

GENEALOGY OF THE OTTOMAN SURVEYS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

MEHMET ALİ ÇELİK

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

AUGUST 2017

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Tlin Gen z
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıođlu
Head of Department

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

Assoc. Prof. Erdođan Yldırım
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Kayhan Orbay (METU,HIST)

Assoc. Prof. Erdođan Yldırım (METU,SOC)

Assoc. Prof. Fatih Yeřil (Hacettepe Uni,HIST)



I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : Mehmet Ali Çelik

Signature :

ABSTRACT

GENEALOGY OF THE OTTOMAN SURVEYS

Çelik, Mehmet Ali

M.S., Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Erdoğan Yıldırım

August 2017, 173 pages

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 SOYKÜTÜĞÜ

Çelik, Mehmet Ali

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Erdoğan Yıldırım

Ağustos 2017, 173 sayfa

Bu çalışma Osmanlı sayımlarının dilini ve metinsel organizasyonunu konu almakta ve imparatorluğun tebaasının nasıl kaydedildiğini sorunsallaştırmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Osmanlı sayımlarının bir söylemsel ve metinsel düzeni olduğu ve bu düzenin bir iktidar rejimine tekabül ettiği iddia edilmektedir. 15. ve 16. Yüzyıllarda, reaya tahrir defterleri aracılığıyla toprak üzerinde bulunan hane birimiyle ve imparatorluğun klasik vergi, timar ve çift-hane sistemleri zemininde kayda geçirilmiştir. Bu yüzyılın sonunda, imparatorluk genelinde yapılan tahrir uygulaması yapılmamaya başlanmıştır. 17. Yüzyıl krizi koşullarında, vergi sistemi değişmiş ve arazi vergiler olağan hale gelmiştir. Bu yüzyılda avarız ve cizye defterleri devletin vergi gelirlerini tespit amaçlı yapılmaya başlanmıştır. Avarız defterlerinde bazı askeri kesimleri de içerecek şekilde genişleyen vergi mükelleflerinin hane temelinde ve ekonomik durumlarıyla birlikte kayıtları tutulmuştur. Vergi mükellefi gayrimüslimler ise cizye defterleri üzerinde kayda geçirilmiştir. 19. Yüzyılda ise, Osmanlı tebaası 1830lardan itibaren nüfus defterlerine yaşayan bireyler olarak kaydedilmiş ve imparatorluğun değişen vergi sistemine paralel olarak gelir ve mülkleri üzerinden kayıtları temmettuat defterlerinde tutulmuştur. İmparatorluğun tarihi boyunca karşılaşılan bu sayımların farklı özellikleri ve düzenleri vardır. Belirli

bir söylemsel düzen çerçevesinde icra edilen bu sayımlar, devlet ve tebaası arasında belirli ilişkiler kurmaktadır. Böyle bir okuma, bahsi geçen sayım pratiklerinde vücut bulmuş olan Osmanlı siyasası içerisindeki tebaalaşma/özneleşme süreçlerinin anlaşılmasını sağlayabilir. Bu süreç ise ifadesini tahrir-i memlekette n tahrir-i nüfusa olan dönüşümde bulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı Sayımları, İmparatorluk tebaası/halkı, Memleket Sayımı, Nüfus Sayımı



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank my official and unofficial advisors, Assoc. Prof. Erdoğan Yıldırım and Assoc. Prof. Kayhan Orbay. I am grateful to Assoc. Prof. Erdoğan Yıldırım for introducing me the language of social theory, “the art of relating things” in his words, and Assoc. Prof. Kayhan Orbay for introducing me the historian’s craft. Without thier guidance, support, patience and encouragement, there would be no such study.

I would also like to thank Instr. Dr. Barış Mücen and Assist. Prof. Çağatay Topal for thier help with the theoretical matters in sociology during my undergraduate and graduate years at the department of sociology. Moreover, I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Oktay Özel, Assist. Prof. Selçuk Dursun and Dr. Gürer Karagedikli for thier criticisms, intepretations and helps for the thesis and the archival sources. Also, I want to thank Assoc. Prof. Fatih Yeşil for his valuable comments on the thesis. I am particularly in debt to Şahin Alp Taşkaya for his help on the technical matters of the thesis. Finally, I would like to thank Beyza Hatun Kızıltepe for her presence and supports; she has made my last year more bearable.

I should also thank Atatürk Kültür Merkezi for its valuable financial support through Master Degree Scholarship of the Republic of Turkey Atatürk Supreme Council for Culture, Language and History - Atatürk Culture Centre (Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu-Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Lisansüstü Eğitim Bursu).

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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* literature¹ and the literature of Ottoman social and economic history².

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 justice³.

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

¹ Lowry, Heath W. "The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations". In *Studies In Defterology*, 1st ed., 3-19. (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1992).

² These registers are widely used for Ottoman economic and social history, for general overview of such studies, Öz, M. "Tahrir". In *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, Vol. 39, 2010, pp. 425-429; Barkan, Ömer Lûtfi, and Enver Meriçli. *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrir defterleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), s. 1-144; Halil İnalçık, *Hicrî 835 tarihli Süret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. 1954); Özel, Oktay, "Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri", In. *Osmanlı devleti'nde bilgi ve istatistik* ed. İnalçık, H. and Pamuk, S. (Ankara, Türkiye: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000); Kütükoğlu, M. "Osmanlı Sosyal ve İktisadi Tarihi Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri", *Bellelen*, c. LIX, sayı 225, (Ankara 1995); Karal, E. Z. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831*. (Ankara: T.C. Başvekâlet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943).

³ Darling, Linda T. *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy*. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996); Afyoncu, E. *Osmanlı devlet teşkilâtında Defterhane-i Âmiri (XVI-XVIII yüzyıllar)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014)

revenues: the organization of the document will reflect a particular vision of authority and administration, and a particular approach to statistics.”⁴

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.

⁴ Le Goff, J., *Mentalities: a history of ambiguities*, . In. *Constructing the past: Essays in historical methodology*. Ed. Le, G. J., & Nora, P. (Cambridge, Cambridgeshire: Cambridge University Press, 1985). p.173

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 *mufasssal tahrir of Sultanönü*⁵(980/1572) and some other published *mufasssal tahrir defters*⁶ will be used for the Classical Age. For the 17th and the 18th centuries, *mufasssal avarız defter of Kütahya*⁷(1086/1675) and *cizye defters*⁸ 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 sayımı*¹⁰ and

⁵ BOA, TT, nr.1102

⁶ Barkan, Ömer Lûtfi, and Enver Meriçli. *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrir defterleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988)

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

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 İmparatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831*; BOA, NFS, nr.1741;1748; 1749; 1750

CHAPTER II

ENUMERATION OF THE SUBJECTS

2.1 Introduction

“Tahrir: memleket yazımı demektir. Gayet lazımdır. Otuz yılda bir kerre tahriri[sic] memleket kanundur. Amma gayet müslüman ve dindar adamlar tayin olunup cümle mahrusa bir uğruna tahrir lazımdır”¹¹

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 *muhimme* registers¹⁴, *tahrir olunan*, 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 İmparatorluğunda 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.

¹⁴ 3 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, 1993: 61, 84, 193, 219, 225, 231, 275, 291, 614; 5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, 1994:252; 7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, 1997: 66, 148, 156, 174, 221, 223, 225, 228

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.

“Vak’ahayriyeden[sic] sonra devletialiyenin[sic] ekser usul ve adat ve nizamati[sic] kadimesi deęiřüp zavabıtı[sic] mülkiyenin esası olan tahriri[sic] nüfus kaziyesi mukaddemce merkezi saltanatta icra olunmuş isede gavaili[sic] harbiyyenin teakubu manii tamimi olmuřtur. ” ¹⁵

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 İmparatorluęında 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 taxation¹⁶. During the 15th and the 16th centuries, *reaya* was registered by *tahrir defters* on the basis of the classical taxation system, *timar* regime¹⁷ and *çift-hane*¹⁸ system of the Ottoman Empire in its core provinces, Balkans and Anatolia. During the classical age of the empire¹⁹, *reaya* was registered in the form of landholding *hane*(household) unit within the land regime of the empire²⁰. At the end of the 16th century, *tahrir defters* ceased to be conducted²¹. In the 17th and the 18th centuries, taxation system of the Empire had changed and extraordinary taxes of the Classical Age had been regularized²². *Avarız* and *cizye* registers had been conducted in order to identify the revenue sources of the state within the conditions of the 17th century²³, which was characterized by series of crises and changes²⁴. In the 17th and the 18th century, the *askeri* and *reaya* classification also started to be dissolved²⁵ and *avarız* registers aimed to survey the expanding taxpaying population, including some members of *askeri* class of the Classical Age²⁶, 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 categories²⁷. Finally, the subjects had been registered by *temettuat defters* and *nüfus defters* in the

¹⁶İnalçık, H.1959. *Osmanlılar'da Raiyyet Rüşumu*. Belleten, 13, 575-610; İslamoğlu-İnan, Huri. *State And Peasant In The Ottoman Empire*. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994)

¹⁷ Barkan, *Giriş*, In. Barkan, Ö. L. and Meriçli, E. *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrir defterleri*.; Lowry, Heath W. 1992. "The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri As A Source For Social And Economic History: Pitfalls And Limitations".

