: İss Press, 1995), p.78
\textsuperscript{145} İnalcık, “The Ottoman State: Economy and Society:1300-1600.”, p.143
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid, p.145
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid, p.145
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid, p.146.
\textsuperscript{149} İnalcık, Halil. “Village, Peasant and Empire”, p.143.
\textsuperscript{150} Barkan, “Timar”, p.850.
some contradictory and incompatible practices of breakning up, distribution and usage of çiftlik lands\textsuperscript{151}.

The imperial bureaucracy employed many mechanisms to maintain the unity of çift-hane system. The regular surveys and registrations of peasant family-units with respect to their tax liabilities was one of the most important mechanisms employed by the Ottoman bureaucracy\textsuperscript{152}. In this regard, the elements of çift-hane system are found in tahrir defters. “The ottoman survey system was intended to serve as a base and as a device to implement the çift-hane system. Data in the survey books should be interpreted within the requirements of the system.”\textsuperscript{153}

The registration of the peasants, according to their position in the çift-hane system, through the surveys establishes the status and obligations of peasants until the next survey. These tax registers, tahrir defters, were functioning as a reference for all kinds of disputes and conflicts about status of peasants and their tax obligations, especially with relation to timariots\textsuperscript{154}.

In terms of the fiscal side of the çift-hane system, peasant taxation was organized according to the categories of çift-hane system. The main tax liability was the çift-tax (çift resmi). The other categories of taxation were determined with reference to the çift-unit. These categories were half çift-tax (nim çift resmi), bennak or married peasant tax, karal/mücerred, poor or unmarried peasant taxes. There were also some other minor taxes within this system\textsuperscript{155}. Taxation of peasants, therefore, was very fundamental issue of the classical regime of the Ottoman Empire.

\textbf{3.4.3 The Classical Taxation (Raiyyet Rüsumu)}

At the beginning, it should be underlined that Ottoman taxation system classified two main social groups, askeri and reaya. Reaya was the large group of tax payers.

\textsuperscript{151} İnalcık, “The Ottoman State: Economy and Society:1300-1600.”, p.148.

\textsuperscript{152} İnalcık, H. “the Çift Hane System and Peasant Taxation”, p.75.

\textsuperscript{153} İnalcık, “The Ottoman State: Economy and Society:1300-1600.”, p.138.

\textsuperscript{154} İnalcık, H. “the Çift Hane System and Peasant Taxation”, p.79.

\textsuperscript{155} \textit{Ibid}, p.79.
Askeri class was the non-taxable ruling group in the classical period of Ottoman Empire. In this sense, all forms of tax were levied, charged on the reaya by askeri.

Ottoman agricultural taxation in core provinces, Anatolia and Rumelia, was characterized by çift-resmi and its associated taxes, such as bennak, mücerred-resmi etc. According to İnalcık, çift-resmi was levied on family-farm household holding two oxen and certain amount of land as mentioned before. Family household holding the half of the çift was charged with nim(half)-çift-resmi. Those peasant families had less amount of land than nim-çift were levied on ekinli-bennak or caba bennak. The term, bennak means married raiyyet or peasant. The category of bennak had two sub-categories, ekinli bennak and caba bennak. Ekinli bennak refers to the married peasant with less amount of land than nim-çift. The notion of caba refers to the landless peasant. Caba bennak, in that sense, was the landless married peasant. Finally, mücerred was the single male peasant, who could live within the household of his father or not. Mücerred and Caba also were categories on which certain amount of tax charged. To sum up, all adult males were registered as tax-payers with respect to how much land they were holding, income generated from that land and their marital status.¹⁵⁶

In addition to these forms of tax, there were dönüm-resmi and tütün-resmi. Dönüm-resmi was the tax charged upon peasants holding or cultivating land which was not used by another peasants under the control of sipahi. They paid taxes according dönüm of land, the scale of land they were using. Tütün-resmi, on the other hand, was charged by timar holders upon to those who were outsider and came to the land of sipahi with certain aim, like spending the winter and not cultivating these lands.¹⁵⁷

There were also some tax exemptions. Such as doğancı, at-çeken and other groups who had sultan’s berat, sultan’s degree or those doing some state’s services were exempted from taxes.¹⁵⁸ Besides some villages and peasants in specific places had certain specific conditions, like derbendci (peasant guards at mountain passes),

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.
¹⁵⁸ Ibid.
madenci (miner), çeltükci (rice-growing). Some of these groups were exempted from taxes or their taxes were decreased accordingly\textsuperscript{159}.

Moreover, state charged çift-bozan resmi to those who left the land uncultivated or left the used lands for agriculture within the çift-hane system. That point shows us the effort of the state to maintain the structure of agricultural production within the çift-hane and timar system\textsuperscript{160}.

In addition to these, ispence system is needed to be explained. Non-Muslim reaya were levied with specific taxes. According to İnalçık, ispence was basically “poll tax” (örfi baş-vergisi). However, after the conquest of Balkans, ispence was exercised as counterpart of çift-resmi on the non-Muslim peasants holding çift or falling into categories of tax units in çift-hane system with respect to scale of land they were holding and their marital status in certain time period. There were also some exempted groups from ispence like in the cases of çift-resmi and associated taxes\textsuperscript{161}. Besides, cizye as non-Muslim poll tax was exercised within the Ottoman countries.

Cizye was the Islamic poll-tax levied on the non-Muslims and it was collected by the central government. It was levied through a fixed amount to the non-Muslim communities, which was called maktu, and the fixed amount was shared among households. Cizye was paid by household units in the classical age until the cizye reform at the end of the 17th Century\textsuperscript{162}. Those groups performing state services and old, disabled people were exempted\textsuperscript{163}.

In addition to çift-resmi and associated taxes, there were also avarız taxes which were extraordinary taxes levied due to the needs of the state during war time or other extraordinary times. Those were exempted from raiyyet rüşumu were also exempted

\textsuperscript{159} İnalçık, Halil. “Village, Peasant and Empire”.

\textsuperscript{160} İnalçık, H. “Osmanlılar’da Raiyyet Rüşumu”.

\textsuperscript{161} Ibid.


from the avarız taxes, like imams and who held sultan’s berat because of their services. Later, because of the continuation of extraordinary issues, like continuing wars, avarız taxes became “the regular taxes” and classifications originated from raiyyet rüşumu somehow blurred. Some groups within the askeri class were also levied by avarız taxes in 17th century.

In summary, çift-hane system and timar system were the ground of Ottoman agricultural taxation. By following İnalcık, it should be underlined that “the çift tax collected as a result is not, as some have argued, only a form of personal tax. Rather, it is the tax obligation of the çift-hane unit. In other words, it is a combination tax over peasant-land-oxen unit.”

The ideal form of taxation is found in sancak kanunnames. The laws were established through the sultan’s decree with relation to the localities, sancaks. As it can be seen in the Hüdavendigar Kanunnamesi, “Resmi çift temam çiftlik üzere çift kaydolunan raiyetden otuz üç akçedir Nim çiftinden resim nısf-zalik Nim çiftlikinden akal yer tasarruf iden bennak den ki ekinli kaydolunmuşdur resim oniki açedir Caba bennak den dokuz açedir Ez’af-ı reayay himayet olnmak emr-i müstahsendir Nesl-ı reyadan ehl-i kisb olmayan mücerredlerden nesne alınmaz defterlerde dahi üzerlerine resim kaydolunmamışdır Amma ehl-I kisb olan mücerredlerden mikdarlarınınca resim alın deyi emrolunmuşdur Defterde mücerred kaydolunan kimesne teehhül itse bennak resmi alınur Ve caba bennak ekinli olsa ekinli resmi alınur Bu babda i’tiba çiftlik mikdarına dayırdır Çiftlik mikdarından ziyade yer tasarruf iden kimesne ziyadeye nisbet hariç raiyet gibi resim virir”.

Feudal obligations or services were transferred to payment in cash within the çift-hane system in conquered formerly non-Muslim lands. In that sense, çift-resmi and associated taxes were certain mixture of poll-tax, land, and taxes levied on non-Muslims as discussed before. By following that point, it can be said that Ottoman
agricultural taxation had certain tendency towards the tax in cash rather than tax in kind. Moreover, Ottoman central authority had certain policy to reduce the former landlords of conquered lands to timar owners with parallel to the general trend of maintenance of çift-hane system against “manor like” holdings\textsuperscript{168}.

To sum up, in terms of the taxonomies of Ottoman agricultural taxation system during the classical period (1300-1600), at the beginning, the main distinction between reaya and askeri was exercised through the taxation. For the reaya, tax-paying population, there were seven category of taxation, namely (1) çift, (2) nimçift, (3) ekinlü bennak, (4) caba bennak, (5) mücerred, (6) caba/kara, (7) muaf ve müsellem. The sub-categories were originated from the çift-hane sytem and identified according to the unit of çift-hane with respect to their scale of holdings and marital status. These taxonomies or classifications were the basis of Ottoman agricultural social, economical and political organization together with timar system. On the ground of çift-hane system, timar system, miri land regime and conduct of tahrir registers, Ottoman polity was constituted in agricultural realm during the classical period (1300-1600).

In terms of Ottoman agriculture, “state rules embodied in the precepts of the Islamic law and of the kanun or the sultan’s law, were instrumental in an ordering of society in accordance with the revenue claims of groups that constituted the ruling bloc and with the subsistence requirements of the rural and the urban producers”\textsuperscript{169}. In addition to that, the rules and regulations of taxation in Ottoman agriculture in core provinces “represented a system of classification of different groups on the basis of their fiscal obligations and privileges”\textsuperscript{170}.

In terms of the “intervention of central authority to agriculture”, in Ottoman Anatolia and Rumelia, there was “…direct intervention of the administrative and juridical practices of the central state in the ‘internal nexus’ of surplus extraction or the class

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[168] İnalcık, H. “the Çift Hane System and Peasant Taxation”.
\item[169] İslamoğlu-Inan, Huricihan. State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire, p.3.
\item[170] Ibid, p.4.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
relation between the legal owners and peasant producers…”\textsuperscript{171}. Moreover, “State’s intervention in surplus extraction relations, however, aimed at preserving the integrity of peasant holdings. To this end, state measures sought to prevent the intervention of revenue holders in the production process controlled by the peasants… the central state was also fulfilling its ideological role as the protector of peasantry and the preserver of ‘eternal order’. Embodied in state rules or institutions, this ideology served to legitimize, in the eyes of peasants, the state controls over the production and appropriation of surpluses and constituted the basis of the state’s political domination”\textsuperscript{172}. \textit{Tahrir} registers and \textit{timar} holders as “medium of the state” could be identified means of that domination and surplus extraction in Ottoman agriculture during its classical period.

\textit{Tahrir} Surveys and \textit{tahrir defters} should be considered within this ground constituted by the operation of the \textit{timar} system, \textit{çift-hane} system and taxation system required for the functioning of former two institutions of the empire in its classical age.

\subsection*{3.5 \textit{Tahrir} Surveys and \textit{Tahrir} Defters}

At the beginning, it is suffice to say that there is a practical distinction between \textit{tahrir} surveys and \textit{tahrir defters}. As already mentioned before, \textit{tahrir} surveys were functioning as a general inspection for both main classes of the empire, \textit{askeri} and \textit{reaya}, and \textit{tahrir defter} were saved and kept in \textit{defterhane-i amire} and used by the central bureaucracy for the administrative, fiscal and military affairs of the state. This practical distinction between the survey and the register is used as an analytical distinction within the argumentation of the following pages.

The \textit{rationale} behind conduct of these surveys and compilation of the registers, firstly, will be underlined, and secondly, survey procedure will be held. After these, \textit{tahrir defters} will be evaluated in terms of their textual organization and structure. Finally, the textual framework of the enumeration of the subjects in these registers will be discussed as a problematization of subjects within a particular discursive framework.

\textsuperscript{171} Ibid, p.69.

\textsuperscript{172} Ibid, p.70.
3.5.1 Rationale behind the surveys and compilation of the registers

The reason of why tahrir surveys were conducted and defters were compiled is explained from the perspective of the sultan in the way that the sultan must comprehend the actual conditions of the country with all details in order to perform responsible duties of a sultan. To remove those potentially emergent corruptions and injustices, the inspection is required and obligatory. In fact, thanks to the inspections of tahrir surveys, the new sultan could comprehend the situation of the country and he could prevent those acts incompatible with the defter and acts opposing the law (muhalifi defter ve mugayiri kanunu mukarrer). Accordingly, he would be able to perform certain actions and regulations.

In the mukaddemes, introductions, of tahrir defters, tahrir emins underlined the indispensableness of degeneration of traditions in time (”müruru eyyam ile adetlerin muhtel olması”). Because of this reason, the country should be surveyed and inspected frequently. The country must be reordered because of those situations being incongruent to the former defter and changed numbers of the country. Another reason was identified by emins in thier mukaddemes was to dispose the potency of the tyranny and to remove the cry of the opressed (ref’i yed-i zaliman ve def-i giryeti mazluman için defatır-i kadimesi tecdid ve tahrir…) Because of these reasons as underlined in the introductions of some tahrir defters, mukaddemes, the surveys were conducted in order to maintain the established order of the Ottoman Empire in its Classical Age.

3.5.2 Survey Procedure

The Procedure of a tahrir survey was starting with an appointment of a surveyor (tahrir emini). The surveyor was selected according to his trustworthiness, knowledge and experience on the matters of tahrir system and the Ottoman administration. The emanet was the legal name of this duty. Tahrir emini, the

173 Barkan, Ö. L., “Türkiye’de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri I”, p.35
174 Ibid, p.35
175 Ibid, p.36
176 Ibid, p.36; see Ibid, “981 Tarihli Aydın İcmal Defteri Mukaddemesi”, p.44
177 Ibid, “977 Tarihli İnebahtı Defter Mukaddemesi”
surveyor, was a salaried official and he was given a control over fiscal and administrative matters of the survey. Mostly important beys, members of ulema, and kadıs were appointed as surveyors\(^{178}\).

According to a letter of instruction sent to the tahrir surveyors, tahrir emins, in the second half of the sixteenth century, published by Barkan, it is underlined that the lands of askeri and reaya, and their conditions, sources of revenue and their conditions of emergence, their products and methods of production, the amount of avarız-hanes, and the conditions of vaqf's should be known by the sultan. Moreover, to be knowledgeable with the revenues extracted from the reaya in the way incompatible with the defter and that which is violating the law, kanun, oppressions, complaints and conflicts between timariots and reaya are identified as important and required. In this regard, an emin, the surveyor, and a scribe are sent to a vilayet, and they were commanded to register everything without an exception\(^{179}\).

The decree follows, the surveyor and the scribe would arrive to the locality to be surveyed. Cities, towns, villages, hamlets and arable lands, vineyards, gardens, timar lands, vaqfs, landed properties and people on these lands and reaya of these lands must be registered with their holdings and annual, monthly and daily revenues. Tax exempted groups, like miners, rice farmers, horse breeders, falconers, yaya and müsellems and yörüks must be also registered without any exception\(^{180}\). Kadıs would accompany the surveyors during the inspection and the survey and they would ensure that anything would remain out of the defter unregistered. Kadıs are ordered to deliver to give cizye defters to the surveyor\(^{181}\).

Berat-holders, zeamet and timar holders, vaqf owners, muafs and müsellems, would deliver their berats and copy of former defters to the surveyor. Mahsulat defters and mufassal defters of ispençe or çift-tax paying reaya are also delivered to the surveyor by sancakbeys. Then, tahrir emins would start to inspection in its place. During this

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\(^{179}\) Barkan, Hüdavendigar livası tahrir defterleri, p.43

\(^{180}\) Idib, p.43.

\(^{181}\) Idib, p.44.
inspection, the surveyor would take the average of the three years revenues of all these fiscal units\textsuperscript{182}. The inspection was made according to these documents. The average of three year revenues of berat-holders and reaya was estimated and the surveyor compares these with the former defter of the country surveyed, defter-i atik. The surplus revenue is registered in the new defter. The surveyor also takes the documents registered the local narhs\textsuperscript{183}.

Sipahis are ordered to bring reaya in front of the surveyor and only the adult taxable members of the reaya would be registered in the defter. Any violating act of this decree would be punished accordingly. Until the completion of the defter and the approval of the sultan, the surveyor could not give anyone any document granting anything. If it is found that any timar-holder is hiding anything which is more than what is registered in the defter delivered to the surveyor, kadis are ordered to seize the holdings of the timariot in the name of the sultan. These seized holdings would be collected and delivered to the imperial treasury\textsuperscript{184}. After identifying the revenue sources and taxable population, defter would be completed and saved to deliver it to the imperial center\textsuperscript{185}.

It is also ordered that sons of oilers and miners would be registered as oilers and miners, if they are not registered already. Rice farmers holding the seeds would be registered as çeltükçü, and those who do not have the seeds and non-Muslim, cizye tax would be levied on them\textsuperscript{186}.

It is asked from the survey to identify the already levied taxes on agricultural products, wheat, barley, corn, tare, hive and mills, broadcloth, rug and so on and how are these registered in the old register, defter-i atik, what is taken more than registered in the old defter\textsuperscript{187}.

\textsuperscript{182} Idib, p.44.
\textsuperscript{183} İnalcık, “Giriş”, p.3.
\textsuperscript{184} Barkan, Hıdavendigür livass tahrir defterleri, p.44.
\textsuperscript{185} İnalcık, “Giriş”, p.3.
\textsuperscript{186} Barkan, Hıdavendigür livass tahrir defterleri, p.45.
\textsuperscript{187} Idib, p.45.
In terms of the avarız tax, the amount of the avarız-hanes would be determined\textsuperscript{188}. In cities, towns and villages, how many imams, priests, how many mücerreds are in each çiftlik, they would be identified and registers for reaya of timars and reaya of vaqfs. Moreover, those tax exempted groups, falconers, rice farmers, salt miners, performing services for the state would be registered separately\textsuperscript{189}.

Those members of the reaya who left their original places and settled in different places and living in there for at least ten years, would be registered in the new places and for those less than ten years would be registered on their original places\textsuperscript{190}.

Finally, it is underlined that the surveyors would take two akçes from each and every household for their expenses and they are warned not to accept any gifts and bribes\textsuperscript{191}.

After these steps a defter is complied and prepared for the administrative, military and financial functioning of the Ottoman State in its Classical Age.

3.5.3 The Defter

Tahrir defters were compiled after the end of the survey and prepared in two forms, namely a detailed, mufassal, and a summary, icmal. These two forms of the registers were send to the imperial center and one copies of each form was also held by the provincial administrators\textsuperscript{192}.

Tahrir defters mostly start with an index. The administrative units of the surveyed region are listed together with corresponding page numbers in the register. There could be also another index for each administrative sub-division of the surveyed region, like in the register of Sultanönü\textsuperscript{193}.

\textsuperscript{188} Idib, p.45.
\textsuperscript{189} Idib, p.46.
\textsuperscript{190} Idib, p.46.
\textsuperscript{191} Idib, p.46.
\textsuperscript{192} Öz, M. “Tahrir” in TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, Vol.39, pp.425-429. (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi, 2010)
\textsuperscript{193} BOA, TT, nr. 1102
Moreover, *tahrir defters* mostly contain a copy of a *sancak kanunname*. After evaluating 1200 *defters*, Lowry argues that approximately 60% of *tahrir defters* contain a *sancak kanunname*\(^{194}\). After the end of a survey and compilation of a *defter*, a *kanunname* was added to the *defter*. However, what the exact procedure of this addition was not clear, whether a copy of a *sancak kanunname* was added to the *defter* after the compilation of a *defter* or a copy of a *sancak kanunname* was given to the surveyors. Most importantly, these *sancak kanunnames* include very important information about the land regime, system of taxation of the country and because of this reason a detailed discussion is needed.

Studies on the Ottoman *Sancak kanunnames* as sources of social and economic history started with Barkan’s publication of these documents\(^ {195} \). Barkan evaluated these *kanunnames* as sources of legal and fiscal foundations of agricultural economy, the land regime and the fiscal organization in the Ottoman Empire. According to Barkan, *kanunnames* are directly related with the land regime of the Empire, namely *miri* land regime\(^ {196} \).

There was a diversity of the content of these *kanunnames* in the *tahrir* registers of the Empire. The diversity of the legal framework of *kanunnames* was originated from the diversity of different status group and lands for different regions and *sancaks*\(^ {197} \). Accordingly, it is almost impossible to identify the general legal framework for each and every region\(^ {198} \). Therefore, these *kanunnames* could be used for some general characteristics of the taxation system, the land regime and the *timar* system of the Ottoman Empire\(^ {199} \). It can be said that, *sancak kanunnames* contain information on particular conditions of particular regions and *sancaks* because of the individuality of each and every *kanunname* corresponding the actual conditions of a region\(^ {200} \).

\(^{194}\) Lowry, Heath W. “The Ottoman Liva Kanunnames Contained in the Defter-i Hakani.”, p.52.

\(^{195}\) Barkan, O.L. *XV ve XVI inci asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ziraat Ekonomisinin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları: Kanunlar*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1943)

\(^{196}\) *Ibid*, p.L.

\(^{197}\) *Ibid*, p.LIV.

\(^{198}\) *Ibid*, p.LV.

\(^{199}\) *Ibid*, p.LV.

\(^{200}\) *Ibid*, pp. LX, LXI.
According to İnalcık, the Ottoman kanunnames were organized and formulated according to the logic of the Ottoman taxation and the Ottoman administration\textsuperscript{201}. These sancak kanunnames are approved and they are appeared at the beginning of tahrir defters. At the first hand, they are the legal framework, existing for those provinces in which the miri land regime and the timar system were established, to solve and to prevent conflicts between the reaya and the timariots\textsuperscript{202}. In general, these kanunnames were integral part of the tahrir defters, after they were approved by the Sultan’s seal(tugra), they had become the official law of the Empire concerning the province or region, according to İnalcık\textsuperscript{203}.