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. *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrir defterleri*.

²¹ Özel, O. "Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri", p.35

²² Özel, O. *Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri*; Mehmet Ali Ünal, "1646 (1056) Tarihli Harput Kazâsı Avâız Defteri", Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi, VII (1997).; Darling, Linda T. 1996. *Revenue-Raising And Legitimacy*; Özel, O. 17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Demografi ve İskan Tarihi İçin Önemli Bir Kaynak: 'Mufassal' Avarız Defterleri. In *XII.Türk Tarih Kongresi : Ankara 12-16 Eylül 1994 : Kongreye sunulan bildiriler*. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1994)

²³ Özel, O. "Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri"; Darling, Linda T. 1996. *Revenue-Raising And Legitimacy*

²⁴ İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", In. *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History*, (London, Variorum Reprints, 1985a, V.); Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590 – 1699", In. *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* ed. İnalçık, H., & Quataert, D. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

²⁵ İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700"; Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590 – 1699"

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*²⁸. *Nüfus defters*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 on³⁰. Some other historians problematize the administrative and fiscal role of these registers within the organization of the Ottoman State³¹. 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 problematization? 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 self³². 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

²⁸ Kütükoğlu, M. "Osmanlı Sosyal ve İktisadi Tarihi Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri".

²⁹ Karal, E. Z., *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831*.

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 Olarak Hazırlanmış Çalışmalar Hakkında Bazı Görüşler, *TALİD*, I/1 (2013), p.267-286.

³¹ Darling, Linda T. 1996. *Revenue-Raising And Legitimacy*.

³² Davidson, A. L. "Archaeology, genealogy, ethics". In *Foucault: A Critical Reader* ed. Hoy D.C. (Oxford: Blackwell: 1986), pp. 221-233.

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"³³. The statement is identified as the atom of discourse by Foucault³⁴. The statement is not a proposition or a sentence³⁵ but it is a function³⁶ 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."³⁷. Discursive formations, in this regard, is dividing up "...the general place of things said at the specific level of statements."³⁸.

In that sense, discourse is not a narrative of some practices but it is a practice itself³⁹, 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."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 time⁴¹.

³³ Foucault, Michel. *Archaeology of knowledge*. (London: Routledge, 2002),p.107

³⁴ *Ibid*, p.90

³⁵ *Ibid*, p.91

³⁶ *Ibid*, p.97

³⁷ *Ibid*, p.41

³⁸ *Ibid*, p.130

³⁹ *Ibid*, p.51

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.201

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.143

In addition to these, Foucault conceptualizes the archive as the system of statements⁴², 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*.”⁴³ The archaeology, in Foucauldian sense, studies discourses as practices within the domain of the archive⁴⁴.

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.”⁴⁵ The rules of formation make possible the appearance of object within a given historical period⁴⁶.

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 studied⁴⁷. Therefore, the discourse itself is giving raise to the objects by dividing the plane of

⁴² *Ibid*, p.145

⁴³ Foucault, Michel, and James D. Faubion.. *Aesthetics, method, and epistemology*. (New York: New Press, 1998)., p.p. 309-310

⁴⁴ Foucault, M. *Archaeology of knowledge*, p.148

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p.42

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p.36

⁴⁷ *Ibid*.

things, classifying and relating those things in a specific grid of intelligibility⁴⁸. The task of archaeology is to map the discursive formations and to define the limited system of presence, constituted by discourses themselves⁴⁹.

In terms of the Ottoman Surveys, the initial question are “...how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?”⁵⁰, “... what is this specific existence that emerges from what is said and nowhere else?”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’.”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/knowledge⁵³. 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.

⁴⁸ Michel Foucault.. *The history of sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p.93

⁴⁹ Foucault, Michel. *Archaeology of knowledge*

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.30

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p.31

⁵² Veyne, Paul. *Foucault: his thought, his character*. (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2010)., p.6

⁵³ Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995)

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

⁵⁵ Mader, M. B., “Knowledge”, in *the Cambridge Foucault lexicon*. ed. Lawlor, Leonard, and John Nale, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p.232

⁵⁶ Foucault, “Two Lectures”, In... *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Foucault, Michel, and Colin Gordon, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p.93

⁵⁷ Foucault, Michel. "The Subject and Power." *Critical Inquiry* 8, no. 4 (1982): 777-95. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1343197>.

⁵⁸ Revel, J., “Power”, In. *The Cambridge Foucault lexicon*, pp. 377-378

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...”

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“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

⁶⁰ Veyne, Paul (). *Foucault revolutionizes history*. In *Foucault and his Interlocutors*, ed. Arnold Ira Davidson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997) 146–82., p.151

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 19th 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 rationalization⁶³.

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 *avarız* 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 *tahrir-i memleket* to *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 acquisition⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ Devellioğlu, Ferit. "Tahrir". *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat : Eski Ve Yeni Harflerle*. (Ankara: Aydın Kitabevi Yayınları, 2010)

⁶⁵ Öz, M. "Tahrir", pp. 425-429.

However, *tahrirs* were not genuine population censuses or cadastral surveys⁶⁶. 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* surveys⁶⁷. In this regard, *tahrir defters* have a specific discourse and textual organization corresponding to the Ottoman administrative, fiscal and military organization in its Classical Age⁶⁸.

At the beginning, by giving reference to Murphey⁶⁹, 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 Murphey⁷⁰, 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*⁷¹. Using *defters* was one of the mechanisms of strong centralization policies of *Beyazid I* accompanying his forceful policy of unification,

⁶⁶ Lowry, Heath W, "The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri As A Source For Social And Economic History: Pitfalls And Limitations".

⁶⁷ Darling, Linda T. 1996. *Revenue-Raising And Legitimacy*, p.25

⁶⁸ İnalcık, Halil. *The Ottoman empire: the classical age 1300-1600*. (London: Phoenix, 2003)

⁶⁹ Murphey, Rhoads. "Ottoman Census Methods In The Mid-Sixteenth Century: Three Case Histories". *Studia Islamica*, no. 71: 115 (1990) doi:10.2307/1595640.

⁷⁰ Murphey, "Ottoman Census Methods In The Mid-Sixteenth Century: Three Case Histories".

⁷¹ İnalcık, Halil. "Ottoman Methods of Conquest". *Studia Islamica*, no. 2: 103. doi:10.2307/1595144 (1954) p.105

replacement of native aristocracy by sultan's *kuls*, etc. According to İnalçık, "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-beyis*, into a real Islamic Sultanate with traditional institutions."⁷²

The one of oldest *tahrir defters* known⁷³ in the Ottoman archives is dated 835 (1431/1432) and it is published by İnalçık⁷⁴. 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 Seldjukid or Persian-Ilkhanid origin or influence of the *tahrir* system⁷⁵.

Empire wide *tahrir* surveys were conducted in the core provinces, *Anatolia* and *Rumelia*, during the 15th and 16th centuries⁷⁶. *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 area⁷⁷ in the 15th and 16th centuries. They were ceased to be kept on an imperial scale at the end of the 16th century⁷⁸.

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 rüsumu* were *çift*, (2) *nim-çift*, (3) *ekinlübennak*, (4) *cababennak*, (5) *mücerred*, (6)

⁷² İnalçık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", p.105

⁷³ There are some other recently published earlier registers. See Radushev, Evg, and Uğur Altuğ. *1422-1423 tarihli köprülü, kastorya ve koluna vilâyetleri mufassal defteri: metin, indeks ve tıpkıbasım* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2016)

⁷⁴ İnalçık, Halil. *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-I Defter-I Sancak-I Arvanid* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi., 1987)

⁷⁵ İnalçık, "Ottoman Method of Conquest", p.110

⁷⁶ Barkani Ömer Lûtfî and Meriçli Enver, *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri*, Singer, Amy. "Tapu Tahrir Defterleri and Kadi Sicilleri: A Happy Marriage of Sources." *Tarih* 1 (1990):95-125, p.103.

⁷⁷ Barkan, *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrir defterleri*, p.16; İnalçık, *Arvanid*, p.xviii

⁷⁸ Barkan, *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrir defterleri*, p.6

caba/kara, (7) *muaf ve müselle*⁷⁹. 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 practices⁸⁰. *Mülk* and *vaqf* lands could be registered also in *mufassal tahrir defter*⁸¹.

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 holdings⁸². 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*⁸³. According to İnalcık, this distinction or classification of *mufassal* and *icmal* was corresponding to the fundamental division between *askeri* and *reaya* in Ottoman society⁸⁴.

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.”⁸⁵. In this regard, *tahrir* surveys are mainly about the registration of all potential revenue sources of the state⁸⁶. They were also functioning as general inspection⁸⁷. Instructions about how the registration would be made were given to the surveyors and accordingly they conducted the surveys⁸⁸. During the surveys, “timar

⁷⁹ Barkan, *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrir defterleri*.

⁸⁰ Lowry, Heath W. “The Ottoman Liva Kanunnames Contained in the Defter-i Hakani.”, *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* (1981) 43-74.

⁸¹ Darling, Linda T. 1996. *Revenue-Raising And Legitimacy*, p. 32

⁸² İnalcık, *Hicri 835 Tarihli Sûret-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 on⁹⁰. The registration of *reaya* was under the responsibility of *timar* and *ziamet* holders, the members of the *askeri* class⁹¹. 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 farms⁹³ and *timar* and *ziamet* holders⁹⁴

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 history⁹⁵. Moreover, some historians also used these registers to study the administrative functioning of the Empire⁹⁶.

Studies on *tahrir defters* started with Barkan’s pioneering works⁹⁷. 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 history⁹⁸. Moreover, he

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p.134

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p.134

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p.134

⁹² *Ibid*, p.135

⁹³ *Ibid*, p.135

⁹⁴ İnalçık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, p.xxiii

⁹⁵ Barkan, Ömer Lütfi, “Türkiye’de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri I”, *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, vol.2, 1940-4, 20-59

⁹⁶ Barkan, , “Türkiye’de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri I”; İnalçık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*; Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy*.

⁹⁷ Barkan, Ömer Lütfi, “Türkiye’de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri I”; Barkan, *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrir defterleri*.

⁹⁸ Barkan, *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrir defterleri*, p.1

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 regime⁹⁹.

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 on¹⁰⁰. Moreover, the information about tax exempted groups, like miners, and bazaars could be found in these registers¹⁰¹. 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 demography¹⁰².

According to Barkan, *tahrir* surveys and registers were the base of the administrative and fiscal organization of the empire¹⁰³. 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 administration¹⁰⁴. *Tahrir* surveys were conducted to make tax assessments *just*¹⁰⁵ and they had been conducted since the time of first *sultans* of the empire¹⁰⁶. 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* system¹⁰⁷. Inspection was also another function of these surveys and registers¹⁰⁸. 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 Barkan, "Türkiye'de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri I", p.22

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

surveys¹⁰⁹. 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 need¹¹⁰ and after the conquest of certain areas to establish the order of the state¹¹¹. 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 Empire¹¹².

Another prominent and pioneering study on *tahrir defters* is İnalçık'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*¹¹³. According to İnalçık, this register was organized according to *timar* holders¹¹⁴ with reference to the administrative organization of the province. İnalçık 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, *raiyyet*¹¹⁵. In that sense, *timar* holders had control over the land and the subjects with certain rights under the control of the state¹¹⁶.

Thereafter the publication of Nejat Göyünç's *sancak* based study on Mardin, *XV. Yüzyılda Mardin Sancağı*¹¹⁷, 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

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p.5

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.6

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, p.16

¹¹² *Ibid*, p.6

¹¹³ İnalçık, *Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, p.vii

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.xxi

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.xxxi

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, pp.xxxi, xxxii

¹¹⁷ Göyünç, Nejat. *XVI. Yüzyılda Mardin Sancağı*. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991)

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 commercial development in the North-Central Anatolia¹¹⁹.

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 Lowry¹²⁰. 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 sources¹²¹.

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 scale¹²³. Third school is the Turkish school initiated by İnalçık. 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 locality¹²⁴. 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 Lowry¹²⁵.

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*.”¹²⁶. *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.”¹²⁷. *Tahrir defters* registered non-Muslim areas are more useful than *defters* registered regions predominantly Muslims¹²⁸. *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 1520¹²⁹. 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*.’¹³⁰

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 domain¹³¹. *Sipahis* were agents of the state

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 farming¹³².

The *miri* lands were divided into two categories, *tapulu arazi* and *mukataalı arazi*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 cultivation¹³⁴. 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. *Mukataalı arazi*, on the other hand, is the land rented by the state to private individuals for a payment of a sum of money¹³⁵.

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 cavalry army had been used successfully for ages¹³⁶. 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*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 violetes 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

¹³² *Ibid*, p.142

¹³³ *Ibid*, p.143

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, p.143

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, p.144

¹³⁶ Barkan, Ömer Lütfü, "Timar", in *Türkiyede Toprak Meselesi: Toplu Eserler 1*, (İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1980), p. 806

¹³⁷ Barkan, "Timar", p.816.

could be transferred from father to son under the condition of a given services by the *sultan*¹³⁸.

Timar holders use the revenue they collect in the form of taxes from *reaya* in order to perform their duties. Moreover, it is not possible accept *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 *timariots*, many state officials were interfering into affairs of *timars* units¹³⁹. *Sipahis* were also inspected during *tahrir* surveys. Surplus revenues, which were not identified in their *berats*, were taken from *timariots*¹⁴⁰. *Timariots* were frequently reappointed for different places in order to prevent *timar* fiefs to become a property of a *timariots* family and establishment of certain focals of authority by *timariots* in the provinces¹⁴¹. Therefore, *timariots* cannot be considered as an aristocratic group, like feudal seigneurs in the Western Europe, having a certain authonomy because of the continous intervention of the imperial center through close inspections and interferences¹⁴².

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

3.4.2 The *Çift-hane* system

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

¹³⁸ Barkan, "Timar", p.816

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, p.838.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.842.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, pp.847, 849.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, p.843.

¹⁴³ *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 state¹⁴⁴.

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 family¹⁴⁵. According to İnalçık, *çift-hane* was “the basic agrarian structure in the core lands of the Ottoman Empire.”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 land¹⁴⁷. 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.”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 unit¹⁴⁹. 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 law¹⁵⁰. The indivisibility of the *çiftlik* unit was underlined in the *kanun*. “The law reads: ‘It is by no means permissible for *çiftliks* and *bashtinas* [*çiftliks* in Slavic provinces] to be divided up and parceled out’”, although there were

¹⁴⁴ 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), p.78

¹⁴⁵ İnalçık, “The Ottoman State: Economy and Society:1300-1600.”, p.143

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p.145

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.145

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.146.

¹⁴⁹ İnalçık, Halil. “Village, Peasant and Empire”, p.143.

¹⁵⁰ Barkan, “Timar”, p.850.

some contradictory and incompatible practices of breaking up, distribution and usage of *çiftlik* lands¹⁵¹.

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 bureaucracy¹⁵². 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.”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*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, *kara/mücerred*, poor or unmarried peasant taxes. There were also some other minor taxes within this system¹⁵⁵. Taxation of peasants, therefore, was very fundamental issue of the classical regime of the Ottoman Empire.

3.4.3 The Classical Taxation (*Raiyyet Rûsumu*)

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.

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

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

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

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

¹⁵⁵ *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 İnalçık, *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 *ekinlü-bennak* or *caba bennak*. The term, *bennak* means married raiyyet or peasant. The category of *bennak* had two sub-categories, *ekinlü bennak* and *caba bennak*. *Ekinlü 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 status¹⁵⁶.

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 lands¹⁵⁷.