However, Lowry argues that “…the Liva Kanunnames cover the entire range of taxable rural, urban and tribal populations living within their respective boundaries, thus suggesting that their primary purpose was to regulate the Empire’s taxe base. This impression is further strengthened by an examination of the remaining categories of Liva Kanunnames, those covering smaller groups who for one reason or another enjoyed a special (reduced) tax status…groups like auxiliary military groups, ethnic sub-groups, agricultural groups, industrial workers\textsuperscript{204}. “So, I am forced to the conclusion that the Liva Kanunnames were not, as stated by İnalcık, : “primarily intended to be used by the government of courts to settle differences between the timar-holders and re’aya”, but in fact were intended as the primary tax-code for the Empire. That they appear divided by province rather than in a single unified code reflects the reality that different regulations prevailed in different areas of the Empire…This broader definition of the scope of the Liva Kanunnames reveals clearly what I view as the tri-partrite nature of the Ottoman tax-paying re’aya: a) peasants engaged in agriculture; b) the town and city-dwellers, and c) the semi-nomadic tribal groups”\textsuperscript{205}. By following Lowry’s critique and argument, it can be concluded that the sancak kanunnames are primarily about the taxation of the surveyed region.

\textsuperscript{202} Ibid, p.334
\textsuperscript{203} As cited by Lowry, Heath W. “The Ottoman Liva Kanunnames Contained in the Defter-i Hakani.”, p.48.
\textsuperscript{204} Lowry, Heath W. “The Ottoman Liva Kanunnames Contained in the Defter-i Hakani.”, p.51.
\textsuperscript{205} Ibid, p.52.
The sancak kanunname of Sultanönü in the mufassal tahrir defter of Sultanönü [ref to defter] is in parallel with this argument.

“Liva-i mezbourde bütün çift yer dutandan resmi-i çift otuz üç akçe ve nim çift yer dutandan on altı büyük akçe ve evliden resm-i bennak on iki akçe ve kar u kisbe kadir olandan resm-i mücerred altı akçe alınır. Ve liva-i mezbourde vaki olan kadınlıkların cadımden amel olu-gelen kileleri ve gallelerinin nahları tebdil ve tagiy olunmayub Defter-i Atik muktezasınca ber karar-i sabik buğdayın her müddi altmışar ve sair mahlutun her müddi karkar akçeye dutulmuşdur.”

In addition to these, the Sultan’s seal (tugra) is present at the beginning of the defter indicating the imperial approval of the survey and the register.

Some of tahrir defters include an introduction, mukaddeme, written by the surveyors to indicate the purpose of the tahrir survey and compilation of the tahrir defter. In general, it can be said that mukaddemes were added after the end of the survey, like kanunnames. A mukaddeme starts with dua and it continues with the rationale behind the survey by highlighting the reasons behind this conduct, as mentioned before, the sultan must comprehend the actual conditions of the country with all details in order to perform his responsible duties. To remove those potentially emergent corruptions and injustices, the inspection is required and obligatory. In fact, thanks to the inspections of tahrir surveys, the new sultan could comprehend the situation of the country and he could prevent those acts incompatible with the defter and acts opposing the law (muhalifi defter ve mugayiri kanunu mukarrer). Accordingly, he would be able to perform certain actions and regulations. In the mukaddemes, introductions, of tahrir defters, tahrir emins underlined the indispensableness of degeneration of traditions in time (“müruru eyyam ile adetlerin muhtel olması”). Because of this reason, the country should be surveyed and inspected frequently. The country must be reordered because of those situations being incongruent to the former defter and changed numbers of the country. Another reason was identified by emins in thier mukaddemes was to dispose the potency of the tyranny and to

206 BOA, JT, nr.1102.

207 Barkan, Ö.L. Barkan, “Türkiye’de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri I”, p.36
remove the cry of the oppressed (ref'i yed-i zaliman ve def-i giryeti mazluman için defatir-i kadimesi tecdid ve tahrir...)208.

3.5.3.1 Textual organization of a tahrir defter

Tahrir defters are mostly starting with an index. The registration follows the administrative organization of the surveyed region, eyalet or sancak, kaza etc. The registration is made from larger scale administrative units to lower scale units. The administrative sub-divisions of the surveyed regions, sancaks, are listed together with a corresponding page number in the index of a defter. These administrative sub-divisions are called nahiyes in the tahrir defter of Sultanönü (980/1572)209.

In the register of Sultanönü, nahiyes are listed as Karacaşehir, İnönü, Bilecik, Seyid Gazi, Günüüzü. In the second page of the register, a detailed index of the Nahiye-i Karacaşehir is given. This second index includes all the administrative sub-divisions of the Nahiye-i Karacaşehir, including all villages, hamlets, farms and so on. The index of Karacaşehir is starting with the center of the town, Nısf-i Eskişehir.

After these, in the third page of the Sultanönü mufassal defter, the kanunname of Sultanönü is placed.

“Liva-i mezbur ede bütün çift yer dutandan resmi çift otuz üç akçe ve nim çift yer dutandan on altı bucuk akçe ve evlüden resm-i bennak on iki akçe ve kar u kisbe kadir olandan resm-i mücerved altı akçe alınır. Ve liva-i mezbur ede vaki olan kadınlıkların kadımden amel olun-gelen kileleri ve gallerinin narhları tebdil ve tagyir olunmayub Defter-i Atık muktezasınca ber karar-ı sabık buğdayın her mędzi altmışar ve sair mahlutun her mędzi kirkar akçeye dutulmuşdur.”210

According to the kanunname, çift-resmi for those holding a place of çift is 33 akçe, for those holding place of nim(half)-çift is 16,5 akçe, resm-i bennak for those married is 12 akçe, and resm-i mücerved is 6 akçe for those being capable to have a certain amount of income(kar u kisbe kadir olan). Narh is 60 akçe for a müd of wheat and

208 Ibid, “977 Tarihli İnebahtı Defter Mukaddemesi”
209 BOA, TT, nr.1102.
210 BOA, TT, nr.1102_004.
40 akçe for other grains and these narhs are determined according to the former defter, defter-i atık and it was not changed during the time of the late survey of this defter.

In the fourth page of the defter, the seal of Selim II and mukaddeme of the register follow. According to the mukaddeme\(^{211}\) of the register, the survey was conducted and the defter was compiled in order to remove the potency of the tyranny and to remove the sorrow of the oppressed( (ref’-i yed-i zaliman ve def-i kürbet-i mazluman için defatir-i kadimesi tecdid ve tahrir olunmak ferman olunmağın).

“Hazret-i Padişah Sultan Selim Han bin Sultan Süleyman Han, Liva-i Sultan Önü akta’ı na mazbut ve evza’ı na merbut istima’ olunduğu sebele ref’-i yed-i zaliman ve def-i kürbet-i mazluman için defatir-i kadimesi tecdid ve tahrir olunmak ferman olunmağın intisalen lil-emril-ali sayi-beliğ-ı bi diriğ kılınub tahrir ve terkim ve tashih ve tevzi olunub şakir ve zakir oldular. Ber večh-i ecmel defter-i hakani katiblerinden Mustafa bin Ahmed ma’rifeti ve Anadolu Defteri katiblerinden Piri bin Sinan kulları kalemiyle ittam bulub südde-i saadete teslim olundu…”\(^{212}\)

In terms of the enumeration, the register is starting with town or administrative center of the surveyed region after the title of the Nahiye-i Karacaşehir, in the way that:

Nahiye- i……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

Karacaşehir der liva-i Sultanönü

Nısf-i……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

After these main headings, the subjects, the reaya, liable to taxation are listed under the administrative divisions of mahalles, district and karyes, the villages, according to their tax liabilities. Tax liabilities of the subjects are named within the framework

\(^{211}\) BOA, TT, nr.1102_005.

of raiyyet rüşumu, çift-resmi and its associates, in other words, together with some tax exempted categories.

The register follows,

Table 1.1: Registration of Districts (mahalles) in the Tahrir Defter of Sultanönü (980/1572)²¹³

Mahalle-i………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mahalle-i</th>
<th>Alacamescid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>veled</td>
<td>name</td>
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<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>name</td>
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<td>name</td>
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<td>name</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

... 

At the first cell, Mehmed is the son of Hacı Mustafa and he is a hatib. At the second place, Abdül Bekir is the son of Mehmed at the first cell, and he is a mahfil. Mustafa at the third cell is also another son of Mehmed at the first cell and he is also a mahfil. At the fifth cell, Hacı Yusuf is son of another Mehmed and he is registered with the

²¹³ BOA, TT, nr.1102_006
category of *bennak* indicated with the letter *k*. At the seventh cell, Ali is the son of Hacı Yusuf and he is *mücerred*, indicated by the letter *m*.

Each and every cell is formed by three or four lines. Each and every cell represents household units. First line is about *veled* or *birader*. The second line is the name of the subject. The third line belongs to the name of the father or the letter *o*, indicating the former registered subject is the father of the subject in the cell. The fourth line is for the tax category. The name of the status or occupation is written, if the subject is member of a tax exempted group, like *imam*, *hatib*, *sipahi-zade* etc in the fourth line or if the subject is member of a taxpaying group, a letter is written indicating the exact category of taxation, *ç* for *çift-resmi*, *nim* for *nim-çift resmi*, *k* for *bennak* or *m* for *mücerred*.

At the end of the registration of *mahalles* of Eskişehir, lands, *zemins* and *çiftlik*, held by the residents of those *mahalles* are written in the following way.

### Table 1.2: Registration of Lands Held by Residents of Districts in the *Tahrir Defter* of Sultanönü (980/1572)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zemin-i …………</th>
<th>Zemin-i……………</th>
<th>Zemin-i……………</th>
<th>Zemin-i……………</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“name” der-dest-i</td>
<td>“name” der-dest-i</td>
<td>“name” der-dest-i</td>
<td>“name” der-desti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çift</td>
<td>dönüm 15</td>
<td>dönüm 15</td>
<td>dönüm 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

214 BOA, *TT*, nr. 1102_008

215 Meaning “at the hand of…”
At the end of the registration of these lands, sum of the revenue is calculated from the places registered above in the following way.

Table 1.3: Registration of the Total Revenue of Districts in the Tahrir Defter of Sultanönü (980/1572)^216

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hasıl</th>
<th>Resm-i</th>
<th>Hınta</th>
<th>Şa’ir</th>
<th>Mahlə</th>
<th>Resm-i</th>
<th>Resm-i</th>
<th>Resm-i</th>
<th>Adet-i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Çift, Bennak</td>
<td>müd</td>
<td>müd</td>
<td>muğ ve</td>
<td>bostan</td>
<td>kovan</td>
<td>ağnam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mürşfred</td>
<td>keyl</td>
<td>keyl</td>
<td>keyl</td>
<td>bağçe</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yekun^223 ……..

After these records, villages of the nahye-i Karacaşehir are registered.

^216 BOA. TT, nr.1102_009
^217 Wheat
^218 Barley
^219 Mixture of grain
^220 A measure of weight
^221 A measure of weight
^222 The total
^223 The total
Table 1.4: Registration of the Villages in the *Tahrir Defter* of Sultanönü (980/1572)\textsuperscript{224}

Karye-i……………………………………………………………………………………………………

*(name of the village)*.. .......................tabi-i Karacaşehir

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>veled name</th>
<th>veled name</th>
<th>birader name</th>
<th>veled name</th>
<th>veled name</th>
<th>birader name</th>
<th>birader name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ç</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...  
...  
...  

Çift 19  Nim 6  Bennak 11  Mücerred 23  Ama 1

At the end of each registered village and the residents of the village, the unit of categories of taxation and number of these units is also written. Some other tax exempt groups could be found in the *defter*, like *sipahizade, kötürüm, ama, biruni, doğancı* etc. registered in addition to the other tax categories.

For each village, *karye*, the total revenue is calculated and registered under the title of *hasıl*.

\textsuperscript{224} BOA, *TT*, nr. 1102_009
Table 1.5: Registration of the Total Revenues of Villages in the *Tahrir Defter* of Sultanönü (980/1572)\textsuperscript{225}

*Hasıl*………………………………………………………………………………

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>resmi çift</th>
<th>hınta</th>
<th>şa’ır</th>
<th>mahlut</th>
<th>resm-i</th>
<th>resm-i</th>
<th>resm-i</th>
<th>adet-i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ve Bennak</td>
<td>müd...</td>
<td>müd...</td>
<td>kovan</td>
<td>bostan</td>
<td>bağ</td>
<td>ağnam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ve Mükicred| keyl...| keyl...| ...    | ...    | ...    | ...

...  

...  

*Yekun*...

Sharecropper, *ortakçı* and *kesimci*, villages are registered in the following way.

\textsuperscript{225} BOA, *TT*, nr.1102_009
Table 1.6: Registration of Sharecroppers in the *Tahrir Defter* of Sultanönü (980/1572)\(^{226}\)

*Karye-i* .................................................................

Çavluca-i kesimciyan/ortakçıyan hassi-i hûmayun....tab-i Karacaşehir

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>veled</th>
<th>veled</th>
<th>birader</th>
<th>veled</th>
<th>veled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>name</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resm-i</td>
<td>resm-i</td>
<td>resm-i</td>
<td>resm-i</td>
<td>resm-i</td>
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<tr>
<td>ç</td>
<td>nim</td>
<td>nim</td>
<td>nim</td>
<td>ç</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...

*Resm-i bennak ve mücerred der karye-i mezbur ..........*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>veled</th>
<th>veled</th>
<th>veled</th>
<th>veled</th>
<th>veled</th>
<th>veled</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>name</td>
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<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...

*Hasıl............

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\(^{226}\) BOA, *JT*, nr.1102_033
As it can be seen in this register, the villages dwelled by kesimci and ortakçı groups belong to the sultan’s hassa revenues or hassa villages. Registration of these villages differs from other villages and mahalles. For kesimci and ortakçı groups still the categories of çıft-resmi are valid and they are also registered in accordance with their different statuses. They are also registered by categories of çıft-resmi, in addition to their annual tax-in-kind in terms of müd.

Moreover, some other villages are recorded as haric-ez-defter, which is indicating that the villages registered in this way were not found in the former defter, defter-i atik. For these villages, çıft-resmi and its associates are the category of taxation and registration like all other villages.

Finally, semi-nomadic groups are called as cema’ats and registered mainly in terms of mücerred, bennak and household units together with other taxes collected from them, like sheep tax and taxes on grain written under the title of hasıl, just like in the registration of villages.

3.6 The Enumeration of the Subjects in the Classical Age

Tahrir defters are historical records of a particular “attitude toward the governed”. In the classical regime of the Ottoman Empire, these surveys and registers were apparatuses of objectification of a particular governed body, which is called the reaya. The administrative and fiscal operations of tahrir surveys and tahrir defters are already underlined by many historians, as already mentioned before. Actually, these practical operations of the tahrir system constituted a specific relationality between the ruler and the ruled. In other words, the reaya, as a governed body, had come into being through ages of practical conduct of these apparatuses. These could be in the way of brute force, like a conquest, or in the form of an imposed tax, or in the form of a register, like tahrir defters. In other words, one cannot be imagine the possible functioning of the empire without considering the operation of tahrirs as already underlined by Barkan, İnalcık, Lowry and many others. Thanks to these registers, the central authority was able to reach the countryside, able to have control

227 BOA, TT, nr.1102_049
228 BOA, TT, nr.1102_043
over agricultural production, able to raise revenues. Thanks to these registers and other apparatuses of the Ottoman power, timar and çift-hane systems, the governed body of the Ottoman classical regime, called the reaya, was realized. In this regard, by looking the language and the textual organization of the tahrir surveys and tahrir defers, the discursive framework of tahrirs, one could be able to identify the specific relationality between the Ottoman state and the subjects of the empire in its classical age. In short, by analyzing the discursive framework of tahrir defters, it is possible to identify the problematization of the subjects by the state and that shows what kind of a body of the governed came into being within a specific regime of power.

The notion of problematization is explained and its relation with the discursive formations and regimes of power is summarized by Foucault in the way that “It was a matter of analyzing, not behaviors or ideas, nor societies and their ‘ideologies’, but the problematizations through which being offers itself to be, necessarily, thought-and the practices on the basis of which these problematizations are formed. The archealogical dimension the analysis made it possible to examine the forms themselves; its genealogical dimension enabled me to analyze their formation out of the practices and the modifications undergone by the latter. There was the problematization of madness and illness arising out of social and medical practices, and defining a certain pattern of "normalization"; a problematization of life, language, and labor in discursive practices that conformed to certain ‘epistemic’ rules; and a problematization of crime and criminal behavior emerging from certain punitive practices conforming to a ‘disciplinary’ model. And now I would like to show how, in classical antiquity, sexual activity and sexual pleasures were problematized through practices of the self, bringing into play the criteria of an ‘aesthetics of existence.’”

In that sense, historical problematization of any object, object of the government, object of control, object of knowledge etc., is the condition of possibility of any

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229 İslamoğlu-Inan, Huricihan. State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire; Darling, Linda T. 1996. Revenue-Raising And Legitimacy

object. Through problematization together with its discursive and practical modes, objects come into being. In the case of the subjects of the Ottoman Empire, the governed body called the reaya was registered within a specific discursive framework corresponding to a particular social, political and economic hierarchy, namely a regime of power. Thus, the analysis of the language and textual organization of tahrir defters is actually studying the language of the Ottoman classical regime of power. This language, or the discourse of tahrirs, distributes and locates certain objects to certain hierarchical order by also constituting specific relations among these objects, objects to be registered, with parallel to that hierarchical order.

From now on, discursive framework of the tahrir defters and their archival grid will be analyzed accordingly. The mühimme records and the orders sent to the surveyors will be taken as other sources to be problematized in terms of their language, within the archival grid of tahrirs. The rationale behind the conduct of these surveys and compilation of defters will be underlined. The procedures of tahrir surveys and registration of the subjects in particular will be discussed. The registers themselves will be analyzed then.

In terms of the rationale behind these surveys and registers, it is underlined in the order sent to the surveyors and mukaddemes written by the surveyors; the sultan should know the situation of the country in order to carry out his duties and to rule the country. Inspection conducted during the survey of the country was a mechanism to remove potentially emergent corruptions and injustices. Those acts incompatible with the defter and opposing the law (muhalifi defter ve mugayiri kanun-ı mukarrer) should be prevented. Moreover, the hostility between the timariots and the reaya is noted as another reason for such a conduct to be solved.

In the mukaddemes of the tahrir defters, it is also underlined that there was an indispensableness of degeneration of traditions in time (müruru eyyam ile adetlerin muhtel olmasi), which requires reordering acts of the state by means of tahrir surveys. This requirement of reordering could be done by readjustment of those acts

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231 Barkan, Ö.L. Barkan, “Türkiye’de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri I”, p.36.
being incompatible with the defter and by recording the changed numbers of the revenues of the country. Furthermore, the potency of the tyranny and the cry of the oppressed should be eliminated (ref’i yed-i zaliman ve def-i giryeti mazluman için defatir-i kadimesi tecdid ve tahrir...).

In this narrative, what is registered in the defter is associated with a certain social order. This order could be degenerated, but it should be reestablished by the inspection, registration and further acts. Extraction from the reaya cannot be incompatible with defters and the law, and cannot oppose them. Such cruelty must be destroyed and the cries of the oppressed should be answered. Nothing could be unrecorded; all changed numbers of possible revenue sources must be registered.

For the registration procedure, first of all, it should be questioned that what was surveyed by the surveyors. As mentioned before, tahrir literally means registration (yazma, yazılıma). Accordingly the question follows, what was registered? What is the main object of the survey, the registration?

Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa could answer this question in the way that “Tahrir: memleket yazımı demektir. Gayet lazımdır. Otuz yılda bir kerre tahriri[sic] memleket kanundur. Amma gayet müslüman ve dindar adamlar tayin olanup cümle mahrusa bir uğruna tahrir lazımdır.”

In mühimme registers also it is clearly written that what were registered are the country (memleket) and those “people” living in it. In this group of registers, what was surveyed is the province (vilayet tahriri), sancaks, livas, kazas, or certain groups, like yörüks living on these administrative units. These semi-nomadic groups could be also addressed as the object of the registers because of their not fixed positions in the country. They were registered as mücérred or bennak in the defter, not based çift land because they were not holding çifts and thier mobility. The main concern for recording these semi-nomadic groups, like the remaining bulk of

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232 Ibid, p.36.
233 Karal, Enver Ziya, Osmanlı İmparatorluğuunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831, p.6
the reaya, to ensure the flow of the revenues extracted from the subjects or maintain the services performed by some particular groups. In both ways, there was an extraction process in the form of tax in cash or tax in kind or services.

As already underlined before, in the survey order, it is underlined that cities, towns, villages, hamlets, arable lands, vineyards, gardens, timar lands, vaqfs, landed properties and people on these lands and reaya of these lands would be registered with their holdings and revenues together with tax exempted groups or groups like yörüks without any exception\textsuperscript{235}.

In this regard, tahrir means the registration of the country (memleket) and it could be formulated as the survey of the country (tahrir-i memleket). The textual organization of a tahrir defter should be analyzed by following this formulation.

During the process of the survey, sipahis were ordered to bring reaya registered on them in front of the surveyor and only the adult taxable members of the reaya would be registered by the surveyors. Any act violating this procedure, registering more or less people by hiding or presenting improper persons for tax liability, would be punished accordingly. In terms of the problematic of this thesis, this point is very crucial simply because reaya was registered on specific timariots and on specific places, lands, the administrative units. This point could be also considered with registration of the peasant who left their original places. Those left their original place ten years long ago would be registered their “new” settlement for those left their original place less than ten years ago would be registered in their original places and they could be forced to settle on their original places or to pay çift-bozan resmi, as the price of leaving the land. By following these procedures, it can be said that the subjects are registered with respect to their positions within the country. In short, the reaya was registered according to the specific position held by them within the hierarchical order of the country and the defter, in a textual form, which could be also seen in the registers themselves.