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 taxes¹⁵⁸. Besides some villages and peasants in specific places had certain specific conditions, like *derbendci* (peasant guards at mountain passes),

¹⁵⁶ İnalçık, H. "Osmanlılar'da Raiyyet Rûsumu". *Belleten*, 13 (1959) 575-610.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

madenci (miner), *çeltükci*(rice-growing). Some of these groups were exempted from taxes or their taxes were decreased accordingly¹⁵⁹.

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* system¹⁶⁰.

In addition to these, *ispence* system is needed to be explained. Non-Muslim *reaya* were levied with specific taxes. According to İnalcık, *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 taxes¹⁶¹. 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 Century¹⁶². Those groups performing state services and old, disabled people were exempted¹⁶³.

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 rüsumu* were also exempted

¹⁵⁹ İnalcık, Halil. “Village, Peasant and Empire”.

¹⁶⁰ İnalcık, H. “Osmanlılar’da Raiyyet Rüsumu”.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Faroqhi, S. “Crisis and Chance, 1590-1699” in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1914*. ed. İnalcık H., Quataert D. (New York: Cambridge University Press 1994), p.532.

¹⁶³ Darling, L. “The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assessment and Collection of the *Cizye* and *Avarız* Taxes, 1560-1660”. (PhD diss. University of Chicago, 1990), p.532.

from the *avarız* taxes, like *imams* and who held sultan's *berat* because of their services¹⁶⁴. Later, because of the continuation of extraordinary issues, like continuing wars, *avarız* taxes became "the regular taxes" and classifications originated from *raiyyet rüsumu* somehow blurred. Some groups within the *askeri* class were also levied by *avarız* taxes in 17th century¹⁶⁵.

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."¹⁶⁶.

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* tamam çiftlik üzere çift kaydolunan raiyetden otuz üç akçedir Nim çiftten resim nısf-zalik Nim çiftlikden akal yer tasarruf iden bennak den ki ekinlü kaydolınmışdır resim oniki akçedir Caba bennak den dokuz akçedir Ez'af-ı reayaya himayet olunmak emr-i müstahsendir Nesl-ı reayadan ehl-i kisb olmayan mücerredlerden nesne alınmaz defterlerde dahi üzerlerine resim kaydolınmamışdır Amma ehl-i kisb olan mücerredlerden mikdarlarınca resim alın deyu emrolınmışdır Defterde mücerred kaydolunan kimesne teehhül itse *bennak* resmi alınur Ve caba bennak ekinlü olsa *ekinlü resmi* alınur Bu babda i'tiba çiftlik mikdarına dayırdır Çiftlik mikdarından ziyade yer tasarruf iden kimesne ziyadeye nisbet hariç raiyet gibi resim virir".¹⁶⁷

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

¹⁶⁴ İnalcık, H. "Osmanlılar'da Raiyyet Rüsumu".

¹⁶⁵ Özel, O. "17. Yüzyıl Demografi ve İskan Tarihi İçin Önemli Bir Kaynak: 'Mufassal' Avarız Defterleri". In *XII Türk Tarih Kongresi*: Ankara, 12-16 Eylül: Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999)

¹⁶⁶ İnalcık, Halil. "Village, Peasant and Empire", p.146.

¹⁶⁷ Barkan, Ö.L., "Hüdavendigar Livası Kanunnamesi", in *XV ve XVI inci asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları: Kanunlar*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1943), p.1

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” holdings¹⁶⁸.

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) nim-çift, (3) ekinlü bennak, (4) caba bennak, (5) mücerred, (6) caba/kara, (7) muaf ve müselleme*. The sub-categories were originated from the *çift-hane* system 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”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”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

¹⁶⁸ İnalçık, H. “the Çift Hane System and Peasant Taxation”.

¹⁶⁹ İslamoğlu-İnan, Huricihan. *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire*, p.3.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p.4.

relation between the legal owners and peasant producers...”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”¹⁷². *Tahrir* registers and *timar* holders as “medium of the state” could be identified means of that domination and surplus extraction in Ottoman agriculture during its classical period.

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

3.5 *Tahrir* Surveys and *Tahrir Defters*

At the beginning, it is suffice to say that there is a practical distinction between *tahrir* surveys and *tahrir defters*. As already mentioned before, *tahrir* surveys were functioning as a general inspection for both main classes of the empire, *askeri* and *reaya*, and *tahrir defter* were saved and kept in *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 *rationale* behind conduct of these surveys and compilation of the registers, firstly, will be underlined, and secondly, survey procedure will be held. After these, *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.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, p.69.

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*¹⁷³. To remove those potentially emergent corruptions and injustices, the inspection is required and obligatory¹⁷⁴. 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 regulations¹⁷⁵.

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 country¹⁷⁶. 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 defatir-i kadimesi tecdid ve tahrir...*)¹⁷⁷. 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 surveyors¹⁷⁸.

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 *vaqfs* 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 exception¹⁷⁹.

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 exception¹⁸⁰. *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 surveyor¹⁸¹.

Berat-holders, *zeamet* and *timar* holders, *vaqf* owners, *muafıs* 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

¹⁷⁸ İnalçık, H. "Giriş" in *438 Numaralı Muhsabe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri* (937/1530) I, (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü 1993), p.2; Barkan, Ö.L. "Türkiye'de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri ve Hakana Mahsus İstatik Defterleri II", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, vol.2, 1940-4, 214-247, p.221.

¹⁷⁹ Barkan, *Hüdavendigâr 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 units¹⁸². 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*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, *kadıs* 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 treasury¹⁸⁴. After identifying the revenue sources and taxable population, *defter* would be completed and saved to deliver it to the imperial center¹⁸⁵.

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 them¹⁸⁶.

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*¹⁸⁷.

¹⁸² *Idib*, p.44.

¹⁸³ İnalcık, “Giriş”, p.3.

¹⁸⁴ Barkan, *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrir defterleri*, p.44.

¹⁸⁵ İnalcık, “Giriş”, p.3.

¹⁸⁶ Barkan, *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrir defterleri*, p.45.

¹⁸⁷ *Idib*, p.45.

In terms of the *avarız* tax, the amount of the *avarız-hanes* would be determined¹⁸⁸. 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 separately¹⁸⁹.

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 places¹⁹⁰.

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 bribes¹⁹¹.

After these steps a *defter* is compiled 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 sent to the imperial center and one copies of each form was also held by the provincial administrators¹⁹².

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*¹⁹³.

¹⁸⁸ *Idib*, p.45.

¹⁸⁹ *Idib*, p.46.

¹⁹⁰ *Idib*, p.46

¹⁹¹ *Idib*, p.46.

¹⁹² Öz, M. "Tahrir" in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.39, pp.425-429. (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2010)

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 documents¹⁹⁵. 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 regime¹⁹⁶.

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 region¹⁹⁸. Therefore, these *kanunnames* could be used for some general characteristics of the taxation system, the land regime and the *timar* system of the Ottoman Empire¹⁹⁹. 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 region²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁴ Lowry, Heath W. "The Ottoman Liva Kanunnames Contained in the Defter-i Hakani.", p.52.

¹⁹⁵ Barkan, Ö.L. *XV ve XVI inci asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin 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 İnalçık, the Ottoman *kanunnames* were organized and formulated according to the logic of the Ottoman taxation and the Ottoman administration²⁰¹. 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*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 İnalçık²⁰³.

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 tax 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 workers²⁰⁴. "So, I am forced to the conclusion that the *Liva Kanunnames* were not, as stated by İnalçık, : "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"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.

²⁰¹ İnalçık, H, "Kanunname" in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v.24, p.334, 2001.
(<http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c24/c240210.pdf> (accessed June 21, 2017).

²⁰² *Ibid*, p.334

²⁰³ As cited by Lowry, Heath W. "The Ottoman Liva Kanunnames Contained in the Defter-i Hakani.", p.48.

²⁰⁴ Lowry, Heath W. "The Ottoman Liva Kanunnames Contained in the Defter-i Hakani.", p.51.

²⁰⁵ *Idib*, 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 mezburede bütün çift yer dutandan resmi-i çift otuz üç akçe ve nim çift yer dutandan on altı buçuk akçe ve evlûden resm-i bennak on iki akçe ve kar u kisbe kadir olandan resm-i mücerred altı akçe alınır. Ve livai mezburede vaki olan kadılıkların kadimden amel olınu-gelen kileleri ve gallelerinin narhları tebdil ve tagyir olunmayub Defter-i Atik muktezasınca ber karar-ı sabık buğdayın her müddi altmışar ve sair mahlutun her müddi kırkar akçeye dutulmuşdur.”²⁰⁶

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 country²⁰⁷. Another reason was identified by *emins* in thier *mukaddemes* was to dispose the potency of the tyranny and to

²⁰⁶ BOA, TT, 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*, *Günyüzü*. 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-ı Eskişehir*.

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

“Liva-i mezburede bütün çift yer dutandan resmi-i çift otuz üç akçe ve nim çift yer dutandan on altı buçuk akçe ve evlûden resm-i bennak on iki akçe ve kar u kisbe kadir olandan resm-i mücerred altı akçe alınır. Ve liva-i mezburede vaki olan kadılıkların kadimden amel olunu-gelen kileleri ve gallelerinin narhları tebdil ve tagyir olunmayub Defter-i Atik muktezasınca ber karar-ı sabık buğdayın her müddi altmışar ve sair mahlutun her müddi kırkar 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 mücerred* 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 atik* 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 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 sebeble ref'-i yed-i zaliman ve def-i kürbet-i mazluman için defatir-i kadimesi tecdid ve tahrir olunmak ferman olunmağın imtisalen lil-emril-ali sayi-beliğ-ı bi dirığ kılınub tahrir ve terkim ve tashih ve tevzi olunub şakir ve zakir oldular. Ber vech-i ecmel defter-i hakani katiblerinden Mustafa bin Ahmed ma'rifeti ve Anadolu Defteri katiblerinden Piri bin Sinan kulları kalemiyle itmam 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-ı.....

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.

²¹² Akgündüz, Ahmet. *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*. Vol.7. (İstanbul: FEY Vakfı, 1990), p.439.

of *raiyyet rüsumu*, *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

<i>Mahalle-i</i>						
<i>Alacamescid</i>						
<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> <i>hatib</i>	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>o</i> <i>mahfil</i>	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>o</i> <i>mahfil</i>	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> <i>mahfil</i>	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> <i>k</i>	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> <i>k</i>	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> <i>m</i>
...						

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, *zamins* and *çiftliks*, 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)²¹⁴

<i>Zemin-i</i>	<i>Zemin-i</i>	<i>Zemin-i</i>	<i>Zemin-i</i>
“name” der-dest-i ²¹⁵	“name” der-dest-i...	“name” der-dest-i...	“name” der-desti...
<i>çift</i>	<i>dönüm 15</i>	<i>dönüm 15</i>	<i>dönüm 18</i>
...			

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

<i>Hasıl</i>							
<i>Resm-i</i>	<i>Hinta</i> ²¹⁷	<i>Şa'ir</i> ²¹⁸	<i>Mahlut</i> ²¹⁹	<i>Resm-i</i>	<i>Resm-i</i>	<i>Resm-i</i>	<i>Adet-i</i>
<i>Çift, Bennak</i>	<i>müd</i> ²²⁰ ...	<i>müd</i> ...	<i>müd</i> ...	<i>bağ ve</i>	<i>bostan</i>	<i>kovan</i>	<i>ağnam</i> ²²¹
<i>Mücerred</i>	<i>keyl</i> ²²² ...	<i>keyl</i> ...	<i>keyl</i> ...	<i>bağçe</i>	...	...	...
...							
...							
<i>Yekun</i> ²²³							

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

²¹⁶ BOA, *TT*, nr.1102_009

²¹⁷ Wheat

²¹⁸ Barley

²¹⁹ Mixture of grain

²²⁰ A measure of weight

²²¹ Sheep tax

²²² A measure of weight

²²³ The total

Table 1.4: Registration of the Villages in the *Tahrir Defter* of Sultanönü(980/1572)²²⁴

Karye-i.....

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

<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> ç	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>o</i> <i>m</i>	<i>birader</i> <i>name</i> <i>o</i> <i>m</i>	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> ç	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> <i>m</i>	<i>birader</i> <i>name</i> <i>o</i> <i>m</i>	<i>birader</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> <i>m</i>
---	---	---	---	--	---	--

<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> ç	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> k	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> m	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> ç	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> nim	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> m	<i>veled</i> <i>name</i> <i>name</i> nim
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

...
...
...
...

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*.

²²⁴ BOA, TT, nr.1102_009

Table 1.5: Registration of the Total Revenues of Villages in the *Tahrir Defter* of Sultanönü(980/1572)²²⁵

Hasıl.....

<i>resmi çift</i>	<i>hunta</i>	<i>şa'ir</i>	<i>mahlut</i>	<i>resm-i</i>	<i>resm-i</i>	<i>resm-i</i>	<i>adet-i</i>
<i>ve Bennak</i>	<i>müd...</i>	<i>müd...</i>	<i>müd...</i>	<i>kovan</i>	<i>bostan</i>	<i>bağ</i>	<i>ağnam</i>
<i>ve Mücerred</i>	<i>keyl...</i>	<i>key...</i>	<i>keyl...</i>	...	...	...	...

...

...

Yekun...

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

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 hassı-ı hümayun....tab-i Karacaşehir

<i>veled</i>	<i>veled</i>	<i>birader</i>	<i>veled</i>	<i>veled</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
ç	ç	<i>nim</i>	<i>nim</i>	ç
<i>[an-galle]</i>	<i>[an-galle]</i>	<i>[an-galle]</i>	<i>[an-galle]</i>	<i>[an-galle]</i>
<i>müd</i>	<i>müd</i>	<i>müd</i>	<i>müd</i>	<i>müd</i>
3	...	...	...	...
<i>resm-i</i>	<i>resm-i</i>	<i>resm-i</i>	<i>resm-i</i>	<i>resm-i</i>
ç	<i>nim</i>	<i>nim</i>	<i>nim</i>	ç

...

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

<i>veled</i>	<i>veled</i>	<i>veled</i>	<i>veled</i>	<i>veled</i>	<i>veled</i>	<i>veled</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>m</i>

...

Hasıl.....

²²⁶ BOA, TT, 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 *çift-resmi* are valid and they are also registered in accordance with their different statuses. They are also registered by categories of *çift-resmi*, in addition to their annual tax-in-kind in terms of *müd*.

Moreover, some other villages are recorded as *haric-ez-defter*²²⁷, which is indicating that the villages registered in this way were not found in the former *defter*, *defter-i atik*. For these villages, *çift-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 villages²²⁸.

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 revenues²²⁹. 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 defers*, 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 archeological 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.’”²³⁰

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

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

²³⁰ Foucault, M. *History of Sexuality*, Volume 2, (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), pp.11,12

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.²³¹ 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 olması*), which requires reordering acts of the state by means of *tahrir* surveys. This requirement of reordering could be done by readjustment of those acts

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 country²³². 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, yazılma*). 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 olunup cümle mahrusa bir uğruna tahrir lazımdır.*”²³³

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 units²³⁴. 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 *mücerred* 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

²³² *Ibid*, p.36.

²³³ Karal, Enver Ziya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831*, p.6

²³⁴ 3 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, 1993: 61, 84, 193, 219, 225, 231, 275, 291, 614; 5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, 1994:252; 7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, 1997: 66, 148, 156, 174, 221, 223, 225, 228

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 thier holdings and revenues together with tax exempted groups or groups like *yörüks* without any exception²³⁵.

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.

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*. *Ortakçıl/kesimci* 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 debated²³⁶. 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.

²³⁶ İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", in *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History*, (London, Variorum Reprints, 1985, V); Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590 – 1699" in *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* ed. İnalçık, H., & Quataert, D. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Tezcan, B. *The second Ottoman Empire*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Darling, Linda T. *Revenue-Raising And Legitimacy* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996); Özel, Oktay, "The Reign of Violence", In. *The Ottoman world*, ed. Woodhead, C. (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012).

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 countries²³⁷.

The military expenditure was the most important item of the state’s budget²³⁸. 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 state²³⁹. In this context, the state had to sustain the expenditures of the standing army and had to

²³⁷ Barkan, Omer Lütfi, and Justin McCarthy. "The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: A Turning Point in the Economic History of the Near East." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6, no. 1 (1975): 3-28. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/162732>, pp.4.5.6.8.12.14.

²³⁸ *Ibid*, p.19

²³⁹ Faroqhi, “Crisis and Change, 1590 – 1699”, pp.420, 422; Özel, O. “The Reign of Violence”, p.188.

cope with the changing characteristics of warfare, especially in the Austrian front²⁴⁰. 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 1528-1670²⁴¹. In addition to the expansion of the imperial standing army, mercenaries recruited from all over the countryside.