\textsuperscript{235} Barkan, Ö.L. Barkan,”Türkiye’de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri I”, p.43.
Kanunnames are embedded in the tahrir defters are mainly about the taxation and they address the tax paying groups, namely urban dwellers, peasants in the countryside and semi-nomadic groups. There could be also articles on some tax exempted groups or groups with special services and tax statuses. In Sultanönü’s sancak kanunname, the only concern is the amount of taxes of çift-resmi and its associates and narhs. When this concern considered with relation to the textual organization of the tahrir defter, it can be said that together they assume certain relation between the taxpaying and ruled groups and the rulers. The main concern of this relationality is tax assessments of specific social groups. In this regard, the subjects and the law are related in terms of taxation, in the case of a sancak kanunname.

In the tahrir defters, the administrative units of the country (memleket) are followed and these units are the basis for the registration of the subjects. The survey of the country, tahrir-i vilayet, sancak, kaza, was ordered and the registration was conducted accordingly. The center of the ordered administrative unit, vilayet, sancak or kaza, was surveyed firstly. Then mahalles of this urban unit were surveyed. After these, the villages, hamlets and communities were surveyed.

Forementioned textual organization of tahrir defters could be also read as the survey of the country (tahrir-i memleket) together with the survey and registration of the subjects according to their position within the country. They were registered with the name of their fathers, their names and their tax category corresponding one of the category of raiyyet rüsumu. Ortakçıkesimci groups were also registered with their annual tax in cash according to their different status. Semi-nomadic groups were also registered with categories of raiyyet rüsumu. All of these registered subjects were surveyed, inspected “in its places” (yerinde teftiş) and they were written into a specific administrative unit in which they were living. In addition to these, state revenues could be levied and extracted from the subjects is recorded in sum for each and every administrative unit.

In short, the statements of a tahrir defter, in Foucauldian sense, locates these people living in mahalles, karyes or other places in the country in a specific hierarchical grid. The peasant was located under the unit of a village, which was registered under
the category of nahiye or kaza and so on. In addition to his father’s name and his name, the same peasant was identified with his own tax liability or service to the state, nothing else! In this regard, the system of statements of a tahrir register constitutes a particular grid of intelligibility, on which the reaya of the classical regime of the Ottoman Empire was possible. The reaya of the classical age was someone dwelling on an urban or agricultural environment, being involved with certain productive activity, industrial or agricultural, and paying his taxes, according to the language of tahrir defters. The classical Ottoman regime problematized these predicates of its subjects during the surveys in its classical age.

To sum up, the enumeration of the subjects in the classical age of the Ottoman Empire was made with a particular language which resembles a regime of power, a particular attitude toward the governed. The sultan had duties and responsibilities to his own subjects, to protect them from injustices and to bring justice by abolishing corruptions, tyrannies and answering the cry of the subjects. Conflicts and hostilities between the timariots and the reaya should be also solved. This narrative assumes a certain already established order and demands certain protective acts to maintain this order. Because of the changing conditions of the country in time and possible emergent injustices, for the subjects, inspections should be conducted. The country was surveyed accordingly. Tahrir surveys performed in this way and the register compiled accordingly constituted a legal and administrative framework for the order of the country. In these surveys, the subjects of the empire were problematized according to their positions within the hierarchical order of the country. The subjects were registered on timariots, as the agents of the state in the countryside and on an administrative level. The legal frameworks, sancak kanunnames, of these administrative units were about taxation of the subjects. In this regard, the subjects of the classical age of the empire were problematized according to their tax liabilities.

In short, the reaya of the classical age was someone occupying a certain space on a certain land, participating in production on a certain domain or performing certain services for the state, and paying his taxes. The reaya is also clearly differentiated from askeri class. Predicates of such division were participating in production and paying taxes. This hierarchical network could be seen in the textual organization of
the *tahrir defters*. The classical *language* of the Ottoman registers located and enumerated its own subjects within this hierarchical grid, which was corresponding a particular regime of government.
CHAPTER IV

AVARIZ AND CİZYE DEFTERS OF THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

4.1 Introduction

At the end of the 16th century, empire wide tahrir surveys ceased to be conducted in the core provinces of the Ottoman Empire, Balkans and Anatolia. During this time period, important social, economic and political changes had occurred. With parallel to the transformation of the classical timar system, taxation system and tahrir system had changed with relation to the conditions of the 17th century. The administrative organization of the state finance was also reorganized. Within this historical context, the subjects of the empire were registered within a different framework than the classical tahrir defters.

The Ottoman 17th century is generally accepted as a time of turmoil, change and transition of the Empire, although the reasons and consequences of these changes are widely debated\textsuperscript{236}. Themes of these debates on the crisis of the 17th century could be identified as fiscal crises of the state, transformation of the military structure, demography changes, series of rebellions and social explosions, destruction of the rural order, depopulation of the countryside, and the transformation of rural economy and society.

4.2 The 17th Century Crisis

The general conditions of the late 16th century Ottoman Empire paved the way for the changes in the 17th century. It is generally accepted by the historians that demographic changes, financial crisis of the state, corresponding military and administrative transformations beginning in the late 16th century were the main reasons of social, political, economic and administrative transformation of the Empire in the 17th century.

According to Barkan, the Ottoman imperial system was about economic and political imperial self-sufficiency. The transformation of the Ottoman social and economic order was initiated by results of external developments originated from foundation of an “Atlantic economy” by the Western powers. Immense inflation all over Europe as a result of the exploitation of American gold and silver had serious effects on social and political order. The conquest of the world markets by Europeans transformed the Ottoman countries to clients for the world market dominated by the Western European countries. The results of these were price increases and changes in value of akçe in the Ottoman countries. The Ottoman state was caught up in the conditions of a great international inflation. Devaluation and debasement of akçe the tactic of the state in order to overcome the difficulties of economic conditions of the time but they were not effective. Devaluation contributed dislocation of prices negatively. This economic crisis had general effects on the Ottoman countries and subjects, this crisis constituted a certain environment later it had become the political and social grounds of acts of killing high degree officials initiated those policies and popular riots in Ottoman countries.237

The military expenditure was the most important item of the state’s budget.238 The long wars of the second half of the 16th century and the early 17th century, war against Habsburgs and Iran, boosted military expenditures of the state.239 In this context, the state had to sustain the expenditures of the standing army and had to

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238 Ibid, p.19

cope with the changing characteristics of warfare, especially in the Austrian front\textsuperscript{240}. The salaries of the Kapıkulu soldiers had become the greatest burden on the imperial treasury because of these economic conditions and the increased number of the Janissaries in during the period of 1528-1670\textsuperscript{241}. In addition to the expansion of the imperial standing army, mercenaries recruited from all over the countryside.

In the second half of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, there was an increasing need for soldiers using firearms because of the changed characteristics of warfare, particularly in the war against Habsburgs\textsuperscript{242}. To meet this requirement of soldiers using firearms, number of Janissaries was increased and former peasants equipped with firearms were recruited within the organization of sekban-sarica troops\textsuperscript{243}. These sekban-sarica troops were recruited like mercenaries, in the war time they were recruited and paid but in the time of peace, they were not paid\textsuperscript{244}. These people later would become the main human source for the rebellions of great Celali leaders and ayans for their military power in the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries\textsuperscript{245}.

These people filled the ranks of sekban-sarica troops were products of the demographic developments of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century; they were primarily coming from the countryside\textsuperscript{246}. Tahrir registers of the Empire shows that there was a trend of increase of the taxpaying population in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century. Agricultural production increased, rural and urban settlements expanded and arable lands extended to the limits. Moreover, semi-nomadic tribes inclined towards the sedentary life in Anatolia in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century. These demographic and economic growth and expansion produced specific problems, such as fragmentation of peasant farms. There was also a significant increase in the number of unmarried adult males. Due to these conditions of the countryside, a surplus population emerged with a limited agricultural land. In general, it can be said that there was a demographic pressure and a subsistence

\textsuperscript{240} İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700”, p.288.
\textsuperscript{242} İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700”, p.288.
\textsuperscript{243} Ibid, p.289
\textsuperscript{244} Ibid, pp.292, 294, 295.
\textsuperscript{245} Ibid, p.295.
\textsuperscript{246} Özel, O. “The Reign of Violence”, p.184
problem for the Ottoman peasants and they were pushed to find livelihoods in some other places.\textsuperscript{247}

In short, the increase of the prices and frequent devaluation and debasement of akçe advanced the state’s financial crisis within the context of the challenging military conditions of the second half of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century and the early 17\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{248} In terms of the members of askeri class, it can be said that disaffected military groups emerged with parallel to these financial difficulties because of the decrease in their real incomes, especially timariots in the countryside and kapkulu soldiers at the capital.\textsuperscript{249} The picture was worsened by the outcomes of the demographic pressure of the time.\textsuperscript{250} Emergent vagrant peasants filled the ranks of sekban-saricatroops or they seek livelihood aside from the agriculture. They answered state’s military needs and reconfiguration project together with the increasing number of kapkulu soldiers. However, there was a serious problem of financial maintenance of these soldiers, which contributed for further financial and administrative crisis for the state because of the high cost of maintenance of the military body and emergent banditry, brigandage in the countryside. In addition to these, due to the high cost of maintaining their position, potential rebellious governors in Anatolia raised these problems on a different scale for the central government.\textsuperscript{251} It is suffice to say that there was “highly mobile and discontented elements at all social levels” in the Ottoman polity of the late 16\textsuperscript{th} century. This was the very ground of series of social and political explosions, especially in the Anatolia. Series of Celali rebellions, acts of banditry and brigandage caused the great flight of peasants of Anatolia. This time period was the reign of disorder and violence in Anatolia.\textsuperscript{253}

These developments caused very important changes in the classical imperial regime in the form of dissolution and breakdown in the case of timar system; and gradual

\textsuperscript{247} Ibid, pp.186, 187.
\textsuperscript{249} Özel, O. “The Reign of Violence”, p.185
\textsuperscript{250} Ibid, p.186, 187.
\textsuperscript{251} Ibid, pp.185, 186, 187, 188.
\textsuperscript{252} Ibid, p.189.
\textsuperscript{253} Ibid, pp.188, 189, 190, 191.
change as in the cases of kul system, household and patronage networks, and taxation system\textsuperscript{254}. The countryside was depopulated. There are also signs of renomadization accompanying the depopulation and change in the settlement patterns\textsuperscript{255}. “The plains were increasingly left to either to poorest peasants or the new çiflik-owning askeri, who formed the nucleus of an emerging landed aristocracy all over Anatolia”\textsuperscript{256}. As a result of these, tax farming (iltizam) gradually replaced the timar system and askeri çiflikler emerged within the conditions of this depopulation.

The very conclusion of these developments could be identified in the way that the classical regime of the empire started to dissolve at the end of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, and the regime of the empire had been transformed in the following century\textsuperscript{257}. In particular, taxation system of the empire and its book-keeping practices were some of the leading mechanisms of that transformation of the imperial finance and administration.

4.3 Changing Characteristics of the Taxation System of the Empire

Within the historical context of social, economic and political conditions of the late 16\textsuperscript{th} century and the early 17\textsuperscript{th} century, the taxation system of the empire had been transformed. In the classical age, the taxation system of the Empire was operating as a complementary part of the timar system and çift-hane system. However, the process of dissolution of the classical timar system of the empire had been accompanied by the cessation of empire wide classical tahrir surveys and changes in the taxation system and methods of tax collection. Concretely, the extraordinary levies of the classical age had been regularized and new extraordinary taxes emerged in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. Tax farming (iltizam) had been widely used throughout this century. Timar fiefs had been gradually transformed to tax farming units. With parallel to these developments, the finance department of the state tried to adapt these changing conditions, new offices and administrative mechanisms of taxation

\textsuperscript{254} Ibid, p.191
\textsuperscript{255} Ibid, p.194
\textsuperscript{256} Ibid, p.194
\textsuperscript{257} İnalcık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700”; Faroqhi, “Crisis and Change, 1590 – 1699”; Tezcan, B. The second Ottoman Empire; Darling, Linda T. Revenue-Raising And Legitimacy; Özel, O. “The Reign of Violence”.

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came into being. State’s book-keeping practices also changed. Different defters were kept for different purposes. In the 17th and the 18th centuries, avarız and cizye surveys were conducted; their defters were compiled and used for administration and financial organization of the state.

4.3.1 Regularization of the Extraordinary Taxes

In order to deal with the current financial crisis starting within the last decades of the 16th century, already existing extraordinary taxes collected in the time of needs especially for war expenditures in kind and in cash, were regularized and they were started to be collected annually. These levies are avarız and tekalif taxes. Avarız-i divaniye and tekalif-i örfiye were umbrella terms for extraordinary levies in cash, kind and services. These levies could be empire-wide or for certain areas. It is not exactly known that when the avarız levies had become the annual taxes but İnalcık gives the time period of Long War with Habsburgs (1593-1606) for regularization of these levies. According to Darling, this transition was settled around 1620s, just after that time separate avarız defters were seen on broader scale covering many areas in the empire. Moreover, the revenues of avarız levies had become a significant part of the imperial budget in the 17th century.

In terms of tax liabilities and exemptions of avarız levies, some members of the military class, the ulema, and berat holding groups, those social groups performing state services, like rice growers, derbendcis, miners, were tax exempted. Apart from these groups, all adult males in cities and countryside, Muslim and non-Muslim were liable to the avarız levies. The amount of the avarız tax was not settled; it was open to changes according to the financial needs of the state. The total sum of the requirement for the avarız tax was determined firstly by the state, then a certain

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261 Ibid, p.166.
262 Ibid, p. 157, 158.
263 İnalcık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700”, p.314.
amount was assessed to a certain locality, and this amount was divided according to the units including certain number of actual hanes, called avarız-hanes, in the region. These tax liability units, avarız-hanes, could include actual households, hanes, between number of 4 and 50. Finally, a certain amount was paid by the people living on the region according to their liability.

The total amount of the avarız tax to be paid by the community in sum, the amount to be paid for each avarız hane and actual hane, and the number of actual hanes included by an avarız hane units were open to negotiations, bargaining among the central government and the inhabitants of the area.

Besides, the Ottoman state tradition opened a space for local governors and pashas to collect their own taxes in the time of need for their own expenses, which were considered as customary. During the time of rebellious pashas (1623-58), war of 1683-99, examples of such levies could be found. Services fees and levies were collected by local governors or pashas as representatives of the sultan executive authority. These levies were called tekalif-i örfiyye, classified in two categories, namely, hizmet akçesi and pişkes.

In the last decade of the 17th century, another tax, called imdadiyye levies, was levied on the Ottoman subjects in order to increase the state’s revenue within the context of long and devastating wars. At its first instances, these levies were extraordinary and they were collected in the time of war with the name of imdad-ı seferriye. Later on, from the first years of the 18th century, they were regularized in two forms, imdad-ı seferiyye and imdad-ı hazariyye and they constituted the revenues of local governors, like sancak beys and beylerbeys. Except groups performing religious services, state services and poor people, all social groups were levied, including the members of ulema and askeri groups. Imdad-ı hazariyye was collected in years of

266 İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700”, p.315.
267 Ibid, pp.315, 316.
peace. The total sum of the revenue to be collected was determined by the central government and they were distributed to eyelets and sancaks. Then, the local governors distributed these tax assessments to the lower scale administrative units, kazas. The revenue of imdad-i hazariyye levies was allocated to the local governors for their military expenses. The main reason of this allocation was the financial difficulties of local governors to maintain their military retinues, namely kapi halkı. The central government tried to determine the amount of the revenue to be collected centrally. The collection of these levies continued until the Tanzimat period.

4.3.2 Widespread Implementation of Tax-farming (iltizam)

In addition to the gradual regularization of extraordinary taxes and emergence of new levies, tax-farming (iltizam) was used on a larger scale than its usage in the classical age of the empire to answer the state’s urgent need for cash. The iltizam system was used in the classical age of the empire, besides the timar system. At the middle of the 16th century, the income originating from iltizam contacts constitutes the half of the state’s revenue, while the other half was coming from timar fiefs. The application of iltizam system continued at the second half of the 19th century, although many of its features changed during this long period of time.

From the second half of the 16th century, widespread implementation of the iltizam system was the case as a method of tax collection on imperial scale. According to İnalçık, “The farspread application of the iltizam system in finance-administration, coupled with the subsequent rise of a new mültezim class in the provinces, has to be considered one of the most important developments in Ottoman history after 1580.”

In principle, tax-farming (iltizam) is basically that one private individual taking the right of tax collection belongs to the state over a certain unit in return of an annual payment. These units, called mukataa, were given to those applicant individuals for

270 Ibid, pp.221, 222
272 İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700, pp.327, 328, 329
273 Ibid, p.333
1-3 years by means of an auction in a competitive environment\textsuperscript{274}. Specific of amount of the annual payment was paid in cash immediately to the state. Moreover, those applicants had to have some financial guarantors\textsuperscript{275}. The main structure of the operation of the iltizam system remained stable, although some particular features of the system changed in time, like the identity of mültezims, the conditions of competition, the duration of the contract, the amount to be paid and so on. Mültezims could be members of askeri class or reaya, Muslim or non-Muslim\textsuperscript{276}. In this method of tax collection, the interest of mültezim was coming from the surplus amount of the revenue raised from the revenue source after the payment to the central treasury of the state. Mütesellims, those private entrepreneurs, were functioning to collect the revenues from a given area and paying a cash amount to the central treasury. Because of those changes before mentioned in the world economy after the mid-16\textsuperscript{th} century, in short, with parallel to the growing importance of the monetary economy on world scale, iltizam method of tax collection started to be expeditiously spreading\textsuperscript{277}.

The main reason of widespread implementation of iltizam was to meet the increasing expenses of the state by transforming already existing potential revenues to cash income for the central treasury. Covering the budget deficits, avoiding further expenses and increasing revenues were the major tasks of the finance department. In addition to iltizam, debasement of akçe, confiscation, imposition of new taxes and increase already existing ones were other mechanisms to cope with the financial crisis\textsuperscript{278}.

In order to secure the future revenue sources of the state, it was necessary to maintain protection and security requirements of those tax units, like in the classical timar system. It was not possible to reestablish timar system in its classical form in the time of financial crisis. Therefore, similar protective measures should be realized to

\textsuperscript{275} Genç, M. “İltizam”, p.155.
\textsuperscript{276} Ibid, p.155
\textsuperscript{277} Genç, “Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikane Sistemi”, pp.97, 98.
\textsuperscript{278} Ibid, p.98
protect the revenue sources of the state. On the condition of regular payments, some mukataas were given to members of askeri class for life time\textsuperscript{279}.

The increasing number of central army and askeri class from the second half of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century was accompanied with significant increase of state expenditures and budget deficits of the state. The immediate effect of this process was decreasing real value of the salaries of the members of the army. The result of these developments was the increasing participation of members of askeri class in the iltizam sector. The askeri domination of the iltizam sector accelerated at the first half of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. With parallel to this, Muslims dominated the sector at the same time\textsuperscript{280}.

The salaries of the imperial standing army and high degree bureaucratic officials were the largest part of state expenditures. To decrease such expenditures, some mukataas were given to these groups for life time with condition of leaving their salaries to the state. In this regard, the state was freed from some salary payments. Those tax units and reaya living on these areas also got a guardian realizing his own interest on life time\textsuperscript{281}. This was a stage of development of the lifetime mukataa contracts and it is named malikane system in the Ottoman finance.

At the end of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, 1-3 years iltizam contracts were extended to life-time contracts. New form of tax farming was formulated and established in 1695, together with a issued firman on it\textsuperscript{282}. This method of tax-farming was called malikane\textsuperscript{283}. The aim of the state was simple, to secure an regular flux of revenue and to maintain the protection of revenue sources and the reaya living on these lands\textsuperscript{284}.

In malikane system, the state gave life-long right of tax collection to the private individual, unless the contractor met the conditions of the contract. Mültezim was responsible to pay a fixed amount to the central treasury for the right of tax

\textsuperscript{279} Ibid, p.99
\textsuperscript{280} Genç, M. “İltizam”, p.156
\textsuperscript{281} Genç, “Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikane Sistemi”, p.99
\textsuperscript{282} Ibid,p.100
\textsuperscript{283} Faroqhi, “Crisis and Change, 1590 – 1699”, p.567; Genç, M. “İltizam”, p.156.
\textsuperscript{284} Genç, “Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikane Sistemi”, p.101
collection. The surplus amount remaining from the raised amount after the annual payment would be the profit of mültezim. A fixed amount of cash paid once, muaccele, was paid by a mültezim to buy the revenue source\textsuperscript{285}.

These lifelong mukataaas were auctioned for the highest sale prices, called muaccele. The state was determining a minimum value for each auction and the lifelong mukataa was given to the person offering the highest value of muaccele. If there was no offer more than the minimum value, mukataa would not be sold\textsuperscript{286}.

The buyer of the lifelong mukataa, the malikane owner, was given to a berat underlining that all fiscal and some administrative and legal/military rights were given to the malikane owner. “Mefruzul’ kalem ve maktu’il-kadem min külli’lisviücuhs serbestiyyet üzre hayatda oldukça tasarruf olunmak şartı ile”, the phrase indicates that no state official could intervene the administration of the malikane except kadis with certain administrative-military authority\textsuperscript{287}.

When the malikane owner died, the lifelong mukataa could be auctioned again but if the former owner had a son, he could take the mukataa with the condition of offering the highest amount of muaccele. Malikane owners had also right to sell the mukataa to another individual. Actually, the lifelong mukataa was given to those individuals with the condition of protection the reaya and to secure the revenue sources. If there would be any violation of these conditions by owners, the malikane was taken from them\textsuperscript{288}.