In the second half of the 16th century, there was an increasing need for soldiers using firearms because of the changed characteristics of warfare, particularly in the war against Habsburgs²⁴². 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-sarıca* troops²⁴³. These *sekban-sarıca* troops were recruited like mercenaries, in the war time they were recruited and paid but in the time of peace, they were not paid²⁴⁴. These people later would become the main human source for the rebellions of great *Celali* leaders and *ayans* for their military power in the 17th and 18th centuries²⁴⁵.

These people filled the ranks of *sekban-sarıca* troops were products of the demographic developments of the 16th century; they were primarily coming from the countryside²⁴⁶. *Tahrir* registers of the Empire shows that there was a trend of increase of the taxpaying population in the 16th 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 16th 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

²⁴⁰ İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", p.288.

²⁴¹ Barkan, "The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: A Turning Point in the Economic History of the near East.", p.19

²⁴² İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", p.288.

²⁴³ *Ibid*, p.289

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, pp.292, 294, 295.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p.295.

²⁴⁶ Özel, O. "The Reign of Violence", p.184

problem for the Ottoman peasants and they were pushed to find livelihoods in some other places²⁴⁷.

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 16th century and the early 17th century²⁴⁸. 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 *kapıkulu* soldiers at the capital²⁴⁹. The picture was worsened by the outcomes of the demographic pressure of the time²⁵⁰. Emergent vagrant peasants filled the ranks of *sekban-sarıcat* troops or they seek livelihood aside from the agriculture. They answered state's military needs and reconfiguration project together with the increasing number of *kapıkulu* 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 government²⁵¹. It is suffice to say that there was "highly mobile and discontented elements at all social levels"²⁵² in the Ottoman polity of the late 16th 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 Anatolia²⁵³.

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

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, pp.186, 187.

²⁴⁸ Barkan, "The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: A Turning Point in the Economic History of the near East.", pp.4.5.6.8.12.14.

²⁴⁹ Özel, O. "The Reign of Violence", p.185

²⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.186, 187.

²⁵¹ *Ibid*, pp.185, 186, 187, 188.

²⁵² *Ibid*, p.189.

²⁵³ *Ibid*, pp.188, 189, 190, 191.

change as in the cases of *kul* system, household and patronage networks, and taxation system²⁵⁴. The countryside was depopulated. There are also signs of renomadization accompanying the depopulation and change in the settlement patterns²⁵⁵. “The plains were increasingly left to either to poorest peasants or the new *çiftlik*-owning askeri, who formed the nucleus of an emerging landed aristocracy all over Anatolia”²⁵⁶. As a result of these, tax farming (*iltizam*) gradually replaced the *timar* system and *askeri çiftlik*s 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 16th century, and the regime of the empire had been transformed in the following century²⁵⁷. 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 16th century and the early 17th 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 17th 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

²⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p.191

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.194

²⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p.194

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”.

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* taxes²⁵⁸. *Avarız-ı 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 areas²⁵⁹. 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 levies²⁶⁰. 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 century²⁶¹.

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 exempted²⁶². Apart from these groups, all adult males in cities and countryside, Muslim and non-Muslim were liable to the *avarız* levies²⁶³. The amount of the *avarız* tax was not settled; it was open to changes according to the financial needs of the state²⁶⁴. The total sum of the requirement for the *avarız* tax was determined firstly by the state, then a certain

²⁵⁸ İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", pp.315, 317, 318.

²⁵⁹ Darling, L. "The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assessment and Collection of the *Cizye* and *Avarız* Taxes, 1560-1660". (PhD diss. University of Chicago, 1990), pp.156, 157, 158.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p.165.

²⁶¹ *Ibid*, p.166.

²⁶² *Ibid*, p. 157, 158.

²⁶³ İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", p.314.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p.315.

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 50²⁶⁵. Finally, a certain amount was paid by the people living on the region according to their liability²⁶⁶.

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 area²⁶⁷.

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 *pişkeş*²⁶⁸.

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 wars²⁶⁹. At its first instances, these levies were extraordinary and they were collected in the time of war with the name of *imdad-ı seferriyye*. 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

²⁶⁵ Sahillioğlu, H. "Avarız" in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v.4, p. 108, (1991)
<http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c04/c040105.pdf> (accessed 21 June 2017).

²⁶⁶ İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", p.315.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, pp.315, 316.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.318.

²⁶⁹ Tabakoğlu, A. "İmdadiyye" in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v.22, p.221, (2000)
<http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c22/c220134.pdf> (accessed 21 June 2017)

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-ı 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 *kapı 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* period²⁷⁰.

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* fiefs²⁷¹. 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 scale²⁷². 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."²⁷³

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

²⁷¹ Genç, M. "Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikane Sistemi" in *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, Genç M. (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2014), p.98

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 environment²⁷⁴. Specific of amount of the annual payment was paid in cash immediately to the state. Moreover, those applicants had to have some financial guarantors²⁷⁵. 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-Muslim²⁷⁶. 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-16th 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 widespreading²⁷⁷.

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 budged 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 crisis²⁷⁸.

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

²⁷⁴ Genç, M. “İltizam” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v.22, (2000) <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c22/c220089.pdf> (accessed 21 June 2017), p.154; Genç, “Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikane Sistemi”, p.97.

²⁷⁵ Genç, M. “İltizam”, p.155.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p.155

²⁷⁷ Genç, “Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikane Sistemi”, pp.97, 98.

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 time²⁷⁹.

The increasing number of central army and *askeri* class from the second half of the 16th 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 17th century. With parallel to this, Muslims dominated the sector at the same time²⁸⁰.

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 time²⁸¹. 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 17th 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 it²⁸². This method of tax-farming was called *malikane*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 lands²⁸⁴.

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

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.99

²⁸⁰ Genç, M. “İltizam”, p.156

²⁸¹ Genç, “Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikane Sistemi”, p.99

²⁸² *Ibid*, p.100

²⁸³ Faroqi, “Crisis and Change, 1590 – 1699”, p.567; Genç, M. “İltizam”, p.156.

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 source²⁸⁵.

These lifelong mukataas 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 sold²⁸⁶.

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. “*Mefruzu’l kalem ve maktu’ül’l-kıdem min külli’l-vücuha serbestiyet üzere hayatda oldukça tasarruf olunmak şartı ile*”, the phrase indicates that no state official could intervene the administration of the *malikane* except *kadıs* with certain administrative-military authority²⁸⁷.

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 them²⁸⁸.

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 rentier group, staying mostly in İstanbul. Because tax-collection was not performed by the actual, original *mültezims* those staying in İstanbul but it was transferred to secondary or tertiary (sub-contract issue) *mültezims* by the original tax-farmer. The

²⁸⁵ Genç, M. “İltizam”, pp.156, 157.

²⁸⁶ Genç, “Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikane Sistemi”, p.102

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p.103

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*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 *cizye*, continued to be collected until its transformation to another tax, *bedel-i askeri*, in the mid-19th century. Actually, *cizye* was an Islamic tax levied on non-Muslim subjects of the Islamic State. It was collected by the officials of the central government²⁹⁰. Until the *cizye* reform in the last decade of the 17th century, this tax was levied on non-Muslim communities in sum, *maktu*, and it shared on non-Muslim households, rather than every single individual with contrast to its legal character. However, after the *cizye* reform, tax was levied on heads, each and every single non-Muslim subjects of the empire by following its original Islamic dictum²⁹¹.

Mostly, woman (if she was not a widow relying on the property of passed husband²⁹²), children, old people and disabled people were exempted²⁹³. Non-Muslim groups performing state services, like *voynuks*, were exempted from *cizye*²⁹⁴. In some cases, there could be some negotiations between the state and communities of non-Muslim subjects on the amount of the tax to be paid²⁹⁵.

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

²⁸⁹ Genç, “Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikane Sistemi”, pp.107, 108, 109; Genç, M. “İltizam”, p.157.

²⁹⁰ İnalçık, H. “Cizye”, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v.8 (1993), <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c08/c080034.pdf> (accessed 21 June 2017), p.45

²⁹¹ Faroqhi, *Crisis and Change, 1590 – 1699*, p.532

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

²⁹³ Faroqhi, *Crisis and Change, 1590 – 1699*, p.532

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

²⁹⁵ İnalçık, H. “Cizye”, p.46.

according to locality, economic and political situation, needs of the state and so on²⁹⁶.

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 1907²⁹⁷.

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 cropsproduced by the subjects of the empire²⁹⁸.

The regularization of *avarız-ı 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

²⁹⁶ *Ibid*, pp.45, 46

²⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p.48

²⁹⁸ Özel, O. "Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri", p.35

Empire²⁹⁹. 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*³⁰⁰.

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 conflicts³⁰¹. 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*³⁰².

In this regard, the Ottoman financial administration and organization experienced gradual change and adaptation pragmatically to the conditions of the century in the 17th century³⁰³. Darling also identifies the emergence of separate bureaus around 1604 for the accounts of *cizye*, imperial pious foundations. *Cizye* bureau was also

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

³⁰⁰ Özel, O. "Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri", pp. 38, 39.

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

expanded from 1604 to 1620³⁰⁴. Thus, the Ottoman finance department adapted itself and its book-keeping practices to the conditions of the 17th 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 *avariz defters* from 1620s³⁰⁵.

In the classical age of the empire, the registers for *avariz* levies, extraordinary levies in those times, and *cizye* were prepared by the *kadis* during the *tahrir* survey³⁰⁶. *Cizye* was levied on non-Muslim households, *hanes*, disregarding the actual number of members of households before the last decade of the 17th century. Until the mid-17th century, *cizye* and *avariz* surveys were also conducted by local *kadis*. 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 society³⁰⁷.

4.4.3 Procedures of the Surveys

Avariz and *cizye defters* of the 17th 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 *avariz* taxes was *avariz-hane*. Like *maktu* system of the *cizye*, according to the different conditions, the number of actual households, *hanes*, included by *avariz-hanes* was determined³⁰⁸.

The very procedures of the *avariz* surveys as the continuation of classical book-keeping methods were performed by local *kadis* 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 *avariz* and

³⁰⁴ *Ibid*, pp.78, 79.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid*, pp.174, 176, 177.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p.149.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid*, pp.149, 150, 151

³⁰⁸ Özel, O. "Avariz 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 Sığla 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-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.”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

³¹¹ *Ibid*, pp.168, 169.

documents confirming their tax status. Because of their efforts, the surveyor and his helpers would gain favor and their petitions would be answered³¹².

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 procedures³¹³. For another *avarız* and *cizye* survey, the *kadı* 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 found according to the former register and others would be registered in new *avarız* register³¹⁴.

According to the orders of *avarız* and *cizye* surveys published by Özel, the surveyors were ordered 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*, *serbestan* *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 knowledgeable person appointed to conduct the survey to register taxliable non-Muslims, *avarız-hanes* and *mukataas* and other state's assets according to 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 *köprücüs*,

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, thier 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/warrant³¹⁵.

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 capital³¹⁶

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 prepatated based on the *mufassal defter* and this summary

³¹⁵ Özel, O. "Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri", pp. 49, 50.

³¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.50

registers only include the number of *cizye* and *avarız-hanes* on a certain administrative scale³¹⁷.

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 register³¹⁸. 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*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.”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 place³²¹. 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.

³¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.40

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

³¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.163, 164, 166

³²⁰ *Ibid*, p.166

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 defter* 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)³²⁵

Mahalle-i Çukur

<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>ala</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>evsat</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>mis</i>

Neferan 8, Hane 2

Askeriyan-i Sakin-i Mahalle-i Mezbur

<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>

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

³²⁵ BOA, MAD, nr.2498_00003

category of the former³²⁶. 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 *Nahiye-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)³²⁷

Nahiye-i Etraf-ı Şehirtabi-i Kaza-i Kütahya

Karye-i Bölücek

<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>imam</i>	<i>çift 2</i>	<i>çift 2</i>	<i>çift 2</i>	<i>çift 2</i>	<i>çift 1</i>	<i>çift 1</i>	<i>çift 1</i>	<i>mis</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>mis</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>edna</i>	<i>edna</i>	<i>edna</i>	<i>edna</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>mis</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>					
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>					
<i>mis</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>mis</i>					

Neferan 22

İmam neferan 1

Reaya neferan 21, Hane 5,25

³²⁶ Aydın, M. “Avarız Defterlerine Göre XVII. Yüzyılda Kütahya”. *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* (2016) 199-232, p.205

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 amount 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 *edna*³²⁸.

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-hane*³²⁹. 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-hane*³³¹, 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 farmers*³³³.

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 terror*³³⁵, or *there had been nothing for 30 years*³³⁶. There are also other villages with miserable conditions inhabited but they are not counted in the *avarız-hane*³³⁷.

³²⁸ “bir çift 30 dönümdür” BOA, MAD, nr.2498_00008; “ikişer çift kayd olan aladır çift kayd olunan evsatdır” 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*)³³⁸.

In some districts (*mahalles*) or villages (*karyes*), certain people are registered as *pretending to be a janissary without a diploma (yeniçeri geçünür temessükü yokdur)*³³⁹, *pretending to be a sayyid*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*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*³⁴², including those pretenders³⁴³. If a *çiftlik* was owned by a member of *askeri* class, it is also underlined and it is not counted in the *avarız-hane*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*³⁴⁵.

It is noted by the surveyors that some tax-exempted villages, especially *vaqf lands*³⁴⁶, and certain number of villages performing a state services, like *derbendciyan*³⁴⁷, *köprüciyan*³⁴⁸, had received migration(*karye-i mezburda reaya çoğalmıştır!*), 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 *avariz* 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 chosen 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

<i>baştina</i>	<i>baştina</i>	<i>baştina</i>	<i>baştina</i>	<i>baştina</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	40	40	50
40	45	45	45	40			

<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>baştina</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
40	45	40	35	35	35	40	<i>name</i>
							50

hane: 10 hasil: 411 , baştina: 6 hasil: 255

...
...
...

Karye-i.....

<i>baştina</i>	<i>baştina</i>	<i>baştina</i>	<i>baştina</i>	<i>baştina</i>	<i>baştina</i>	<i>baştina</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
37	40	37	40	40	40	40

<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
40	40	37	35	35	35	35

<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
35	35	35	35	50	50	50	50

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

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 amoun of *hanes* is written. In this register, because of the particular characteristics of the region, *baştinas*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 Sidrekapısı mütemekkin-i Selanik*”, and the register is dated as 1052(1642/43)³⁵¹. It records the settled Christians in the *vilayet* of Sidrekapısı.

Districts are recored in the way that

Table 3.2: Registration of districts in the *Cizye Defter* of Sidrekapısı (1052/1642-43)³⁵²

Mahalle-i

<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>

Hane: 43

³⁵⁰ Emecen, F. “Baştina” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 135-136 (1992)
<http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c05/c050107.pdf> (accessed 21 June 2017)

³⁵¹ BOA, MAD, nr.01209_00001

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 dated³⁵³.

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 *kadı* of Edirne, were written with their seals.

Communities were recorded in the following way.

³⁵³ BOA, MAD, nr.01209_00011

Table 3.3: Registration of Communities in the *Cizye Defter* of Edirne (1100/1688-89)³⁵⁴

Cema'ati Portugal-ı Sagir

<i>haham</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>veled</i>	<i>veled</i>	<i>veled</i>	<i>veled</i>	<i>veled</i>
<i>veled</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>
<i>name</i>	<i>ala</i>	<i>evsat</i>	<i>ala</i>	<i>ala</i>	<i>evsat</i>
<i>ala</i>					

...
...
...

Nefer 67 , ala nefer : 17, evsat nefer 23, edna nefer: 27

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 *nefer*, and the total number of taxpayers of each economic category separately is noted, *ala nefer*, *evsat nefer*, *edna nefer*.

At the end of the *defter*, the surveyors' names are recorded and the register is sealed³⁵⁵.

4.4.4.2.4 KK3810 (1102/1690-91)

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

³⁵⁴ BOA, MAD, nr.04021_00001

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 surveyors³⁵⁶.

Those having same tax status for each administrative unit, a district or village, are registered together, in the following way.



³⁵⁶ BOA, KK, nr.03810

Table 3.4: Registration of districts and villages in the *Cizye Defter* of Sivas, Sivasili, Tokad, Niksar and Zile (1102/1690-91)³⁵⁷

*Cizye-i neferat Ala*³⁵⁸

Name v.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 ...cıdır , ala*
 Name v. name... *orta boylu açık kaşlı ak sakallı bazargandır, ala*

*Cizye-i neferat evsat haldir mahalle-i mezbur*³⁶⁰

Name v. name... *uzun boylu açık kaşlı ela gözlü kır sakallı ...cıdır, Ermeni*
 Name v. name.... *ortaca boylu açık kaşlı ela gözlü kıralmış 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 sarı ela gözlü kır sakallı ...cıdır, Ermeni*
 ...
 ...
 ...