In principle, it could be expected from malikane owners to increase the efficiency and capacity of the revenue source. However, such examples were very exceptional. The malikane owners had become an “absentee tax farmers”, as a kind of a rentiergroup, staying mostly in Istanbul. Because tax-collection was not performed by the actual, original mültezims those staying in Istanbul but it was transferred to secondary or tertiary (sub-contract issue) mültezims by the original tax-farmer. The

\textsuperscript{286} Genç, “Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikane Sistemi”, p.102
\textsuperscript{287} Ibid, p.103
\textsuperscript{288} Ibid, pp.103, 104, 105, 106
result of this process was the emergence of rent-seeking groups. These fiscal and administrative mechanisms turned to be the ground of a raising social group in the provinces, namely ayans\textsuperscript{289}.

4.3.3 Non-Muslim Head-tax (Cizye)

In the classical period, the head-tax levied on non-Muslim subjects of the empire, called \textit{cizye}, continued to be collected until its transformation to another tax, \textit{bedel-i askeri}, in the mid-19\textsuperscript{th} century. Actually, \textit{cizye} was an Islamic tax levied on non-Muslim subjects of the Islamic State. It was collected by the officials of the central government\textsuperscript{290}. Until the \textit{cizye} reform in the last decade of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, this tax was levied on non-Muslim communities in sum, \textit{maktu}, and it shared on non-Muslim households, rather than every single individual with contrast to its legal character. However, after the \textit{cizye} reform, tax was levied on heads, each and every single non-Muslim subjects of the empire by following its original Islamic dictum\textsuperscript{291}.

Mostly, woman (if she was not a widow relying on the property of passed husband\textsuperscript{292}), children, old people and disabled people were exempted\textsuperscript{293}. Non-Muslim groups performing state services, like voynuks, were exempted from \textit{cizye}\textsuperscript{294}. In some cases, there could be some negatiotions between the state and communities of non-Muslim subjects on the amount of the tax to be paid\textsuperscript{295}.

The tax liable people were divided into three categories, according to their economic situations. These categories were high (\textit{ala}), middle (\textit{evsat}) - half of the high, low (\textit{edna}) – half of the middle. The amount to be paid for these categories could vary


\textsuperscript{291} Faroqhi, Crisis and Change, 1590 – 1699, p.532

\textsuperscript{292} Darling, L. “The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assessment and Collection of the Cizye and Avarız Taxes, 1560-1660”, p.150.

\textsuperscript{293} Faroqhi, Crisis and Change, 1590 – 1699, p.532

\textsuperscript{294} Darling, L. “The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assessment and Collection of the Cizye and Avarız Taxes, 1560-1660”, p.150.

\textsuperscript{295} İnalcık, H. “Cizye”, p.46.
according to locality, economic and political situation, needs of the state and so on.296

_Cizye_ was abolished with the Ottoman Reform Edict of 1856. With parallel to this, military service became compulsory of non-Muslim subjects but this service was turned into a substitute tax for the military service (*bedel-i askeri*). In actuality, head-tax on non-Muslims was continued in the form of *bedel-i askeri* until 1907.297

### 4.4 Avarız and Cizye Defters

#### 4.4.1 Introduction

With parallel to these changes in the taxation system of the empire, its taxes and tax collection methods, new mechanisms of revenue assessment and registration of the sources of the state revenue were developed. These were _avarız_ and _cizye defters_ of the 17th and 18th centuries Ottoman Empire.

The _tahrir_ surveys and _defters_ were registers of state’s revenue in the regions on which _timar_ system was established. These classical registers included different levies of the classical age within the framework of the classical administration. On the other hand, _avarız_ and _cizye_ registers were directly associated with _avarız_ and _cizye_ levies, which had become the main sources of revenue for the state in the 17th century. Both taxes were levied on communities or individuals. As a result of this, both type of registers recorded tax-liable “population”. In this regard, they also differ from the classical _tahrirs_ by not registering the amount of the land used or crops produced by the subjects of the empire.298

The regularization of _avarız-i divaniye_ and _tekalif-i örfiye_, _avarız_ taxes created a need for surveys for a precise tax assessment in the early 17th century. Accordingly, specific _avarız_ surveys were conducted in the Ottoman countries, and at a certain threshold, these surveys were carried out for most of the provinces of the Ottoman

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296 Ibid, pp.45, 46
297 Ibid, p.48
298 Özel, O. “Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri”, p.35
Empire. Moreover, the number of tax exempted groups of avarız taxes was reduced. Tax assessment of avarız taxes was reorganized and people were levied if they had any property and land, in some cases regardless of their status, askeri or reaya.

4.4.2 New Tasks of the Finance Department

The accounts of avarız and cizye registers had become the most important job of the finance department of the state, Defterhane-i Amire, in the 17th century. The gradual replacement of timar lands by the tax-farming (iltizam) met the urgent financial needs of the central government. The role of the finance department was indirect in these transactions, to make auctions, to register the processes, to collect the payments and to solve disagreements and conflicts. On the other hand, the accounts of avarız and cizye levies were the main task of Defterhane.

Specific sub-bureau, muhasabe-i cizye kalemi, emerged for the accounts of cizye in the first decade of the 17th century. In the second decade of the 17th century, this bureau expanded in a very significant manner. The bureau responsible for the accounts of avarız levies, mevkufat kalemi, also expanded in this time period. These changes in the organization of the finance department show that Defterhane adapted itself to the conditions of the late 16th and 17th centuries. As a result of the changes of the time period and adaptive strategies of the finance department, specific administrative and financial mechanisms were born, avarız and cizye surveys and their compiled defters.

In this regard, the Ottoman financial administration and organization experienced gradual change and adaptation pragmatically to the conditions of the century in the 17th century. Darling also identifies the emergence of separate bureaus around 1604 for the accounts of cizye, imperial pious foundations. Cizye bureau was also

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299 Darling, L. “The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assessment and Collection of the Cizye and Avarız Taxes, 1560-1660”, pp.166, 167


301 Darling, Linda T. Revenue-Raising And Legitimacy, p.28; Özel, O. “Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri”, p. 36

302 Darling, Revenue-Raising And Legitimacy, pp. 58,59, 71, 74, 91.

303 Darling, L. “The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assessment and Collection of the Cizye and Avarız Taxes, 1560-1660, p.22

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expanded from 1604 to 1620\textsuperscript{304}. Thus, the Ottoman finance department adapted itself and its book-keeping practices to the conditions of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. Although the classical tahrir surveys were not kept and the form of the registration was changed, the enumeration of the subject was made within the framework of new surveys, cizye defter from 1590s and avarız defters from 1620s\textsuperscript{305}.

In the classical age of the empire, the registers for avarız levies, extraordinary levies in those times, and cizye were prepared by the kadıs during the tahrir survey\textsuperscript{306}. Cizye was levied on non-Muslim households, hanes, disregarding the actual number of members of households before the last decade of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. Until the mid-17\textsuperscript{th} century, cizye and avarız surveys were also conducted by local kadıs. From this time, the scribes of the central finance departments kept these registers. Because of the irregular character of these surveys, for each three years, the registers were updated by removing dead and adding new adult members of the society\textsuperscript{307}.

4.4.3 Procedures of the Surveys

Avarız and cizye defters of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century were extensions of the classical tahrir tradition and they were products of the same bookkeeping tradition in different social, political and economic environment. They were surveys and registers compiled to identify the revenues of the state. The main unit of assessment of avarız taxes was avarız-hane. Like maktu system of the cizye, according to the different conditions, the number of actual households, hanes, included by avarız-hanes was determined\textsuperscript{308}.

The very procedures of the avarız surveys as the continuation of classical book-keeping methods were performed by local kadıs for cizye registers and their renewals, as mentioned above. These procedures could be traced by using detailed orders for the surveys, formulated as instructions for the surveyors of avarız and

\textsuperscript{304} Ibid, pp.78, 79.
\textsuperscript{305} Ibid, pp.174, 176, 177.
\textsuperscript{306} Ibid, p.149.
\textsuperscript{307} Ibid, pp.149, 150, 151
\textsuperscript{308} Özel, O. “Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri”, pp. 35, 38, 39.
cizye defters. Similar with the order of the classical tahrirs, orders of the surveys of the 17th century addressed directly to the official in charge of the avarız surveys309.

According to the order of a survey dated 23 December 1640 analyzed by Darling, new tahrir would be carried out in order to register Muslim and non-Muslim reayas of Menteşe and Siğla regions in southwestern Anatolia because of the complaints of settled reaya, in the way that they did not want to pay taxes of those had already registered in the avarız-hanes of that place and they deserted their homes to avoid tax impositions and settled on some tax-exempted areas, some vaqf and serbest places. Accordingly, for the conduct of a new tahrir, a higher degree member of ulema was appointed310. The surveyor was going to inspect and register “1) those already recorded in the cizye and avarızdefters, 2) the former military groups of piyade and müsellem, 3) retired pensioners who customarily paid bedel-ıgüherçile, a cash payment in lieu of supplying saltpeter to the gunpowder factories, 4) persons not previously recorded in the defters who performed no service that would entitle them to an exemption, and 5) boys who had recently reached maturity whose families were not tax-exempt.”311. Formerly tax-exempted groups were underlined whether they were still performing a state service or not. All of the subjects of the registration would be classified into three groups as high (ala), middle (evsat) and low (edna) income groups. The surveyor should be careful to register the current tax-liable people according to their ability to pay and their current place of residence regardless of years they had lived there. Those people deserted their homes for tax-exempted places would not be enforced to go back but they would be registered in avarız-hanes and cizye-hanes of the current residences. It was ordered that the surveyor was going to compile the avarız and cizye defters, and send them to the capital. After the imperial approval of those defters, towns and villages surveyed would be given the

309 Darling, L. “The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assessment and Collection of the Cizye and Avarız Taxes, 1560-1660”, p. 167
310 Ibid, p.168
documents confirming their tax status. Because of their efforts, the surveyor and his helpers would gain favor and their petitions would be answered\(^{312}\).

In another case evaluated by Darling, after a plague, many died in Erzurum and a new survey was needed to update the accounts of taxpayers. Remaining people could not afford the already determined amount of taxes, like in the former case. A new *tahrir* was carried out to register the remaining tax-liable people of the region within very similar procedures\(^{313}\). For another *avarız* and *cizye* survey, the *kadi* of Kayseri was ordered to conduct the survey for some areas of Karaman because of the fact that similar migration of *reaya* from tax-liable areas to tax-exempted *vaqf* lands. According to the order, tax-exempted *evkaf* associated subjects would be find according to the former register and others would be registered in new *avarız* register\(^{314}\).

According to the orders of *avarız* and *cizye* surveys published by Özel, the surveyors were order in the way that some Muslim and non-Muslim *reaya* liable to *avarız* taxes left their homes and villages in order to get away from *avarız*, *cizye* and *tekalifs*. They migrated to *vaqf*, *serbest* and *muaf* towns and villages and settled on these places. This did harm on treasury and because of that those responsible for collecting *avarız* and *tekalif* levies were experiencing some difficulties and also remaining *reaya* had to pay taxes of those left. For the survey of these lands a responsible and knowlagable person appointed to conduct the survey to register taxliable non-Muslims, *avarız*-hanes and *mukataas* and other state’s assets according their economic conditions justly. In the province of Sivas, tax liable non-Muslims and *avarız*-hanes and mukataas and other state’s assets would be inspected and investigated on their place. Apart from those registered in the former registers, those residents in towns and villages and those, not registered or not performing a state service anymore, and those youngs for *cizye* would be registered in their names on *avarız* and *cizye* defters justly according to their economic conditions in three categories, high(*ala*), middle(*evsat*), low(*edna*). People already performing a state service, like *köprüci*,

\(^{312}\) Ibid, pp.169, 170, 171.

\(^{313}\) Ibid, p.172, 173

\(^{314}\) Ibid, p.174
derbendcis etc., were already exempted from taxes. If their service is still needed and useful for the state and the poor, their already held former and new muafnames should be perpetuated by the surveyor, while those performing services no longer required should be added to the avarız-hane regardless of their claim on their tax-exempted status. Some places are disarrayed, scattered, according to the order, hanes and cizyes should be investigated and those remaining should be registered in avarız-hanes reconfigured after the investigation according to their conditions. Reaya left their original places to avoid taxation and settled on vaqf and serbest lands would be investigated carefully on their new places and they should not be forced to turn back but they would be registered avarızhanes and cizye defters of their new residences on those districts or villages according to their conditions. It is also underlined that sultan did not have any consent or tolerance to any injustices, avarız, cizye and mukataatdefters must be prepared as ordered and they would be sealed and sent to the capital. After the sultan’s approval, temessüks shall be given. The surveyors would be responsible for all registration process and compiled defters. Nothing, as described, should be left out the register. During the survey, surveyors should not be patronized by anybody or they should not conform to anyone. Until the imperial approval of the defter, no one shall be given any diploma/warrant. Moreover, according to another order of survey ulema, sipahi and janisarry and other members of askeri class would be registered with their names and their holdings, properties. They would be investigated, whether they belong to reaya or not. These registeres would sent to the capital

Two forms of defters were prepared after the surveys. One form is a detailed one, called mufassal defter, registering all tax-liable population, adult males, property and land holding military groups, ulema,seyyids, household head widows. The second form of the defters was prepared based on the mufassal defter and this summary

316 Ibid, p.50
registers only include the number of cizye and avarız-hanes on a certain administrative scale.\textsuperscript{317}

4.4.4 Defters

The earliest separate avarız defter found in the archives prepared for Tokat in 1009/1600-1 and the members of piyade and müsellems liable to avarız taxes, poor people not being able to pay and those joined Celalis were registered in this register.\textsuperscript{318} After 1620s, the content of avarız defters had become more numerous and more extensive because of attempts of registering all the taxpayers liable to these levies. Registers of 1640s contain the list of names of Muslim, non-Muslim reaya, tax-exempted members of the salaried and timar-holding military class and ulema.\textsuperscript{319}

According to Darling, “This evidence suggests that avarız was being levied more widely as well as more often. Indeed, as we shall see, from this time on an intensive effort was made to broaden the base of population from which avarız could be collected. For most of the seventeenth century, the avarız made (as it had not in the sixteenth century) a significant portion of the total Ottoman budget.”\textsuperscript{320}

Cizye defters, on the otherhand, was prepared by local kadıs during the tahrir surveys. Cizye defters were also updated in each 3 years by registering those males becoming adults and dropping deads or those left the place.\textsuperscript{321} Independent cizye surveys were conducted beginning with the early 17th century in the absence of wide-ranging surveys, the classical tahrirs. These registers dated from the 15 century to the mid-19th century could be found on the Ottoman archives, although defters compiled in the 18th century are scarce in number and cannot be found as series of the former centuries.

\textsuperscript{317} Ibid, p.40

\textsuperscript{318} Darling, L., “The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assessment and Collection of the Cizye and Avarız Taxes, 1560-1660”, pp. 162, 163

\textsuperscript{319} Ibid, p.163, 164, 166

\textsuperscript{320} Ibid, p.166

\textsuperscript{321} İnalçık, “Cizye”, p.46
In terms of the usage of these defters, it can be said that avarız and cizye registers are problematized and used in terms of their representative characters, as data sources for social and economic history, at the first hand, like the classical tahrirs. They used mainly as sources of demographic history, sources to identify changing settlement patterns and so on. Moreover, Darling evaluates these registers as mechanisms of tax assessment and she emphasizes on the adaptive function of avarız and cizye registers in order to determine the state’s revenue sources for the economic, political and social conditions of the 17th century.

4.4.4.1 An Avarız Defter of the 17th Century

In this study, the mufassal avarız defter of Kütahya dated 1086/1676322 will be evaluated in terms of its textual organization and framework of enumeration. The register contains 120 pages.

Unlike the classical tahrir defters, mufassal avarız defters do not include a kanunname or a detailed mukaddeme, identifying the reasons of the survey, underlining the survey procedure and names of surveyors. Instead of this, the name of the register and surveyors are written at the beginning of the defter in a short phrase or at certain pages the process of how these surveys was conducted described by the surveyors.

The mufassal defer of Kütahya is starting with an index323 which lists the name of the administrative sub-divisions of the province of Kütahya, and they are named as kazas, together with page numbers in the registers.

In the following page, the description of the register is written as the register of names of reaya of avarız hanes in liva-i Kütahya in 1086(1675/76) together with names of surveyors324.

Two titles are following, kaza-i Kütahya and mahalle-i nefs-i Kütayha. Thereafter, districts (mahalles) of the town center of Kütahya are registered. After the registration of reaya of the district, askeris are written down.

322 BOA, MAD, nr.2498
323 BOA, MAD, nr.2498,00002
324 BOA, MAD, nr.2498,00003
Table 2.1: Registration of districts in the *Avarız Defter* of Kütahya (1086/1675)\textsuperscript{325}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mahalle-i Çukur</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ala</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*Neferan 8, Hane 2*

*Askeriyan-i Sakin-i Mahalle-i Mezbur*

<table>
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<th>name</th>
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For each district, names of the head of households are written together with their father's names and their occupation. If it was tax-exempted, like *imams*, it is noted. At the end of the registration of the names of *reaya* in the districts, the total number of *reaya* and tax-exempted groups are written separately in the form of total number (*neferan*) of tax liable people and total number (*neferan*) of tax-exempted groups. Finally, the number of *reaya nefer* is registered and the number of *avarız-hanes* is calculated; four actual households constitute one *avarız-hane* in this particular register.

*Reaya* is registered according to their economic status in three categories, *edna* (low), *evsat* (middle) and *ala* (high). When a particular named categorized with one of three categories and if the following name is under the same category, the word *mislühü* (*mis* in short) is written to indicate that the following name is under the

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\textsuperscript{325} BOA, MAD, nr.2498_00003
category of the former. They have same economic status, in other words. If there were members of askeri class in the district they are registered separately.

Villages of the province are recorded under the title of Nahtye-i falanca tabi kaza-i (name of the kaza) in a similar way.

Table 2.2: Registration of Villages in the Avarız Defter of Kütahya (1086/1675)

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<th>Nahiye-i Etraf-i Şehirtabi-i Kaza-i Kütahya</th>
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Karye-i Bölück

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Neferan 22
İmam neferan 1
Reaya neferan 21, Hane 5,25

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327 BOA, MAD, nr.2498_00008
In some cases, the reaya was not registered with that three category (ala, evsat, edna) but their lands, the amoun of their çifts. In the register two çift is considered as ala (high) and one çift as evsad (middle) and each çift is 30 dönün as recorded in some places in the defter. If they did not have any çift, they were considered as edna328.

After the list of all reaya dwelling on a particular place, all of them are counted in the avarız-hane. Members of askeri class are also registered but they were not counted in the avarız-hane329. Semi-nomadic people, yörüks, are also counted within the avarız-hane together with their economic status330. Despite this way of registration, some sons of askeri class are registered and included in the avarız-hane331, although some are not included332.

In addition to these, some villages (karyes) are described as all of them are high (ala), all of them are middle (evsat), they are bazaar sellers, they are not registered in the former defter and they are poor, all of them are high and they are owners of çifts, all of them are low (edna), they are tenants and they do not have çifts, they are farmers333.

Some villages are mentioned as desolated (hali harap) or ruined (harabe) without any inhabitant334, for a few, the reasons of desolation are described in the way that since the great Celali terror335, or there had been nothing for 30 years336. There are also other villages with miserable conditions inhabited but they are not counted in the avarız-hane337.

328 “bir çift 30 dönüm dür” BOA, MAD, nr.2498_00008; “iki çift kayd olan aladır çift kayd olunan evsadır” BOA, MAD, nr.2498_00017; “2 çift ala 1 çift evsat çifti yoktur edna” BOA, MAD, nr.2498_00021.
329 BOA, MAD, nr.2498_00070
330 BOA, MAD, nr.2498_00020, 00060
331 BOA, MAD, nr.2498_0063
332 BOA, MAD, nr.2498_0019
333 BOA, MAD, nr.2498_0004, 0006, 0007, 0009, 0010, 0023
334 BOA, MAD, nr.2498_0011, 0015, 0017, 0084
335 BOA, MAD, nr.2498_0024
336 BOA, MAD, nr.2498_0027
337 BOA, MAD, nr.2498_0075
Tax-exempted reaya is also noted in the defter together with name and character of their services, groups like berat-holders, derbendcis, vaqf lands, strangers (birunis)\(^\text{338}\).

In some districts (mahalles) or villages (karyes), certain people are registered as pretending to be a janissary without a diploma (yeniçeri geçünür temessükül yokdur)\(^\text{339}\), pretending to be a sayyid\(^\text{340}\). These pretenders probably tried to avoid to be registered as taxpayers but they are counted in the avarız-hane of the region in these examples. However, in some other case, pretenting sayyids are not counted in the avarız-hanes\(^\text{341}\), but they are noted as pretenders.

Çiftliks (big farms) can be also seen in many villages, besides the registration of people in villages. Those çiftliks owned by reaya are underlined and they are added to the avarız-hane\(^\text{342}\), including those pretenders\(^\text{343}\). If a çiftlik was owned by a member of askeri class, it is also underlined and it is not counted in the avarız-hane\(^\text{344}\).

In some villages, it is underlined that there was no reaya; all residents were members of askeri class with a significant number holding çifts. They are listed but they are not included in the avarız-hane\(^\text{345}\).

It is noted by the surveyors that some tax-exempted villages, especially vaqf lands\(^\text{346}\), and certain number of villages performing a state services, like derbendciyan\(^\text{347}\), köprüciyan\(^\text{348}\), had received migration(karye-i mezbürda reaya çoğalmışdır!), probably because of their tax-exempted status. For these lands, those registered in the

\(^{338}\) BOA, MAD, nr.2498, 0016, 0031, 0032, 0037  
\(^{339}\) BOA, MAD, nr.2498, 0005, 0017  
\(^{340}\) BOA, MAD, nr.2498, 0041  
\(^{341}\) BOA, MAD, nr.2498, 0061, 0088  
\(^{342}\) BOA, MAD, nr.2498, 0008  
\(^{343}\) BOA, MAD, nr.2498, 0019  
\(^{344}\) BOA, MAD, nr.2498, 0008  
\(^{345}\) BOA, MAD, nr.2498, 0014, 0064, 0073, 0084  
\(^{346}\) BOA, MAD, nr.2498, 0068  
\(^{347}\) BOA, MAD, nr.2498, 0083  
\(^{348}\) BOA, MAD, nr.2498, 0070
former *defter* were considered as the original inhabitants of the place. Others, on the other hand, were considered as migrated *reaya*. While the original residents were registered as tax-exempted groups, new comers were listed and counted in the tax unit of *avarz* levies. Surveyors explained this situation by their notes under the register of the village.

### 4.4.4.2 Cizye Defters

The following *cizye defters* of the 17th will be evaluated here MAD_15151 (993/1585), MAD_1209 (1052/1642-43), MAD_4021 (1100/1688-89), KK_3810 (1102/1690-91) in terms of their textual organization, in other words, the framework of registration of the subjects.

#### 4.4.4.2.1 MAD15151 (993/1585)

This *cizye defter* is choosen to show the characteristics of *cizye* registers just before the 17th century in order to underline the continuation of book-keeping tradition of the Ottoman state. The register includes *nahiye* of Visegrad and Pazaroluk of Bosnia. It is starting with the identification of the *defter, Defter-i cizye gebran*, and it is following by listing the administrative sub-divisions registered together with non-Muslim inhabitants and their tax assessments.
Table 3.1: Registration of districts and villages in the *Cizye Defter* of Pazaroluk (993/1585)\(^ {349} \)

**Nahiye-i Pazaroluk**……………………………………………………………………

**Nefs-i Pazaroluk** ………………………………………………….

**Mahalle-i** ……………………………………

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Hane: 40 hasıl: 411 , baştina: 6 hasıl: 255  
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**Karye-i**…………………………

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Hane: 15 hasıl: 597 , baştina: 7 hasıl : 274

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\(^ {349} \) BOA, MAD, nr.15151_00004; BOA, MAD, nr.15151_00006
At the end of each sections, mahalles or villages, after the registration of inhabitant non-Muslim tax payers, the total amount of hanes is written. In this register, because of the particular characteristics of the region, baştinas\textsuperscript{350} are recorded separately and their sum is calculated not in the sum of hanes but as as the sum of baştina. After this separate registration of hanes and baştinas, with the name of households and their fathers, their separate total amount of revenues are calculated and written. The whole defter is organized in this way.

4.4.4.2.2 MAD1209(1052/1642-43)

This cizye defter is also organized in a similar way like the former register described above. The register begins with the title of the defter, “Defter-i cizye-i gebran vilayet-i Sidrekapı mütemekkin-i Selanik”, and the register is dated as 1052(1642/43)\textsuperscript{351}. It records the settled Christians in the vilayet of Sidrekapı.

Districts are recorded in the way that

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| Hane: 43 |

\textsuperscript{350} Emecen, F. “Baştına” in TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 135-136 (1992) 

\textsuperscript{351} BOA, MAD, nr.01209_00001

\textsuperscript{352} BOA, MAD, nr.01209_00002
Names are recorded with their fathers’ names. At the end of the defter the total number of hane was given, 1890 in total. Subjects of the survey are not classified into three economic categories (edna, evsat, ala) like in other registers. And at the end of the defter the name of the surveyor was given and the register was dated\textsuperscript{353}.

4.4.4.2.3 MAD4021 (1100/1688-89)

In this cizye defter, surveyed Jewish taxpayers are recorded according to their place of residence and their economic status, which is classified in three categories, high (ala), middle (evsat), low (edna), in Edirne. Communities were separately registered as cemaats in the defter. Names together with fathers’ names, their tax statuses, and total sums of hanes (written as nefer in the register) and tax categories were documented. At the end of the register, surveyors, one is the kadi of Edirne, were written with their seals.

Communities were recorded in the following way.

\textsuperscript{353} BOA, MAD, nr.01209_00011
Table 3.3: Registration of Communities in the Cizye Defter of Edirne (1100/1688-89)\textsuperscript{354}

\begin{table}[h]
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haham & name & name & name & name & name & name \\
veled & name & name & name & name & name & name \\
name & ala & evsat & ala & ala & evsat & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Cema'ati Portugal-i Sagir}
\end{table}

Jewish taxpayers were identified according to their community, cemaat-i Portugal or Polya and so on. At the end of the registration of a community, the total number of taxpayers is written, as \textit{nefer}, and the total number of taxpayers of each economic category separately is noted, \textit{ala nefer, evsat nefer, edna nefer}.

At the end of the \textit{defter}, the surveyors’ names are recorded and the register is sealed\textsuperscript{355}.

\textbf{4.4.4.2.4 KK3810 (1102/1690-91)}

This is the \textit{cizye defter} of Sivas, Sivasili, Tokad, Niksar and Zile kazas. It contains 362 pages. This \textit{cizye defter} is different than the previous registers of former times, before 1690s. It includes more details than the former registers. The physical

\textsuperscript{354} BOA, MAD, nr.04021_00001
\textsuperscript{355} BOA, MAD, nr.04021_00009
appearance of each and every single registered individual, apparently almost all of them are male, is recorded. Moreover, their occupations are underlined. Like other defters, they are classified into three economic categories, high (ala), middle (evsat), low (edna). Youngs are also differentiated than other older men. Furthermore, their ethno-religious identities are recorded, like Armenian, Rum, and Iranian etc. It is also noted that each and every taxpayer was given a paper indicating their taxliabilities. At the end of registration of each kaza, records were sealed by the surveyors\textsuperscript{356}.

Those having same tax status for each administrative unit, a district or village, are registered together, in the following way.
Table 3.4: Registration of districts and villages in the Cizye Defter of Sivas, Sivasili, Tokad, Niksar and Zile (1102/1690-91)\textsuperscript{357}

\textit{Cizye-i neferat Ala}\textsuperscript{358}

Name v\textsuperscript{359} name … uzun boylu açık kaşlı ela gözlü kır sakallı bazargandır ala
Name v name… orta boylu açık kaşlı … pazargandır ala
Name v. name… orta boylu açık kaşlı ak sakallı …dır, ala
Name v. name… orta boylu açık kaşlı ak sakallı bazargandır, ala

\textit{Cizye-i neferat evsat haldir mahalle-i mezbur}\textsuperscript{360}

Name v. name… uzun boylu açık kaşlı ela gözlü kır sakallı …dır, Ermeni
Name v. name…. ortaca boylu açık kaşlı ela gözlü kiralımsak sakallı terzidir Ermeni
Name v. name… uzun boylu çatık kaşlı kır sakallı terzidir, Ermeni
Name v. name… uzun boylu açık kaşlı ela gözlü kumral sakallı …dır, Ermeni
name v. name…. ortaca boylu sari ela gözlü kır sakallı …dır, Ermeni
...
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\textbf{4.5 Enumeration of the Subjects in the 17\textsuperscript{th} Century}

At the beginning, it should be underlined that avarız and cizye defters of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century were continuation of the classical book-keeping tradition of the Ottoman bureaucracy. It can be seen though the comparison of textual organization of registers of the classical age and the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, although the objects of the registers had changed.

\textsuperscript{357} BOA, KK, nr.03810_00001
\textsuperscript{358} BOA, KK, nr.03810_00001
\textsuperscript{359} Veled: Son of
\textsuperscript{360} BOA, KK, nr.03810_00001
Registers of both periods, the classical age and the 17th Century, have the same template. The main problematic of the surveys and defters of these two periods are same, namely tax-assessment and revenue-raising within a specific regime of power. While the classical tahrir defters were functioning together with timar system and çift-hane system on the ground of miri land regime, avarız and cizye registers were mechanisms strategically and pragmatically developed by the Ottoman bureaucracy in order to adapt the conditions of the 17th century. Avarız and cizye defters were product of such a process. They emerged as mechanisms of taxation with parallel to the regularization of extraordinary levies of the classical age and continuation of non-Muslim head-tax and its growing importance for the central government.

Complaints of reaya about the taxburden originated from the migration of taxpaying subjects, from their original residents to tax-exempted areas, initiated the survey procedure, according to the order discussed by Darling. Due to the complaint and possible lost of the revenue sources, new survey was ordered. “1) those already recorded in the cizye and avarızdefters, 2) the former military groups of piyade and müsellem, 3) retired pensioners who customarily paid bedel-igüherçile, a cash payment in lieu of supplying saltpeter to the gunpowder factories, 4) persons not previously recorded in the defters who performed no service that would entitle them to an exemption, and 5) boys who had recently reached maturity whose families were not tax-exempt.” would be registered in the new defter according to the order. Each and every person, heads of households, would be classified into three economic status groups. Those people deserted their homes for tax-exempted places would not be enforced to go back but they would be registered in avarız-hanes and cizye-hanes of the current residences. The compiled defters would be sent to the capital according to the procedure dictated by the order.

In these orders, the main problematic is to register current tax-base of the avarız and cizye taxes. This tax-base was the current tax-labile “population” in the region. Movements of reaya on the region, their migration as mentioned, were problematized

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361 Darling, L. “The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assessment and Collection of the Cizye and Avarız Taxes, 1560-1660”, pp.168, 169
in terms of their tax-assessments and they would be registered in their new place of settlements. They would not be forced to turn back or forced to pay a certain tax, like in the case of çift-bozan resmi in classical age. The state was not trying to maintain the former order in the agricultural realm and there was no official addressed to force peasants to turn back. On the contrary, the state was trying to grasp the mobile, displaced sources of tax revenue, to get in touch with the current settlements of the subjects by means of registration.

In the case of Erzurum, as mentioned before, plague came and many died. New survey was ordered to be conducted to update the account of taxpayers. In short, when the current avarız-hanes of these times noted in the orders were not reflecting the actual situation of the country, a new survey was required. In this case, when the attitude of the government towards the subjects is taken into account, a natural disaster caused a decrease not in the population as such but in the number of taxpaying subjects for the state.

During the procedure of the survey, according to the orders, discussed by Darling\(^{363}\), reaya was not registered on any sipahis or state officials, they were inspected and registered on their places only according to their current residences and their tax-liability with respect to their economic conditions. Only those performing state needed services would be exempted and they would be registered respectively.

Those holding property and land not willing to pay their taxes because of their claimed askeri status, as discussed by Özel\(^{364}\), also would be registered and counted in avarız-hanes to enforce them to pay the tax. Ulema ans seyyıds also shared same experience. Accordingly, they were registered in the detailed registers of surveys.

If the framework of the registration dictated by the orders of surveys was followed strictly by the surveyors, it can be argued that desertion of people, deaths due to Celali rebellions or natural disasters caused harm on the tax-base and those subjects all problematized for taxation, nothing else. They were registered on certain places,
mahalles or karyes, which was a place hierarchically organized as administrative units (mahalle, karye, nahiye, kaza and so on) on which taxpaying subjects were living and some former members of askeri class started to be reduced to the status of taxable subjects. It is also underlined that sultan did not have any consent or tolerance to any injustices, avarız, cizye and mukataat defters must be prepared as ordered justly, by meaning that what is registered must be in accordance with the actual conditions of the subjects without harming the state’s revenue.

In the classical tahrir defters, registered subjects are all adult males on certain amount of land together with their levied agricultural products. However, in avarız defters, the main form of registration was being liable to the avarız levies. Those members of askeri class holding certain amounts of land were registered but not always counted in avarız-hanes, although pretenders without a diploma were registered and counted in avarız-hanes. If it was the case, some adult males are registered with their çifts, as a representative of their economic condition. In this regard, the amount of land was used as an indicator of economic status of the subjects. From these, it can be deduced that avarız defters do not have a unit of registration like in the classical tahrirs in which çift was the main unit of taxation and registration. Registration was organized around the unit of çift in the classical age. In avarız defters, on the other hand, the registration was organized around the liability of avarız levies. Moreover, the state tried to grasp the actual conditions of the country with respect to its revenues. In that sense, it can be argued that the logic of avarız surveys and compiled avarız defters are liability to avarız levies and the state’s intention to get in touch with the conditions of the country in terms of its revenue sources.

As mentioned before, two forms of defter were compiled after the survey, a summary (icmal) and a detailed version (mufassal). In the classical icmal tahrir registers, timariots and ziamet holders were recorded according to their positions in the established timar system of the region. On the other hand, icmal versions of avarız defters are including only the number of avarız-hanes; they do not have any information about the actual hanes. In the absence of empire wide tahrir surveys and
In the classica *tahrir defter*, *kanunnames* and *mukaddemes* were added after the end of the survey and compilation of registers. This *defters* with *kanunnames* had become the legal reference point and framework of the region for the operation of the *timar* system, taxation system based on *miri* land regime. The land regime, taxation and the relationship between the *timariots* and subjects were the objects of that legal framework. It is not possible to argue that *avarız defter* s were functioning in the same manner. The extraordinary taxes of the extraordinary situations had become the regular features of the 17th century. Such regularization of the extraordinary situations constituted the ground on which new political, economic and administrative practices had arised. In particular, regularization of *avarız* levies and their surveys and *defters* could be considered as the mechanisms of adaptation, by which state tried to encapsulate the circumstances of the country especially with respect to its revenue sources without problematizing otherwise.

In the *mufassal avarız defter*, the scope of taxpaying subjects was extended and they were registered accordingly. In the classical period, the subjects of the registration were the subjects participated in production, holding certain amount of land or property and they were the groups excluded from the boundaries that made *askeri* class, like being engaged in military dealings, warfare and enjoying some privileges. In the 17th century, that boundaries had started to be blurred and the classical distinction between *askeri* and *reaya* had started to be dissolved. After the social, political and economic turmoils and explosions, the land regime of the core provinces of the empire had transformed. *Timar* lands had also been gradually replaced by *iltizam*. In short, the Ottoman agricultural organization cannot be explained by the classical institutions. In particular, the classical *çift-hane* system apparently had become obsolete in terms of its operation and *askeri çiftiliks* had emerged. Villages without *reaya* had emerged, as registered in the *avarız defter* of Kütahya. In the case of *avarız* taxes, some former members of *askeri* class were

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registered and levied; they were pushed to the status of taxliable subjects. These complicated developments could be traced by the avarız registers showing a significantly heterogenous setup of the agricultural realm. With parallel to these developments of the century, the scope of subjects of the registration widened, that can be also seen in detailed forms of avarız defters. In terms of the registration, it can be also argued that the registrations, new tahrirs of the 17th century, were posterior to the developments and changes of the century in order to grasp the situation.

The mobile taxpaying subjects, the reaya, were registered within a particular framework. With parallel to the orders of surveys, the mobile or migrated subjects were problematized, registered in terms of taxation, nothing else. The main concer of the defter is to register the taxliable subjects of the state to avarız and cizye taxes. The taxliable reaya and some members of askeri class formerly having a tax-exempted status and currently levied were objects of the registration.

Mufassal avarız defter of Kütahya is organized according to the administrative organization of the province. Its beginning with the central town of the province, namely Kütahya, and following its districts (mahalle) and villages (karyes) are similar with the organization of the classical tahrir defters. It can be also said that, the classical tahrir defters, avarız and cizye defters have same template. All of them locate the subjects of the empire on a specific place within a hierarchical order of registration and administration. As already discussed before, classical tahrirs were surveys of the country (tahrir-i memleket). Avarız and cizye registers have also same operating principle. They are registers of the country, at the first hand. However, at the beginning of the 17th century, the classical hierarch had begun to transform. Dissolution of timar system changed the organization of required surveys for collection of state’s revenues. In the classical age, the çift-resmi and its associates were the categories of registration on the part of reaya. In avarız and cizye registers, on the other hand, the main criterion was tax-liability of subjects. The second criterion was thier economic status expressed by tripartite categorization, ala, evsat, edna.

The names of the subjects were listed under the title of mahalle or karye. The situation of mahalles and karyes are underlined, as mentioned before. The economic
statuses of the subjects are specifically stated by the surveyors. If there was a group of *askeri* class, they were listed with their land separately than the *reaya*. At the end of each pocket of *mahalle* or *karye*, the *avarız-hane* was determined as one quarter of the total number of *reaya* households in the *mahalle* or *karye*. Members of *askeri* were not counted in the *avarız-hane* calculation but still they were registered. Çiftlik in *reaya* and *askeri* were clearly distinguished by sidenotes of surveyors. However, in some cases, those pretenders claiming their military status without a document were added to the total number of taxpaying population. Some members of *askeri* class had also become taxpayers and they are registered accordingly.

With parallel to what was said in the order of the surveys, migrated *reaya* to tax-exempted locations was identified by the surveyors and they are enlisted like other tax-liable people in other regions. They were registered as a part of tax-units of *avarız* levy. Surveyors also noted the details of such change of location and surplus number of people on the tax-exempted land, while considering those formerly registered as tax-exempted groups.

Therefore, in *mufassal avarız defter* of Kütahya, the *reaya* was located in a specific place within a specific administrative hierarchical grid. At the first hand, the main concern of the register was to record the current conditions of state’s revenue that would be collected in the form of *avarız* levies.

The formulation of the *tahrir-i memleket* was written by *Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa* in the first half of the 17th century. This formulation was made retrospectively to identify the “old” tradition of book-keeping for the current situation of that time period. *Tahrir-i memleket* literally means the survey of the country. According to this formulation, what was surveyed and registered is *memleket*. This also shows the continuation of the classical book-keeping practice of the empire within the context of the 17th century crisis. For the *avarız* levies, the country was surveyed and registered with respect to the state’s revenue sources and the conditions of the country in this regard. The state problematized subject living on the country by means of these notions and problematics can be seen in the orders,

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registers and their language. Although, the wordings were still expressed with the classical terminology, the registered objects of defters and the framework of defters had changed.

_Cizye defters_ of the 17th century are also products of the classical book-keeping system. However, the emergence of independent _cizye_ surveys and compiled defters must be underlined. On point is about the continuous character of the relationship between the state and its non-Muslim subjects. As a matter of fact, _cizye_ revenues of the state had growing importance in the 17th century. In the absence of empire wide _tahrir_ surveys, such an importance required new registration mechanisms.

_Cizye_ registers were also organized according to the classical template of book-keeping. By following the administrative organization of the country, taxpaying non-Muslim subjects were listed. In the _defter_ of MAD_15151 (993/1585-86), _cizye_ payers were listed with the amount they were charged. _Baştinas_ were separated from the ordinary houses. For each district and village, total number of households and total revenues were recorded. In the register of MAD_1209 (1052/1642-43), non-Muslims were only listed for each and every village together with noted total number of households. In the third register mentioned above, MAD_4021 (1100/1688-89), subjects were divided into _cemaats_ and registered accordingly. Heads of households were lister and they were categorized into three economic categories, _edna_, _evsat_, _ala_. At the end of each list of _cemaats_, the total number of each economical category was given. Until 1690s, the structure of _cizye_ registers shows that the state documented only the information of names of heads of households together with their tax-status within the administrative organization of regions. However, the registration held in 1690s has different characteristics.

In the _cizye defter_ of KK_3810 (1102/1690-91), first of all, the non-Muslim subjects of the empire were named as _zimmi_ or _kefere_. In terms of the registration, people were classified according to their tax-status, _edna_, _evsat_, _ala_ and according to their tax-statuses, they were listed for each district and village. Moreover, their physical appearances, their occupations and ethnic identities were recorded. Total numbers of each tax-status was noted at the end of the registration of all localities. This last _cizye defter_ was prepared after the _cizye_ reform in early 1690s, which ended the _cizye_
collection on the basis of household unit, from now on; 
cizye was levied on each and every head living in the country. By following the regulation, 
cizye defters of 1690 documented every adult male with their physical appearances, occupations, economic statuses and ethnic identities. They were also given papers indicating their tax statuses as underlined by the surveyors in the register.

It has two sides, the specific taxpaying individual was identified for the state and for the non-Muslim subjects, according to the document their registration made, and they would pay their cizye. In the same register, ethno-religious identities of the subjects were also recorded in addition to their physical appearance and occupations. The tripartite classification of economic status of the subjects was another dimension of the registration. These predicates of the registration could be interpreted in the way that the state initiated a process to collect cizye revenues more efficiently. In addition to this, for the problematic of this thesis, it is important that non-Muslim taxpaying subjects were addressed according to their “individual” characteristics according to their liabilities. This register addresses not primarily non-Muslim communities, like in the former registers, but non-Muslim adult and young male taxpaying individuals. However, discontinuous character of such detailed registrations in the following decades should be noted. In the 18th Century, there was no such series of registers like cizye defters or any other tax-register.

As a result of the developments of the late 16th and 17th centuries, the map of taxation had transformed by means of regularization of extraordinary taxes, imposition of new taxes and widespread usage of tax-farming. Accordingly, registration mechanisms and objects of registration changed, while the terminology and systematic of the registration remained classical. This point leads us into the conclusion that the changing map of taxation was about the changing map of authority and land regime. The ultimate conclusion of this process was the changing regime of power in the 17th century Ottoman Empire, in which subjects were problematized differently than the classical period. In the following century, there was no such series of registers compiled after certain surveys. The reason of this lack, the tax collection was conducted by mainly provincial ayans with parallel to the establishment of provincial powers in the 18th Century.
4.6 The Changing Regime in the 17th Century: Towards the Age of Ayans

The developments throughout the 17th Century paved a way for the establishment of authority of provincial governors, generally called ayans. The rise of this class was directly related with the developments mentioned in the beginning of the chapter for the 17th century crisis. According to İnalcık, the struggle between the central government and provincial governors is one of the most important issues of that time period. The widespread implementation of tax-farming (iltizam) and its late transformation into life-long tax-farming system (malikane) gave the financial ground for such form of local authority. In addition to these, the military establishment of the Ottoman state was gradually transformed during the 17th century. The replacement of timariots by soldiers equipped with firearms in the form of sekban-sarica troops recruited by local governors, and expansion of janissary corps accompanied the fiscal transformation of the Ottoman state. For the financial needs of local governors to cover the expenses for these sekban-sarica troops, pashas were allowed to raise their own levies, which was called imdadiyes, and these troops had become the kapu-halkı of the provincial governors.

From 1690s onward, mukataas were mostly given to ayans. Local families started to struggle for these offices of tax-collection and administration. In the 18th century, the occupation of these offices by local ayans became hereditary for certain families in the provinces. Their de facto rule became de jure rule and authority, when they were appointed to the offices by the sultan. At the first half of the 18th century, ayans had functionary roles given by the state. However, ayans dominated the local administration and military organization of the Empire in the second half of the 18th century.

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369 Ibid, p.56
370 Ibid, p.32
371 İnalcık, H. “Centralization and Decentralization in the Ottoman Administration”, p.32
372 Ibid, p.32
373 Özkaya, Y. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Ayanlık, p.17
In short, ayans had fiscal and military means to enforce their own will over the central government and to establish their own authority in the provinces. Tax collection was exercised by the medium of ayans in the 18th century. In this new organization of tax collection, the councils of the ayan and eşraf and registers of apportioning (tevzi defters) had a crucial role. These registers were used to distribute levies like avarız, imdadiye, mali maktu, vilayet harci, among towns and villages as units to be levied together with the consideration of demographic and economic conditions of those units. According to the registers, the distribution was made “with the full consent of the ayan and eşraf.” After the preparation of a tevzi defter, units of taxation were determined, kadıs approved the register, then the defter was given to the mübaşır to collect the taxes with reference to the register. People were levied with higher rates than the amount of taxes because they were charged with additional dues to cover the expenses for the local officials, like naibs, kethüdas, katibs and so on.

The implementation of the tevzi defters for the distribution of tax assessment and tax collection based on the ayan mediated tax collection could be the explanation of the lack of surveys for taxation conducted by the central government in order to raise revenues in the 18th century.

374 İnalek, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700”, p.335
375 Ibid, p.336
376 Ibid, pp.335, 336
CHAPTER V

TEMETTUAT AND NÜFUS DEFTERS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

5.1 Introduction

In the 18th Century, the Ottoman polity had significantly reorganized. The ayans had established their authority in the provinces. In the last decades of the 18th century, on the other hand, the central government initiated certain reform programs, especially for the army because of the series of defeats and the loss of territories. Already established character of the army and military organization of the state were considered as the problem, at the first hand. Reestablishment of authority of the central government was also another dimension of the reforms. The New Order (Nizam-I Cedid) was the outcome of this quest of the reorganization of the Empire during the reign of Selim III. However, these reform attempts, especially focusing on the organization and composition of the army, were faced with serious oppositions and ended with dethronement of Selim.

Reforms could not be implemented fully until the abolishment of Janissary corps and the end of ongoing war with Russia in the second half of 1820s. 1830 was the year the first population censuses in the history of the Ottoman Empire were conducted, although the major aim of these surveys was the reestablishment of a new army. During these years, the scope of reforms was extended significantly than the New Order of Selim, in addition to the military reforms, including the taxation, education system, bureaucracy and so on. In short, the scope of reforms covered the political, administrative, military and fiscal organization of the state. Accordingly, the relationship between the state and subjects was important dimension of these
changes. In 1839, this transformation came to new phase with the Edict of Gülhane. According to the Edict, the state’s attitude towards the governed subjects was rearranged. Furthermore, new tax base was defined in the Edict, namely income and economic capacities of the taxpaying subjects. With parallel to these developments, new surveys, tahrirs in Ottoman bureaucratic terminology, were initiated to identify the newly assumed sources of revenue.

Subjects were problematized in these two periods, 1830s and 40s, in terms of the actual number of living (male) individuals, their ages, capacities to perform military service, their tax liabilities for non-Muslims, their holdings, property, income and economic capacities. In this regard, the historical definition of the subjects, predicates – what was problematized – changed as it can seen through these surveys and censuses. In other words, the content of the state’s concerns about the subjects was changed. This would be the new political framework for the both parties, the governed and the governing. These developments, in terms of the registration of subjects, were culminated and reach another level in the second half of the 19th century, from 1860s to 1880s, in the form of genuine modern population censuses. Here, it will be argued that, the population, as the governed body, has been emerged in the 19th century Ottoman Empire in this time period, beginning with 1830s.

5.2 The New Order and the Auspicious Event

The early 19th Century could be characterized as the time of reforms for the Ottoman Empire. Reforms initiated during the reign of Selim III were not successful as such because of the resistance of some social and political forces. However, the reform attempts were not ceased after the events of the 1790s and first decade of the 19th century. After the dissolution of janissary corps in 1826, reforms were implemented on military, fiscal and administrative fields in an effective manner.

In terms of the historical background, the political map of the Empire at the end of the 18th Century had been constituted by the conflicts and struggles among many social and political forces; major figures of the scene were the central government, the provincial governors, namely ayans, and janissaries. Throughout the 18th Century, ayans had established their authority and time to time enforced their will to
the central government. There were two main factors of such development. Taxation and military recruitment as very crucial pillars of the Ottoman political and administrative system had been gradually monopolized by local *ayans*. These developments started around the mid-17th century after the long 17th century crisis. The developments in this century, as discussed before, paved the way for such change in the map of authority. At the beginning *iltizam* and late *malikane* system were the sources of the fiscal capacity of *ayans*. Replacement of *timar* fiefs by tax-farming units, growing needs of soldiers using fire-arms and *sekbanization* of the provincial armies of the state under the control of the local governors were some important elements of the military and fiscal transformation of the Ottoman Empire during the 17th century. Thus, *ayans* had emerged as the major political agents besides the central government at the end of the 18th Century. The number of janissary corps also gradually increased from the early 17th century and they already had already integrated into the urban social and economic life with a significant number of members of their organization. At the end of the 18th century, big cities were taking migration in serious amounts; they were also integrated into the opposition of the urban poor specifically in the capital. In addition to these, military failures in ongoing wars on Austrian and especially on Russian front urged the perceptions among the ruling circles to make reforms, especially military reforms in the second half of the 18th century. Within this historical context, the New Order (*Nizam-I Cedid*) introduced and implemented as the reform program in the reign of Selim III 377.

During the reign of Selim III (1789-1807), the New Order (*Nizam-I Cedid*) was understood as a reform program of renewing the old military, administrative, fiscal, educational and social structures of the empire378. According to Yaycıoğlu, the New Order intended to institute a disciplined and well trained new army, new political,


administrative, fiscal and social order\textsuperscript{379}. The initiators of this reform program were members of a coalition including certain circles in the central government and some provincial notables financially connected, though their power was limited due to the disagreements among the ruling elites and political oppositions\textsuperscript{380}. The opposition was mostly coming from members of \textit{ulema}\textsuperscript{381}, janissaries, migrants in İstanbul due to the economic conditions and some \textit{ayans} in the provinces\textsuperscript{382}.

Selim’s reform program was primarily focused on the military. For already existing parts of the military, the main principle was about establishing a division between administrative and military functions of all branches of the army. Maximum efficiency of each and every divisions of the army was aimed. For this purpose, new organizations were constituted for each corp. Examination was also applied for all officers and soldiers in order to select the able ones for the positions, others would be replaced, although promotions usually were performed according to seniority. Barracks were reestablished and modernized. Regular drills were compulsory for all soldiers. Monthly salaries were increased and paid for those performing required duties\textsuperscript{383}. Moreover, provincial \textit{sipahis} were inspected and deficiencies tried to be eliminated. \textit{Timar} fiefs were tried to be only given to those being able to fight\textsuperscript{384}. However, these reforms were not successful as such\textsuperscript{385}. They were more successful for some other military fields, namely artillery, mortar, miner and canon-wagon. These military units were disciplined. Because of the obsolete character of the janissaries and \textit{sipahis} for the modern warfare, the central government took another measure; totally new infantry was organized accordingly, the \textit{Nizam-ı Cedid} force.

This new military organization was designed according to the characteristics of contemporary European military establishments with the help of some European experts. In order to maintain this new army financially, a new treasury was established, the \textit{Irad-ı Cedid}, the New Revenue. The sources of the revenue were

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\item Yaycıoğlu, A. \textit{Partners of the Empire: the Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions}, p.61
\item \textit{Ibid}, pp.54-61
\item Shaw, S. \textit{History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume I}, p.272-274.
\item Yaycıoğlu, A. \textit{Partners of the Empire}, p.62
\item Shaw, S. \textit{History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume I}, p.261
\item \textit{Ibid}, p.261
\item \textit{Ibid},p.262
\end{thebibliography}
those lands just opened to cultivation and seized fiefs formerly owned by absent holders.\(^{386}\) Mostly, Turkish peasants (gözü açılmamış köylüden\(^{387}\)) send by local governors were recruited, although some ayans resisted to this way of recruitment. New barracks were founded at the capital for such military establishment. New military engineering schools were opened. Parallel regulations were issued and applied for the navy. For the administrative organization of the state, nepotism and bribery were tried to be ended, while the offices would be given according to merit.\(^{388}\)

Selim’s reform program gave priority to military reforms; the scope for economic and social reforms was limited. The problem of migration from rural to the urban space was considered in terms of the public order of the cities, migrants were conceived as contributors of the dissent and preventive means were resorted in accordance with the new order,\(^{389}\) like inspection of coffeehouses and bachelor rooms.\(^{390}\) Furthermore, the new order brought its own ethos which was about disciplining (terbiye) the society in all level according to the interest of the central government and its reform plans. This new discourse was an alternative to the “old” one, maslaha, giving emphasis on lessening conflicts, preserving the social order by means of consultation and negotiation.\(^{391}\) Regulation of provision of food supplies for the cities were another field of regulation to deal with the problem of overpopulation of the cities. Raising taxes, debasement of the coinage and confiscations were also used to deal with the economic difficulties of the time.\(^{392}\)

Resistance against the New Order came from some circles within the central government, ulema, janissaries, provincial notables, ayans, and provincial communities.\(^{393}\) The worsened economic conditions in the capital also contributed

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\(^{386}\) Ibid, p.261
\(^{387}\) Yaycıoğlu, A. Partners of the Empire, p. 41
\(^{388}\) Shaw, S. History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume I, pp.262, 263, 264
\(^{389}\) Başaran, B. Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the end of the Eighteenth Century, p.78
\(^{390}\) Shaw, S. History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume I,p.265
\(^{391}\) Yaycıoğlu, A. Partners of the Empire, p. 46
\(^{392}\) Shaw, S. History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume I,p.265
\(^{393}\) Yaycıoğlu, A. Partners of the Empire, p. 62; Shaw, S. History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume I,p.273
the feud between the central government, particularly the reform party, and urban poor. Ordinary people were complaining about their hardship caused by the New Order. Selim’s new army also threatened the already existing organization and hierarchy of janissaries together with their connections with high degree officials and urban dwellers. Within the context of the limited support of the Selim’s reforms among the central and provincial ruling circles, because of the lack of agreement for the extent of the reform program\textsuperscript{394}, these political, economic and social forces prepared the final strike against Selim’s reign. He was enforced to abolish the New Order and deposed in 1807 by a popular uprising led by janissary auxiliaries\textsuperscript{395}. Mustafa IV was enthroned instead of Selim III.

After these incidents, Alemdar Mustafa Paşa, ayan of Ruse, supported by the reform party, launched an attack against the established order after Selim III. He came to the capital with his provincial army and deposed Mustafa IV. During his actions in the capital, Mustafa ordered assassinations of two remaining male members of the royal dynasty, Selim and Mahmud. Selim was killed and Mahmud escaped from the assassination attempt. Instead of Mustafa, Mahmud was enthroned by Alemdar\textsuperscript{396}. After this incident, Alemdar became the grand vizier with exceptional power and authority. He initiated a shortlived regime sealed with the Deed of Alliance, \textit{Sened-i İttifak}, which formalized the partnership of the imperial center and ayans\textsuperscript{397}. He was killed and his restoration was destroyed by a janissary led rebellion three months after his entrance to the capital. After the incident, Mahmud II declared the abolition of the Dead of Alliance.

From 1807 to 1826, janissaries were failed to establish a social and political coalition against the political agenda of the reform program represented by the central government. Janissaries were gradually left alone in this time period, guilds, merchants, ulema, provincial ayans and governors, provincial communities and people living in the capital deviated from the janissary cause for struggle against the

\textsuperscript{394} Yaycıoğlu, A. \textit{Partners of the Empire}, pp.61, 62


\textsuperscript{396} Yaycıoğlu, A. \textit{Partners of the Empire}, p.186

\textsuperscript{397} \textit{Ibid}, p.194

107
central government. Furthermore, Mahmud interfered frequently the internal organization of janissaries by changing and eliminating the opponent officers. The central government also weakened the popular support of janissaries by closing bachelor lodges and establishing a police network and so on. For the part of local notables, the central government used a strategy to eliminate, repress, pacify or integrate provincial ayan dynasties in the provinces after 1807. High degree members of ulema were also integrated into the reform party. Finally, janissaries were standing alone against the imperial center; corps was abolished in 1826. After the destruction of janissary corps, a survey/census plan was launched for the aim of building a new army. The initiated census was directly related with the reform program of the central government to organize a new army and bureaucracy.

5.3 Nüfus Defters

According to Karal, the survey conducted 1830/31 is the first population census in the history of the Ottoman Empire. After the Auspicious Incident, first attempt of a population census was during the war with Russia in 1828-29, this attempt was also failed. As cited by Karal, Lutfi underlines the events.

By referencing layihas of the time period, Karal underlines that state expenditures increased because of the wars, the basis of the tax assessment of all rich and poor

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398 Yaycıoğlu, A. Partners of the Empire, p.241
400 Yaycıoğlu, A. Partners of the Empire, p.242; Sunar, M.M., Cauldron of Dissent: A Study of the Janissary Corps, 1807-1826, p.176
402 Yaycıoğlu, A. Partners of the Empire, p.241
404 Karal, Enver Ziya. 1943. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831, p.8
405 Ibid, p.8
Muslim and non-Musli was subverted, all traditionally tax exempted groups, whose services were no longer required by the state, were still enjoying their tax exempted status. These problems could not be solved due to the conditions of war but the war was ended, all subjects of the state would show their tax responsibilities. Therefore a survey was required for this aim, according to layihas of the time period used by Karal. However, it was not mentioned in layihas and tarihi-I Lütfi that this survey was for the purpose of military recruitment, though this objective was embodied in the registers, according to Karal.

The census was not completed because of the conditions of war with Russia. After the end of the war, new survey was initiated (1830/31). It was the first survey which was not based on the registration of land. After the abolition of janissary corps, organization of a new army and determination new revenue source were intended by the new reform program. For this purpose, the number of people being eligible for the military service was required to be known. In Mahmud’s terms, the census was described as “memaliki mahrüsatül mesaliki mülkanerinde meskun ve mütevattin ve mevcut olan ehli islam ve Reayann dahi taraf bertaraf tahrirleriyle defatirinin takdimi ...”. Although the conduct of such a survey was the first attempt and the official staff was unpracticed, the survey covered an extensive regional zone.

Furthermore, the surveyors kept records for the Christians more accurately than the registration of Muslims because of the importance of the head tax, though the central government’s intention to know the potential sources for military recruitment. A new council was organized for transactions and regulations of the survey and instructions were prepared by this council for the procedures of the survey.

406 Ibid, p.11
407 Ibid, pp. 11, 12.
408 Ibid, p.10
409 As cited by Karal, p.12
411 Ibid, p.21
412 Karal, Enver Ziya. 1943. Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831, p.12
The survey covers cities, towns and villages in Balkans and Anatolia. Muslim and non-Muslim males were registered only. In other words, the object of registration was actually all males living in these regions, Muslim or non-Muslim. Members of *ulema* were mostly appointed as the surveyors in order to not cause uneasiness among people. The reason of this could be also related with the reorganization of bureaucracy. Before their arrival to the regions, the surveyors were informed about the registration procedures at the capital. They informed in the way that the content of the registration was “secret”. Moreover, they were not given a written, strict instruction for the registration and they were set free for the details, the general framework of the registration was dictated to them only. In order to collect, organize and summarize the results of the compiled registers after the surveys, new state department was established, *Ceride Nezareti*. It was established in 1829 and worked until 1853, when the organizational framework of the Ottoman institutions was replaced by European models. The census clerks in each *kaza* would register every single birth, death, migration and they would prepare reports to be sent the central department in the capital.

During the surveys, people were divided into two categories, Muslim and non-Muslim and they were registered accordingly. For the registration of Muslim males, they were registered into two categories, namely *matluba muvafık*, meaning that having characteristics required, and *gayri-muvafık*, not having characteristics required by the state. This characteristic was being eligible for the military service (*askerliğe elverecekler*). For some cases, people were noted as old(*ihtiyar*), little child(*sabi*), crippled(*sakat*) etc. For some places, ages were considered in three categories,
between 1-16, 16-40 and above 40, and for some other places, mustache, beard were taken as indicators of being adult and eligible for the service.\footnote{Karal, Enver Ziya. 1943. \textit{Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831}, p.18}

For the registration of non-Muslims, at the first hand, non-Muslim subjects of the empire were named and registered as \textit{reaya}, in the registers for mostly Christians, \textit{kiptis} (gypsies) and Jewish subjects were registered separately.\footnote{Karal, Enver Ziya. 1943. \textit{Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831}, p.19; Karpat, Kemal H. \textit{Ottoman Population 1830-1914}, p.20} When the religious community was large enough, they were registered according to their \textit{millets}.\footnote{Karal, Enver Ziya. 1943. \textit{Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831}, p.19} For instance, Bulgarians were recorded as \textit{taife-i Bulgar} in the Filibe defter.\footnote{Karpat, Kemal H. \textit{Ottoman Population 1830-1914}, p.21} Regardless of the ethnicity, non-Muslim subjects were classified and registered by two categories, \textit{cizyeye müstehak}, being eligible for \textit{cizye} and not being eligible to \textit{cizye}. For those would be levied by \textit{cizye}, there were also three categories, by following the tradition of this non-Muslim head-tax, \textit{edna} (low), \textit{evsat} (middle), \textit{ala} (high),\footnote{Karal, Enver Ziya. 1943. \textit{Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831}, p.19} which were representing the economic status of the subjects.

In addition to Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the state, semi-nomadic people were always the third main group for the registrations. In the case of the survey conducted in 1830/31, they were registered after \textit{reaya}, non-Muslim subjects. They were also sometimes mixed with tribes (\textit{aşirets}) mistakenly. Tribes were registered separately time to time.\footnote{Ibid, pp.20, 21}

The census published by Karal, \textit{Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831}, actually is \textit{icmal} (summary) form, named in \textit{hülasa} in the register itself.\footnote{Ibid, p.28} The text is organized according to description above with the summary of detailed (\textit{mufassal}) registers, by only including the total sums for each and every category of registration.
5.3.1 Detailed Defters of the Censuses in 1830s

The detailed registers for Muslims and non-Muslims were kept separately. In addition to the surveys in 1830/31, other surveys were conducted in 1835/36. Examples of two time period will be evaluated in the pages.

5.3.1.1 Registration of Muslims in 1830s

Hereby, a detailed form of the survey kept for town-center of Ankara, published by Çadırcı, in 1830 will be evaluated in terms of textual organization.

The register is starting with the description of the defter. The surveyor underlined that according to the issued ferman, settled males of people of İslam (zükur-i ehl-i İslam) were inspected and recorded individually one by one in accordance with the law(şer’) and the consent of the community. They were registered with their names, ages, physical appearances. None left from the registration. Moreover, those migrated and settled in Ankara from surrounding areas with their families in recent times were noted and reported to the mütesellim.

The register does not have the exact same template with the classical tahrirs, cizye and avarız registers but it is organized in a similar fashion. It starts with Nefs-i Kazayı Ankara and it registers each and every single household (daire-i…) of the residents. Each and every single resident are registered with their physical appearance. The description follows with height, type and color of beard, name, occupation and age.

Another defter, kept in 1835/36 for Muslims and it is the register of Ankara town-center like the one published by Çadırcı, is starting with an index of districts in the kaza. The index also includes information of the exact number of hanes and people (nüfus) in the kaza.

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428 Ibid., p. 129

429 Ibid., p.127-132

430 BOA, NFS, nr.01741
Fihrist-i Defter-i Cedid

Mahalle-i Hacı Bayram Veli 1 Hane: 102 Nüfus: 217

Mahalle-i Falanca 9 Hane: 35 Nüfus: 70

At the end of the index the total number of districts, households, and population was written.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yekun Mahallat</th>
<th>Yekun Hane</th>
<th>Yekun Nüfus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>2922</td>
<td>6352</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the beginning, the register is described as the defter of settled people of Islam and name of the surveyor was written.

For each line members of a household are listed and recorded together with their physical appearance, theirs and fathers’ name, their ages and occupations. Each and every single households and individual males are enumerated and numbered. Tenants were noted. Those left the districts and settled somewhere else, those died were also documented.

5.3.1.2 Registration on Non-Muslims in 1830s

The defters of non-Muslims were named as reaya defters at the first hand. They share also similar template with the registers of Muslims. The main difference is that the cizye statuses are written in reaya defters. Registers generally are starting with an index of mahalles.

One register\textsuperscript{431} is dated as 1246(1830/31) and it is reaya (non-Muslim) defter of Ankara kaza of Ankara Sancak of Ankara vilayeti.

People, the non-Muslim subjects, were registered, listed within mahalle (district) units in the form that

\textit{Ala/Evsat/Edna}

\textsuperscript{431} BOA, NFS, nr.01745
Son of (name), (name)
Sinn(age)

For some individuals, the physical appearance was described, in addition to the information of their economic status, father names and age, in the way that

Uzun boylu kar biyıklı/ orta boylu siyah biyıklı...

Sons, brothers and nephews were registered after fathers, brothers and uncles, their records were starting with Son of...(oğlu...) or brother of...(karındaş...), nephew of ...(yeğeni). New born males were also recorded as born (tevellüd idenoğlu...) with red script after the original survey.

Tenants were specifically registered as tenants of somebody, filancanın kiracısı⁴³². This additional information of tenants probably was indicating the concern of the state for potential horizontal mobility of non-Muslims.

Some people, those were not fond in their own places, were noted to indicate their absence in red script, during the inspection probably after the original survey. For some cases, individuals were recorded with the phrases that “taşrada ticaretde”, “tahrirde taşrada”⁴³³ and so on.

Moreover, another indicator of an inspection after the original survey is that registers of some people were crossed over and noted as transfer to somewhere else (filanca mahallesine nakil⁴³⁴).

Other register⁴³⁵ dated 1835/36 is described in the beginning of the record as the defter of Greek (Rum) and Jewish millets in Ankara. This register also starts with an index organized to show the total number of the population (nüfus) and households (hane) for each and every district (mahalle). As it can be seen in the index, tenants

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⁴³² BOA, NFS, nr.01745_0003
⁴³³ BOA, NFS, nr.01745_0002
⁴³⁴ BOA, NFS, nr.01745_0036
⁴³⁵ BOA, NFS, nr.01748
(kiraciyan) are registered separately for each district. At the end of the index, the total sum of households and population is given.\footnote{436\ BOA, NFS, nr.01748_0002}

Firstly, the non-Muslim male population is categorized according to their \textit{millet}. The register itself is including information about Rum and Jewish people. People are recorded in with their names, father’s names and their age. They are also numbered. Each and every single household and individual male are given numbers one by one. At the end of the register, the total number of households and population (of males) are given. By following the traditional three categories of the cizye levy, taxpayer are divided into three categories, \textit{edna\(\text{(low)}\)}, \textit{evsat\(\text{(middle)}\)}, \textit{ala\(\text{(high)}\)}, which is referring to their economic statuses. Furthermore, tenants for each district are recorded separately from those owning their own houses.

There is also another \textit{defter} for other \textit{millet}s, namely Catholics and Armenians.\footnote{437\ BOA, NFS, nr.01749} In one register, Catholic subjects were registered. The register is starting with an index showing the total number of households and population (\textit{nüfus}) of each and every district. At the first place, the clergy of Catholics is written with its population. At the end of the index, the total numbers of households and population are given.

Firstly, members of Catholic clergy are listed with their names, father’s names, their economic statuses (\textit{edna evsat ala}) and their ages.

The register is organized according to the districts, like former \textit{defters}. In each district, non-Mulsim males are recorded with their father’s names, their names, ages and economic statuses. They are also enumerated one by one. For each district, tenants are written separately, like in the former register.

In another \textit{defter}, Armenian subjects were registered in the same way.\footnote{438\ BOA, NFS, nr.01750} Within the index of the register, the number of members of Armenian clergy, the number of households in each districts and number of males are given. At the end of it, their total number is written.

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnotemark[436]\ BOA, NFS, nr.01748_0002
  \item \footnotemark[437]\ BOA, NFS, nr.01749
  \item \footnotemark[438]\ BOA, NFS, nr.01750
\end{itemize}
Members of Armenian clergy are recorded with their names, father’s names and their ages. They are also enumerated one by one. For districts, people are listed with their names, their father’s names, ages, and their economic statuses indicated with letters, n, t, ayn, referring to the categories of edna, evsat and ala. Each and all of them and districts are enumerated one by one. Tenants are recorded separately for each district.

5.4 Regulations before the Edict of Gülhane

These censuses were conducted on empire scale, except Arabia and Egypt between the time period of 1831-1838. As it can be seen through the registers themselves, only male individuals were counted for the purposes of military recruitment, on the part of Muslims, and taxation for all subjects with a particular emphasis on non-Muslim head tax, cizye. In order to collect and organize the results of these censuses, a new ministry was established with the name of Ceride Nezareti. For the lower level administrative scales, in eyelets and sancaks, new administrative branches (defter nazırlığı) were also established in 1831. Salaried officials were appointed for the administrative affairs about the population of the regions. Their primary task was to register migrated and settled people, newborns and to delete death from the records. In addition to these, the horizontally mobile population had problematized by the state for the sake of the state finance, public order and control. In addition to the empire wide censuses of 1830s, other measures were held. To prevent the internal migration to big cities especially, a travel permit (mürür tezkeresi) was introduced and used. Those travelling without a permit would be punished according to the regulation. According to Shaw, “This was the first step toward a system developed later in the century by which the entire population was registered and given identity cards as part of an all-encompassing census procedure”.

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441 Çağdacı, Musa. Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı, p. 46; Shaw, S. History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II, p.40

442 Shaw, S. History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II, pp.40, 41
The fiscal reforms and regulations were essential for the reorganization of the state after the abolishment of the janissary corps. Taxation was one of the most important dimensions of this fiscal reorganization of the state, and they were already started before the Edict of Gülhane, Tanzimat Fermanı. Reorganization of tax assessment and tax collection monopolized in the hands of provincial ayans and governors in its traditional forms had become an objective. In this regard, already established framework of tax assessment and tax collection inherited from the early 1800s would be replaced by the new system of taxation based on property, land, trade and income of people. In other words, the financial capacity of the subjects would be the new base of taxation. This regulation was also underlined by the Tanzimat Edict.

5.5 The Subjects in the Edict of Gülhane

According to the Edict of Gülhane, the Ottoman State was strong and people were living well once because the state was depending on Şeriat. Due to the violation of şeria and kanuns, for 150 years, the former strength and welfare was turned to weakness and poorness. The only aim of the reformers is to develop the country and to establish welfare of people, according to the Edict. When the state’s geographical position, its fertile lands and capability of its people are considered, it is underlined that plans could be realized in five or ten years with the help of God. In this regard, legislation of some laws were required for the government of the state and the country and the basis of these laws are security of life, honor and property; determination of taxes and military recruitment. The most sacred things in the world are life and honor. Accordingly, the security of life and honor ensures that people do not deviate from the truth, they would deal with their own dealings and they would become useful for their state and millet. It is also similar with for the case of the security of the property, when the security is established; their integrity and love for their state and people would increase. Taxes should be also adjusted and determined definitively. In order to protect the country, certain military

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establishment is required and some expenses must be met, and this would be made by means of taxation. Moreover, tax-farming (iltizam) is criticized by the Edict in the way that political and fiscal matters of the state were given to certain individuals and these matters were depending on some personals and their own decisions and interests. If the tax-farmer does not have good personality, the oppression would emerge. Because of these reasons, all subjects of the state would be levied with certain amount of tax according to their property and economic capacity from now on. Military expenditures of the state would be determined and met by these revenues to be collected.

In addition to these, it is underlined in the Edict that joining the army is the duty of people to protect the country. However, the military recruitment had not been performed with proportion to the population of the country (memleketin aded-i nifüs mevcudesi) until this point. This caused the disorder and a great harm on the agriculture and trade. On the other hand, lifelong military occupation drives these people to desperation and prevents having their families. For these reasons, military recruitment would be made when it is required together with a better method, a new method for four or five years military service.

In short, these administrative regulations and laws are necessary for development, welfare and peace of the country. The state guaranteed the security of life, honor and property for all Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the Empire. Moreover, the Edict recognized the equality of subjects, all Muslim and non-Muslim, before the law, and the law is not depending on the will of the sultan or sharia.

There is a certain formulation of the Ottoman subjects embodied in the Edict. First of all, the subjects are considered to be equal before the law, Muslim and non-Muslim, as underlined by inalcık. Secondly, the life, the honor and the property of the subjects

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are identified as the most sacred things and these must be protected by the state. Thirdly, usefulness and integrity of the subjects are also underlined as the positive consequences of the state protection. The fifth point is related with the military service, which is considered as the duty for the subjects. Finally, the military recruitment must be in a proportion with the population of the country (memleketin added-i nüfus mevcudesi). These six characteristics are predicates of the subjects formulated in the Edict. In other words, the statements of the Edict constitute specific discourse-object regarding the question of the subjects.

5.6 Temettuat Defters

In the Edict of Gülhane, the financial capacity of the subjects is pointed as the new basis of the taxation. Tax-farming (iltizam) was also decided to be removed. In order to carry out the financial administrative affairs on provinces, a new organization was established, muhassıllık. The basic task of muhassıllıks was to conduct new surveys to determine the population and its financial capacities for the newly introduced taxes. For the surveys, scribes were also appointed to work with muhassıls. New councils (muhassıllık meclisleri) were also established to help tasks of muhassıls. Members of these councils were kadı, military commander of the region, local notables, representatives of religions and ethnic communities (metropolit and kocabayar), and scribes. The government issued instructions and regulations, talimatnames and nizamnames, for the tasks of muhassıls, surveyors and the survey procedures.

The surveyors would write down holdings of the tax-paying population, including property, land, animal and approximately annual income of those being engage in trade and for artisans. Scribes would be accompanying the muhassıls for the survey. All holdings would be registered as it was ordered and any violating,

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452 Ibid, p.76.
454 BOA, A_/DVNSNZAM, nr. 00039; Güran, Tevfik. “19. Yüzyıl Temettüat Tahrirleri”, p.76
455 BOA, A_/DVNSNZAM, nr. 00039_00003
disobeying act would be punished accordingly⁴⁵⁶. Each and every tax-paying subject would be levied with respect to his or her economic situation⁴⁵⁷. The survey procedure was initiated by muhassils in 1840.

However, the intended aim of the surveys could not be realized. The basic aim of the introduction of muhassilliks was financial and administrative re-centralization. Those opposing such centralizing policies of the central government, like local governors, former tax-farmers etc., acted against this regulations, especially within the councils⁴⁵⁸ and because of other difficulties, such as inexperience of the officials, inadequate transportation, opposition of those not willing to be registered and paying tax, the outcome was failure⁴⁵⁹. Especially for the registration of non-Muslim subjects, there were many complaints about the registration of more than the actual holdings by the surveyors⁴⁶⁰. The tax collection through muhassils was also failed⁴⁶¹. Corruption was the case in various forms, like cooperation with former tax-farmers, local governors etc. The resistance of former tax-farmers (mültezims) and former ayans also contributed the fiscal failure. Finally, the office of muhassili was dissolved in 1842⁴⁶². After that discussions in meclisi-i vala concluded that the local problems should be known and the central government consulted representatives of local communities. Tax burden and unjust distribution of it were underlined as main problems. The proposed and initiated solution was new surveys in order to know the economic conditions of the taxpayers to determine the tax burden according to the economic situations of the subjects⁴⁶³.

The product of these developments was a new type of defter. In 1845, the surveys were launched. Orders were sent to the provinces. After these surveys, a new type of

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⁴⁵⁶ BOA, A._(DVNSNZAM, nr. 00039_00004
⁴⁵⁷ Güran, Tevfik. “19. Yüzyıl Temettuat Tahrirleri”, p.76
⁴⁵⁸ Özkea, Y. and Akyıldız, A. “Muhassil”, p.19
⁴⁶⁰ Çağarcı, Musa. Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı, pp. 209, 210
⁴⁶¹ Ibid, p.210
⁴⁶² Güran, Tevfik. “19. Yüzyıl Temettuat Tahrirleri”, p.76
⁴⁶³ Ibid, p.76
register had emerged, namely *temettuat defters*. These registers are mostly prepared for a single administrative unit, a district or a village\textsuperscript{464}.

### 5.6.1 Two Temettuat Defters of 1840s

The *temettuat* surveys were conducted by *muhtar*s and *imams* for the Muslims and by *kocabaşı*s and priests under the supervisions of local administrative officials. As underlined before, the main objective of these surveys was to write down the actual economic conditions of taxpaying subjects\textsuperscript{465}.

In general, different than the former surveys and *defters* of 1830s, the main unit of registration was the household (*hane*), not living individual males. For each household, name of the householder, his title, if he had, occupation was written in terms of the identity. Moreover, annually paid amount of the *virgüy-i mahsusa*\textsuperscript{466}, papers of *cizye* levies for non-Muslims, the amount traditional tithe(*öşür*) in kind and in cash were recorded for each household\textsuperscript{467}. The amount of cultivated lands, vineyards and gardens, number of animals owned by the household, cattle or other kinds, number of owned mill, shop, or other quarters were also counted. Finally, the estimated annual income originated from real estate or other sources, like rents, and estimated annual incomes of household head or other members through trade or any other occupation were underlined\textsuperscript{468}.

#### 5.6.1.1 Registration of Muslims

An example\textsuperscript{469} of Muslim *temettuat defters* is described by the surveyors in the following way, at the beginning of the document. The title reads that it is the register determining the quantity and value of real-estate, land and incomes owned by people of Islam in the village, *Kıracılık*. People/households are documented also as shown below.

\textsuperscript{464} Ibid, p.76
\textsuperscript{465} Ibid, p.77
\textsuperscript{466} It was a form of annual income tax as mentioned by Güran, Tevfik. “19. Yüzyıl Temettuat Tahrirleri”, p.77
\textsuperscript{467} Ibid, p.77
\textsuperscript{468} Ibid, p.78
\textsuperscript{469} BOA, *ML VRD TMT*, nr.07833
“Hüdavendigar Eyaleti dahilinde Bilecik Kaymakamlığı mülhakatında Eskişehir kazasına tabi Kiraçlık karyesinde mukin ahalii İslamın Emlak ve arazi ve temettuatların mikdarını mübeyyin defterdir.”

Records are organized in the following way.

470 BOA, ML.VRD.TMT, nr.07833_00002
Table 4.1: Registration of Muslims in *Temettuat Defters* (1261/1845)\textsuperscript{471}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Karye-i Kıraçlık…………………</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Hane 1**  
*Muhtar-ı Karye Ali Ağa*

Erbaşi ziraatle etdiği......  
Senei Sabıkada Virgüs 160  
Aşar olarak ita eylemek olduğu  
*Hinta kile... guruş... and other agricultural products... hasil...*

Aşar  
Guruş...

**Hasılat-ı Senevisi**  
*Mevzu Tarlar Dönüm... guruş... nadaş tarlası dönüm... guruş...*  
*Bağı ve Bostanı dönüm...guruş...[myrbr?bkması?] dönüm...guruş...*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>re’s</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kısrak</strong></td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kara şiğır öküz</strong></td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Merkep</strong></td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sağman şiğır</strong></td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Merkumum bir senede tahminen temettuatı 2245

**Hane 2, Numara 2**  
*Name*

**Senei sabıkda virgüsü...**  
*Aşar... hinta ve diğer mahsüller... hasil...*

**Hasılat-ı Senevisi**  
*Mevzu tarla dönüm... guruş... nadaş tarlası dönüm...guruş...*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>re’s</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kara şiğır öküz</strong></td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Merkep</strong></td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sağman kara şiğır</strong></td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Merkumun bir senedetahmini temettuatı ......

\textsuperscript{471} BOA, ML.VRD.TMT, nr.07833_00002
5.6.1.2 Registration of Non-Muslims

For non-Muslims, the content of the registration is slightly different than the Muslims. Firstly, the status of cizye levy is recorded for each household heads, ala, evsat or edna. The occupation is also underlined and if they have any real estate, it is written. The approximate annual income of each household is derived from the value of their holdings and occupation.

The register used here starts with the title, meaning it is the register of quantity and value of real-estate, land and incomes owned by jewish millet settled in the mentioned district in Ankara.

“Nefsi Ankarada Hodenci nam mahallden mukim yahudi milletinin emlak ve temetturatlarıyla cizyelerinin mikdarını mübeyyin defterdir”

Households were documented in the following way.

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472 BOA, ML.VRD.TMT, nr. 00144
Table 4.2: Registration of non-Muslims in Temettuat Defters (1261/1845)\textsuperscript{473}

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Hane 1 Numero 1} & \\
\textit{Haham oğlu ... emlak ve arazi ve temettuati} & \\
\hline
\textit{Ala cizye} & \\
\textit{Attar esnafından itdiği} & \\
\textit{Şenei sabıkada virgü olarak vermiş olduğu 700 mersumun sakin olduğu hanesinden maada bir göz emlakı olub fakat hıfzına yerine tahminen temettuatı...diger temettuatı...} & \\
\hline
\textbf{Hane 2 Numero 2} & \\
\textit{Falanca oğlu filanca emlak ve arazi ve temettuati...} & \\
\hline
\textit{Evsat Cizye} & \\
\textit{Atar esnafından itdiği} & \\
\textit{Şenei sabıkada virgü olarak vermiş olduğu...} & \\
\textit{Mersumun sakin olduğu hanesine maada bir göz emlak olub fakat hıfzından bir senede tahminen temettuat...} & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

5.7 Towards genuine population censuses

The administrative mechanisms of these registers, \textit{nüfus defters} of 1830s and \textit{temettuat defters} of 1840s, had functioned until 1850s\textsuperscript{474}. In 1866, a new partial census was held in Tuna (Danube) province of the empire. Social, economic, religious and ethnic fabric of the province had changed after 1840s\textsuperscript{475} because of migration to the Danube province after the revolutions of 1848 and Crimean War\textsuperscript{476}. After these changes, new census was planned in order cope with the current

\textsuperscript{473} BOA, ML.VRD.TMT, nr.00144_00002
\textsuperscript{474} Karpat, Kemal H. \textit{Ottoman Population 1830-1914}, p.20
\textsuperscript{475} Ibid, p.24
\textsuperscript{476} Shaw, S. \textit{History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey}, Volume II, p.116
situations. It took five years to complete the census in the region. Number of individuals in households with ages, their marital status, occupations, holdings and real estate were counted, though females were not recorded as such. These recordings were used to determine the taxable population, their ethic identities, incomes, value of their holdings, and expected amount of taxes. A sort of identity card, tezkere-i Osmaniyye, was also given to people according to the census 477.

In 1877/78, the central government published an imperial salname including the first list of population of the empire, which was not depending on an empire wide population census but provincial salnames, reports produced by the provincial administrations 478. These provincial surveys were initiated after the issued order of the Council of the State. The census was conducted by a committee in each kaza or district, including an official appointed by the central government, one non-Muslim community leader, a secretary and an assistant. Surveyors counted all male inhabitants of districts and villages with their ages, their physical appearances, and all of them were classified whether they were suitable for military service or not. The unit of registration was again the family household. After the preparation of a detailed register, an summary was made for each district and kaza. For Muslims, summary registers were prepared for military recruitment and for non-Muslims summary registers for each millet. Daily registers of births, deaths and changes is eligibility for the military service were also kept and summarized. The information gathered during the survey was compiled in a register and sent to the imperial center. In this publication of the center, the population was not divided into religious communities, so called millets, which was legally forbidden by the constitution of 1876. Nomads, police officials and soldiers were not also included in the list 479.

In 1881, a new census was needed for mostly reasons related with taxation and military recruitment, like surveys before. However, the central government realized the vitality of statistical information about people living in the country for this time. Instead of a single census plan, more comprehensive mechanisms would be

477 Karpat, Kemal H. Ottoman Population 1830-1914, p.24
478 Ibid, p.25
479 Ibid, pp. 25, 29, 30
established through which a permanent registration of all deaths, births and other information of the population would be held. Knowing the exact number of the population of the empire was not directly related with the military purposes but all dealings of the government for the order, law, protection of property, finance and security were associated with such census and registration system by the State Council. Examples of census making in European countries were also taken as models. In this year, a Regulation for the Population Registers (Sicil-i Nüfus Nizamnamesi) was issued. It determined the organization of the registration system and rules and regulations of the census making processes and procedures in the provinces. In 1881, Nüfus-ı Umumi İdaresi was also established within the organization of the Ministry of Interior.

The census was conducted committees in all kazas. Committee members were a member of administrative council in the kaza, a member of municipal council, a census official and a reserve army (redif) officer. The committee was also assisted with a local representative of non-Muslim communities. Males and females were recorded with their names, fathers’ names, their addresses, age, religion, occupation, electoral and civil status, with also disabilities, if they had. In order to show their tax status, non-Muslims were written on a different register. Asked information would be taken directly from the individuals during the census, though for those being not present before the surveyors, especially woman was not willing to be appeared, one person with two witnesses could give the information asked. Each and every single person was given an official registration paper (nüfus tezkeresi) which was including the registered information of a particular person. When the registration had ended, it was approved by imams, muhtars, and the community council of the localities. People were required to use this registration papers for all official transactions they could be within, like in real estate dealings, when they were being employed and so on. Without this official identity cart, they were not being able to dwell upon any official matters and they would be punished accordingly. In terms of the regularity of

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481 BOA, A./DVN.MKL, nr. 00020_00036_001_001
482 Karpat, Kemal H. Ottoman Population 1830-1914, p.32
483 Ibid, p.29
the registration, the officials were responsible to update the information on births, deaths, migrations and marriages in each district and village with the help of muhtars. Reports and summary registers would be sent to the İstanbul annually.\textsuperscript{484}

The census of 1881 was actually the first modern form of a population census in the Ottoman Empire. It was an empire wide census. The subjects of the registration were all female, male, Muslim and non-Muslim people living in the Ottoman Empire. The census had two dimensions, as already mentioned. Firstly, the main objective was to cover all regions, all living individual, female, male, infant and their vital statistical information. The subject of the Empire was understood within a conceptual and social unity, the population. In other words, for the first time, the population was problematized for the sake of knowing the population, not for any military aim or taxation. The second dimension of the census was that it also identified the individual by giving a legally binding certificate, an identity card, to each and every subject. In this regard, the census of 1881 was the first genuine population census of the Ottoman State. According to Karpat, the organizational framework of the census of 1881 had functioned until the end of the Ottoman Empire; it established the basis for further registration and paved a way for the last census of the Empire in 1905/6.\textsuperscript{485}

5.8 Conclusion: Enumerations of the Subjects in the 19\textsuperscript{th} Century

In the long 19\textsuperscript{th} Century of the Ottoman Empire, the relationship between the state and its subjects had been reestablished through many mechanisms. This transformation itself was possible with certain particular and practical mechanism, such as reorganization of the military structure, reestablishment of the authority of the central government, reorganization of the taxation system and reorganization of the legal institutions of the state. Specific mode of governance was also emerged and that was not unique to the Ottoman polity. Many historians named this transformation as modernization and westernization of the empire.\textsuperscript{486} One of the

\textsuperscript{484} Ibid, p.32

\textsuperscript{485} Ibid, p.33, 34, 35

\textsuperscript{486} Zürcher, Erik Jan, Turkey: a modern history (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004); Lewis, Bernard. The Emergence of modern Turkey (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Shaw, S. History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II.
most important dimensions of this transformation was the emergence of the modern governed subject, the population at the one hand, the individual at the other hand. The mechanisms of enumerations, nüfus, temettuat defters and late censuses, were important functionaries in this process; they related the state and the subjects in particular forms and rearranged the polity itself together with other developments in the century, just like former book-keeping methods in the Ottoman history.

Although it faced with serious resistance originating from the current constellation of social forces of the time, the reform attempts initiated during the reign of Selim III should be understood with its continuity with reforms after 1826 and early Tanzimat period. In the Ottoman polity, the two fields were the main objectives of the reform, namely military and taxation, from its beginning. In this regard, the practical side of these reforms conditioned the social and political context on which the mechanisms of the registration of the subjects were performed. The question is that how come the immense accumulation of practicalities constituted such forms of registration, how those practicalities were responded by certain, again and again, bounded mentality. Within this context, registers gained certain functionalities bounded with the conditions and practical affairs of the time. The question is that what was the result of such practicalities, bounded functionalities and what kind of discursive framework of the register had become possible. How they established a relation between the governed and the governor, how the governed bodies were established. That is a practical as well as a discursive matter which is directly embodied within the domain of relations of power. That is a truly a regime of power, through which problematizations and subjectivities are possible in particular forms rather than any other.

For the time period from 1830 to 1840, the registration was conducted through nüfus defters. These defters were also revisited continuously; birth, deaths, migration and resettlement of the people were documented on the same register. Males were the subject of this registration. The military recruitment was the main cause and taxation for the non-Muslims. In that sense, it is suffice to say that the subjects were not documented with relation to the land but they were problematized and enumerated through their presence as living individuals with their residence and the total number.
of them. One of the important attributions of registered subjects was their ages. Physical disabilities were also noted. For the first time, ages of all living men, both Muslim and non-Muslim, were systematically documented in the Ottoman history. Their occupations were also registered. For non-Muslim subjects, their economic status was also categorized in addition to their occupation for the aim of taxation. Another important point is that the term reaya was only used for the non-Muslim subject in these registers and they would be later called different millets. Muslims were separated from the scope of the notion, the reaya, the protected subjects of the state, and problematized for the military recruitment and taxation. After the Edict of Gülhane, the military service was introduced for Muslims as a civic duty, for non-Muslims it was turned into another form of tax, bedel-i askeriyye, after the Edict of 1856.

At the first hand, the Edict of Gülhane was the result of a reform program and it was also a turning point in this process of implementation of reforms. The life, honor and property were identified as most sacred things in our world and the state is responsible to protect them. The subject of the state would be more loyal and productive for their country. In the edict, the subjects of the Empire were formulated in a particular form. It was not the same subjectivity, in an abstract and concrete sense, of the imperial political and economic self-sufficiency as established and operated during the classical age of the empire and in the 17th and 18th centuries with important changes. The subjects of the Empire, in this regard, would be problematized in terms of their life, ages, productivity, residence, occupations, property and their total number.

After the Edict, temettuat registers of 1840s were embodied forms of such transformation. They were named as tahrir-i emlak ve nüfus defterleri by the state bureaucracy. Although the criticized method and organization of the taxation system in the Edict of Gülhane was not dissolved entirely, they were changed gradually as a part of the reform process during the Tanzimat period. The new tax base was defined as income, economic capacity and property of the taxpaying population. To identify the new sources of the revenue, temettuat surveys were conducted and they also operated as a form of a “population census”, although the unit of registration was the
household (*hanе*). Through these surveys, subjects were documented with respect to their holdings, property and income and the status of the *cизye* levy for the non-Muslims.

Both *nüfus* and *temettuat* registers were named as surveys of the population (*nüfus tahriri*) by the Ottoman bureaucracy. As already underlined before, these surveys were not conducted to gather information about *the population* as such for the sake of the information itself. They were practically bounded. However, that does not mean that they had important function toward the governed, on the contrary, they were the very mechanisms of such shift of strategy of the state, from survey of the country (*tahri-i memleket*) to the survey of the population (*tahrir-i nüfus*). Though the subjects of registration, documentation were only males, the notion of *nüfus* and its practical operation through these surveys were directed towards all living by problematizing their presence, whether they are alive or not, with their ages and economic activities. Moreover, the horizontal movements of those living were also paid attention by the state, not because of the established order itself but because of the identification of the living with certain place, as it can be seen in their registration. It should be also noted that they were not enforced to settle down on certain places. Some official permits were required, like *mürur tezkeresi*, for such mobility time to time but it was about surveillance, control of the movement and public order.

Later on, the census was taken in Danube province to cope with the changing social composition of the region. For this census, the experience of *nüfus* and *temettuat* surveys was useful. People were documented within a similar framework of registration including names, ages, occupations, holdings, property etc. They were also given a *tezkere*, sort of identity card as the complementary part of the more abstract and general side of the census. In 1881, a genuine population census was taken. Both females and males were documented for all ages with the information, names, ages, marital status, holdings, property etc. and they were given an official paper indicating all the registered information. This varying information could be summarized with one term, the civic information. The census of 1881 was the culmination of the census making processes since 1830s.
Therefore, the population emerged as the governed body in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century Ottoman Empire. The problematization itself constituted such body to be governed. Individual subjects were, first of all, considered within a unitary, homogenous whole, as living human beings. They were distributed equally, as a living person, within that unity of the notion of the population (\textit{nüfus}). In that sense, people were subjected to military recruitment or taxation. The very registration and documentation practically realized the abstract unity of the population.

There were two main consequences of this new arrangement of the relationship between the state and its subjects. One is that the population has emerged as a reality. The government approached the population as an object of policies\textsuperscript{487}, and as important dimension of domestic and foreign politics\textsuperscript{488}. In Tanzimat era, aimed developments in agriculture, industry and trade were directly associated with policies about the population\textsuperscript{489}. The population of the empire was understood as a source of wealth and prosperity\textsuperscript{490}. New policies were initiated to protect and to increase the population\textsuperscript{491}. Moreover, the population had become a crucial element in domestic and foreign politics in the world of nations and nation-state politics\textsuperscript{492}. The second consequence of the new problematization of the subjects was that the population had emerged as an object of knowledge. The very procedures of the production of the knowledge of the population were those censuses. Intellectuals of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, like Namık Kemal, were participated debates related with the issue of the population of the empire\textsuperscript{493}. Throughout these processes in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the population had been realized with actual social, political and economic effects.

In addition to the actualization of the population on a larger scale, subjects were redefined and relocated on an individual scale within the newly established grid of

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\textsuperscript{488} Karpat, Kemal H. \textit{Ottoman Population 1830-1914}, pp.28, 29
\textsuperscript{489} Dursun, Selçuk. Population Policies of the Ottoman State in the Tanzimat Era, 1840-1870
\textsuperscript{490} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{491} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{492} Karpat, Kemal H. \textit{Ottoman Population 1830-1914}, pp.28, 29, 30
\textsuperscript{493} Fındıkoğlu, Ziyaeddin Fahri. “Namık Kemal ve Nüfus Meselesi”, \textit{İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası}, Cilt 2 Sayı 1, 105-121, 1940-1941
the Ottoman polity. They were no longer the subjects being responsible to pay their taxes in return of the protection. On the other hand, they were given civic duties, like military service, and they were expected to follow a new ethos in their daily lives by being responsible, productive, well-behaving and decent “citizens”. As it can be seen through nüfus and temettuat defters, they were documented on the basis of life and property with direct correspondence to the Edict of Gülhane.

To sum up, the subjects of the 19th century Ottoman Empire were problematized in terms of their lives, ages, property and holdings, incomes, religions and later on on their ethnic identities in the form of the notion of millet. This problematization was on the level of the population and individual. The conclusion of such transformation is that the population has emerged as the new governed body with particular attitudes towards on it. The notion of nüfus was embraced by the language of the Ottoman polity. This language establishes the rules of formation in the polity. From now on, the polity would operate through certain axes, the population and the individual. Particularly, the increase and decrease of the population was considered as a vital process for the welfare of the country, population was also a very important matter of domestic and foreign politics, intellectuals took the population as an object of knowledge, ages of individuals were noticed, the health of people were paid attention, sanitary mechanisms were implemented, productivity and integrity of individuals were taken into account in a specific form, ownership of property, specifically land494, was considered as a right, individuals were expected to fulfill their civic duties and so on. This was a distinctive regime of power different than the former regime of the Ottoman Empire.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION: PROBLEMATIZATION OF SUBJECTS

The Ottoman subjects were enumerated by certain mechanisms in the history of the empire. In the classical age, *tahrir defters* were the main mechanisms of the registration of the subjects. These registers had certain administrative and fiscal functions operating as complementary part of other institutions, *timar* and *çift-hane* system. However, they were ceased to be conducted on imperial scale at the end of the 16th century. In the 17th century, different registers took the place. The Ottoman 17th century was the times of crisis and change. The military, fiscal and administrative organization of the state had experienced certain transformation with parallel to the social and economic transformation on broader scale. One result of the state’s strategy to adapt the changing conditions of the time was surveys for taxation. *Avarız* and *cizye defters* were product of this development. Subjects were documented through different mechanisms and for different purposes within this century but the main purpose of the registration of the subjects remained same, the taxation. In the 18th century, there were no such series of registers compiled after frequent surveys on imperial scale. Taxation was performed with different mechanisms and by mostly different agents rather than the central government, namely *ayans*. Initiated reform attempts beginning with at the end of the 18th century culminated into 1830s. New surveys were launched and registers were compiled. For these *nüfus defter*, again, military recruitment and taxation were main reasons. In 1840s, with parallel to the Edict of Gülhane, new tax base was defined as the income and financial capacities of the taxpaying subjects. *Cizye* remained as non-Muslim head-tax until the Edict of 1856 and it was transformed another form of tax at that
time. *Temettuat defters* were prepared for the new system of taxation in the Ottoman countries. Again the subjects were registered for taxation. Finally, after the surveys and survey attempts in 1860s and 1870s, a new census was conducted for the registration of *the population* of the Empire in 1881 together with a comprehensive administrative reorganization with the purpose of getting information about *the population* itself.

In this regard, the genealogy of the Ottoman surveys is actually the history of the problematizations of the subjects by the state. By looking those registers, the place of the subjects in specific discursive frameworks could be identified. The subjects were placed within a specific *grid of intelligibility* in these registers together with a set of predicates changing for series of registers for the classical age, for the 17th and 18th centuries and finally for the 19th century. These surveys and compiled registers are embodied forms of specific attitudes of the Ottoman state towards the subjects. In these processes of survey/census making, particular forms of governed bodies were defined and actualized.

By following the discursive regularities, textual organizations of these *defters*, corresponding regimes of power, prevailed in a specific historical context, could be traced because these registers were written by particular visions of authority and administration. By looking these registers, it is possible to analyze the form of relations established between the state and subjects.

In terms of the discursive framework of these *defters*, the questions are that how one particular statement was written rather than any other, what the particular discourse-object emerge would emerge from this record together with what kind of relationality with other discourse-objects. For the phenomenon of the documented subjects in the registers, what are those statements and how are the subjects re-presented in the registers and in what kind of knowledge is possible about the subjects? The conclusion is that what kind of subjectivity emerges from these series of *defters*.

According to Foucault, complex relations of power impregnate, distributes, locates, characterize and construct the social body. This is only possible through production, dissemination, aggregation and operation of certain discourse. In other words, the
The exercise of power is possible by means of an economy of discourses of truth and vice versa. These apparently two different problems are actually one single problem, formulated by Foucault as power/knowledge. In that sense, the constituted bodies are products of specific regimes of power and discourses of truth. Different forms of constituted bodies, or let say discourse-objects, could be identified as forms of political personal, the governed bodies and bodies to be known, rising on the ground of regimes of power and discourses of truth.

In the case of the Ottoman surveys and registers, the registered subjects could be analyzed by following the very textual organization of defters. There was a particular attitude toward the governed expressed through the textual organization and language of these registers. In short, the problematization of the subjects by the Ottoman state throughout its history is at the core of such analysis. The problematization is reified on the very textuality of the registration of the subjects.

In the classical age, subjects were problematized with respect to their tax liabilities within the field of timar and çift-hane system on the ground of miri land regime. Within the framework of tahrir defters, the reaya, strictly differentiated from askeri, is the large group of people occupying certain space in agriculture or in towns and cities, being engaged in economic activities, and paying their taxes.

However, this regime had started to dissolve in the 17th century. Subjects were also problematized in term of taxation in this century. On the other hand, the mechanisms of registration and framework of registration had changed. Separate avarız and çizye defters were kept. Tax liabilities of the subjects were primary concern of the documentation. Moreover, people were longer registered with reference to the land occupying a space on already organized land regime, like çifts in the classical age. The state tried to grasp the actual conditions of the country, agricultural and urban space. People were pursued and registered on the basis of household units. In that sense, the reference of registration was not the land or certain land regime, but the people occupying certain lands. The scope of the registered subjects was also

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extended, former members of askeri class were included and some of them were pushed to the status of subjects. For cizye defters, it can be said that there was certain continuity from the early 17th century to the end of the century in terms of the problematic of registration. Separate registration was made in the absence of empire-wide surveys in this century. In 1690s, with parallel to the cizye reform, non-Muslim males were recorded according to their tax liabilities together with their individual physical, economic and ethnic characteristics. Thus, in the 17th century, the main drive of the registration was taxation and most importantly the state tried to get in touch with the actual condition of the country through these surveys within the conditions of the changing characteristics of the polity in the century. The registered subjects of the 17th century were those paying their taxes, horizontally and vertically mobile detached from the land, like in classical form. They were also strictly classified on the level of registration into two divisions, Muslims and non-Muslims, the group also classified into ethnic communities.

Finally, a new political persona had emerged in the 19th century, namely the population. Subjects were problematized, at the first hand, with their exact numbers living males on certain place. Their ages, property, holdings, income, religions and ethnic identities were other objects of registration. In the first phase, in 1830s, the main problem of registration was military recruitment and taxation. Information concerning cizye was another dimension of registration for non-Muslims. After the Edict of Gülhane, the changing tax-base required determination of tax-liabilities related with the income and economic capacities of subjects. Temettuat defters, in the second phase in 1840s, recorded male heads of household together with their income, property and holding. Although they were practically bounded, these registers addressed the subjects within a different framework. In these two phases, subjects were problematized in terms of their number, ages, income, property and ethno-religious identities for the non-Muslims, in accordance with the Edict of Gülhane. After the census taken with similar contents but slightly different aim to cope with the changing social composition in Danube province, a genuine population census was conducted in 1881. All living individuals, females and males, were registered in all ages together with their marital status, holdings, property and so on. They were also given an official identification paper, nüfus tezkeresi, indicating the registered
information. In this census, the information of the population was collected, actually made by census making process itself as attributes of the individuals as members of a unified social unity defined by the notion of the population, not directly because of military recruitment or taxation but the information of the population for its own sake. Accordingly, the actualization of the population had many consequences; it became an object of domestic and foreign politics, with relation to it the wealth, prosperity and economic strength of the country were measured; it became an object of knowledge, on which intellectuals debated.

The genealogy of the Ottoman surveys is showing us the transformation of the problematization and registration of the subjects by the state. This transformation embodied in these defters is actually the changing characteristics, attributes, predicates of the subjects within the state’s discourse, and this changing discourse on the subjects is corresponding the changing relationality between the state and subjects throughout the Ottoman history. This transformation is from the survey of the country (tahrir-i memleket) to the survey/census of the population (tahrir-i nüfus). For the classical age, what was surveyed is the country, on which reaya holding a specific positions, as already discussed. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the understanding and practice of the surveys had functioned with the same major axis, surveying the country, although the framework and the content of registration had changed significantly within historical context of dissolution of the classical polity and the establishment of the new one. In the 19th century, a new governed body, new political persona had been constituted, the population. The problematization of the subjects is the main principle of such differences in registration and its transformation in history of the Ottoman Empire.
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Osmanlı sayımları ve defterleri içinse soru bahsi geçen kayıtlarda belirli ifade biçimlerinin nasıl ortaya çıktığı, ne tür nesneleri ortaya çıkarttığını, nasıl ifade edildiğini dikkate alalım. Başka bir deyişle, bu kayıtlarda hangi nesnelerin nasıl kaydedildiği, nasıl ifade edildiğini araştırmama sorunu.


Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde reaya timar, çift-hane ve vergi sistemi ve miri arazi rejimi içerisinde kayda geçirilmiştir. 17. Yüzyılın kriz ve değişim koşullarında ise, değişen vergi sistemi başka kayıt biçimlerini gerekli kılmıştır ve denilebilir ki devlet

“Tahrir” kelimesinin sözlük anlamı yazma, yazılmadır. Tahrir sayımları Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Klasik Çağında (1300-1600) düzenli şekillerde imparatorluk genelinde yapılmıştır. Özü itibariyle, tahrir sayımları ve ardından hazırlanan defterler devletin vergi gelirlerini tespit ve Osmanlı askeri, idari ve mali düzeninin devamlılığı için yapılmıştır.


Mufassal defterlerde, vergi mükellef reyanın her mahalle ve köy için isimleri yazılarak bir tür listesi hazırlanırdı. Reyanın ürettiği ve vergi konusu olan belli başlı tarımsal ürünlerde kayda geçerdi. Bunların yanında, bu defterlerde o sancağın bir
kanunnamesi bulunabilirdi. İcmal defterleri ise o bölgedeki askeri sınıf mensuplarını, yani tımar ve zeamet tutan askeri sınıf mensuplarının kayıtlarını içermekte. Askeri sınıf mensupları üzerine olan toprakları ve gelirleriyyle kayda geçirilir ve bu kayıtlar tımarları denetmek için kullanılırdı.


Kısaca, klasik tahrir defterleri tebaaya yönelmiş olan özgün bir yaklaşımın, bir yönetim biçiminin, tarihsel kaynaklardır denilebilir. Bu anlamda, tebaa üzerinde yaşadığı ve işlediği toprak ve ödediği vergi üzerinden iktidar tarafından
sorunsallaştırılmış ve bu şekilde kayda geçirilmiştir. Sayılan memleket içerisinde vergi mükellefi, kentte veya kırda bir ekonomik faaliyette bulunan, devlete karşı belirli sorumlulukları bulunan ve devletin belirli sorumluluklarının konusu olan birileridir. Bu da tahrir defterlerinin söyleni ve metinsel düzeninde karşımıza çıkan klasik dönem Osmanlı tebaasıdır denilebilir.


mukataalar, ömür boyu verilir olmuştur. Bunun sonucu ise taşrada ve çevre bölgelerde oluşmaya başlayan yerel güç odakları, sonra anıldığı şekilde ayanlardır.


Kriz yılının koşullarına ayak uydurmak için devletin idari mekanizmaları önemli görevler üstlenmiştir. Konumuz olan avarız ve cizye defterleri İşte böyle bir stratejinin ürünü olarak doğmuş, klasik defter tutma pratiklerinin, geleneğinin devamı olmakla birlikte, kayıt nesneleri açısından önemli bir değişim geçirmişlerdir.


Avarız ve cizye saymlarının emirlerine bakıldığında ortaya şu sonuc çıkmaktadır: Devlet kriz dönemiyle birlikte değişen toplumsal ve ekonomik yapıya ayak


Tanzimat Fermanı’nın ifade biçimine bakılarak olursa, özgür bir tebbaa/halk, yönetilen grubunun tanımlandığı görülecektir. Fernanda, kanun üzerinde Müslüman gayrimüslim ayrımı gözmetmeyen bir tebbaa, halk ifade edilmiştir. Ayrıca halkın, yaşamı, namusu ve mülkünün kutsallığını altı çizilmiş ve bunların güvendiği devletin sorumluluğu olarak tarif edilmiştir. Üstelik halkın devleti ve milletine faydalanılgı ve bağlılığı bu kutsalların korunmasını olumsu sonucu olarak ifade
edilmiştir. Aynı zamanda askerlik bir görev olarak tariflenmiş ve askere alının memleketin aded-i nüfus mevcudesine, yanı memleketin nüfusuna oranla yapılacak söylenmiştir.


APPENDIX P: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü X
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü
Enformatik Enstitüsü
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı: Çelik
Adı: Mehmet Ali
Bölümü: Sosyoloji

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce): Genealogy of the Ottoman Surveys

TEZİN TÜRÜ: Yüksek Lisans X Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfasi, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

3. Tezimden birbir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınmaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:

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