4.5 Enumeration of the Subjects in the 17th Century

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

³⁵⁷ BOA, KK, nr.03810_00001

³⁵⁸ BOA, KK, nr.03810_00001

³⁵⁹ *Veled*: Son of

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.”³⁶¹ 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 residences³⁶². 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-liable “population” in the region. Movements of *reaya* on the region, their migration as mentioned, were problematized

³⁶¹ Darling, L. “The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assessment and Collection of the *Cizye* and *Avarız* Taxes, 1560-1660”, pp.168, 169

³⁶² *Ibid*, pp.170, 171.

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 Darling³⁶³, *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 Özel³⁶⁴, also would be registered and counted in *avarız-hanes* to enforce them to pay the tax. *Ulema* and *seyyids* 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,

³⁶³ Darling, L. "The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assessment and Collection of the *Cizye* and *Avarız* Taxes, 1560-1660"

³⁶⁴ Özel, O. "Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri"

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 *mukataatdefters* 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

compiled registers, new form of register started to be used by the state finance to keep the accounts of the *timar* and *ziamet* holders, namely *derdest defters*³⁶⁵.

In the classica *tahrir defters*, *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 *avariz defters* 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 *avariz* 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 avariz defters*, the scope of taxpaying subjects was extended and they were registered accordingly. In the cllasical 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 privilages. In the 17th century, that boundaries had staterted to be blurred and the classical distinction between *askeri* and *reaya* had starterted 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 çiftliks* had emerged. Villages without *reaya* had emerged, as registered in the *avariz defter* of Kütahya. In the case of *avariz* taxes, some former members of *askeri* class were

³⁶⁵ Afyoncu, Erhan., “XVII.Yüzyıl Osmanlı Bürokrasisinde İki Yeni Defter: Cebe ve Derdest Defterleri”, Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi XV: 221-229 (2000)

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 hieararch 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*s of *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*³⁶⁶ 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,

³⁶⁶ As cited by Karal, Enver Ziya. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831*, p.6.

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 listed 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 period³⁶⁷. 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 *sekbân-sarıca* 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 *sekbân-sarıca* troops, *pashas* were allowed to raise their own levies, which was called *imdadîyes*, and these troops had become the *kapu-halkı* of the provincial governors³⁶⁸.

From 1690s onward, *mukataas* were mostly given to *ayans*³⁶⁹. Local families started to struggle for these offices of tax-collection and administration³⁷⁰. In the 18th century, the occupation of these offices by local *ayans* became hereditary for certain families in the provinces³⁷¹. Their de facto rule became de jure rule and authority, when they were appointed to the offices by the sultan³⁷². 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 century³⁷³.

³⁶⁷ İnalcık, H. "Centralization and Decentralization in the Ottoman Administration", in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History* ed. Thomas Naff - Roger Owen (Carbondale-Edwardsville 1977), p. 27-52, p.28

³⁶⁸ Özkaya, Y. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ayanlık*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), p.53

³⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p.56

³⁷⁰ İnalcık, H. "Centralization and Decentralization in the Ottoman Administration", p.32

³⁷¹ *Ibid*, p.32

³⁷² *Ibid*, p.32

³⁷³ Özkaya, Y. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda 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 roles³⁷⁴. These registers were used to distribute levies like *avarız*, *imdadiye*, *mali maktu*, *vilayet harcı*, 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”³⁷⁵. After the preparation of a tevzi defter, units of taxation were determined, kadıs approved the register, Than the defter was given to the mübaşir 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 on³⁷⁶.

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 İnalcık, “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 be 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-ı 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-ı 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,

³⁷⁷ McGowan, B. "The Age of Ayans 1699-1812", In. *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. İnalcık, H., & Quataert, D (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Shaw, S. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume I: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Shaw, S. *Between Old and New: the Ottoman Empire under Selim III, 1789-1807*(Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1971); Yaycıoğlu, A. *Partners of the Empire: the Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2017).

³⁷⁸ Başaran, B. *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in İstanbul at the end of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p.77

administrative, fiscal and social order³⁷⁹. 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 oppositions³⁸⁰. The opposition was mostly coming from members of *ulema*³⁸¹, janissaries, migrants in İstanbul due to the economic conditions and some *ayans* in the provinces³⁸².

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 duties³⁸³. Moreover, provincial *sipahis* were inspected and deficiencies tried to be eliminated. *Timar* fiefs were tried to be only given to those being able to fight³⁸⁴. However, these reforms were not successful as such³⁸⁵. 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 *sipahis* for the modern warfare, the central government took another measure; totally new infantry was organized accordingly, the *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 *İrad-ı Cedid*, the New Revenue. The sources of the revenue were

³⁷⁹ Yaycıoğlu, A. *Partners of the Empire: the Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions*, p.61

³⁸⁰ *Ibid*, pp.54-61

³⁸¹ Shaw, S. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume I*, p.272-274.

³⁸² Yaycıoğlu, A. *Partners of the Empire*, p.62

³⁸³ Shaw, S. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume I*, p.261

³⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p.261

³⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p.262

those lands just opened to cultivation and seized fiefs formerly owned by absent holders³⁸⁶. Mostly, Turkish peasants (*gözü açılmamış köylüden*³⁸⁷) sent 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 merit³⁸⁸.

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 order³⁸⁹, like inspection of coffeehouses and bachelor rooms³⁹⁰. 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 negotiation³⁹¹. 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 time³⁹².

Resistance against the New Order came from some circles within the central government, *ulema*, janissaries, provincial notables, *ayans*, and provincial communities³⁹³. The worsened economic conditions in the capital also contributed

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 İstanbul 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 program³⁹⁴, 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 auxiliaries³⁹⁵. 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 Alemdar³⁹⁶. After this incident, Alemdar became the grand vizier with exceptional power and authority. He initiated a shortlived regime sealed with the Deed of Alliance, *Sened-i İttifak*, which formalized the partnership of the imperial center and *ayans*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

³⁹⁴ Yaycıoğlu, A. *Partners of the Empire*, pp.61, 62

³⁹⁵ Yaycıoğlu, A. *Partners of the Empire*, p.173; Shaw, S. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume I*, pp.273, 274.

³⁹⁶ Yaycıoğlu, A. *Partners of the Empire*, p.186

³⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p.194

central government³⁹⁸. 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 on³⁹⁹. 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 1807⁴⁰⁰. High degree members of *ulema* were also integrated into the reform party⁴⁰¹. Finally, janissaries were standing alone against the imperial center; corps was abolished in 1826⁴⁰². 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 bureaucracy⁴⁰³.

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 events⁴⁰⁴.

“Vak’ahayriyeden[sic] sonra devletialiyenin[sic] ekser usul ve adat ve nizamati[sic] kadimesi deđişüp zavabıtı[sic] mülkiyenin esası olan tahriri[sic] nüfus kaziyesi mukaddemce merkezi saltanatıta icra olunmuş isede gavaili[sic] harbiyyenin teakubu manii tamimi olmuştur.”⁴⁰⁵

By referencing *layih*as 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

³⁹⁸ Yaycıođlu, A. *Partners of the Empire*, p.241

³⁹⁹ Sunar, M.M., *Cauldron of Dissent: A Study of the Janissary Corps, 1807-1826*. (PhD Dissertation. Binghamton University-SUNY, 2006), pp.177, 178, 179, 180, 193

⁴⁰⁰ Yaycıođlu, A. *Partners of the Empire*, p.242; Sunar, M.M., *Cauldron of Dissent: A Study of the Janissary Corps, 1807-1826*, p.176

⁴⁰¹ Sunar, M.M., *Cauldron of Dissent: A Study of the Janissary Corps, 1807-1826*, pp.206, 207.

⁴⁰² Yaycıođlu, A. *Partners of the Empire*, p.241

⁴⁰³ Shaw, S., “The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol.9, No.3 (Oct. 1978), p.325.

⁴⁰⁴ Karal, Enver Ziya. 1943. *Osmanlı İmparatorluđunda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831*, p.8

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p.8

Muslim and non-Muslim was subverted, all traditionally tax exempted groups, whose services were no longer required by the state, were still enjoying their tax exempted status⁴⁰⁶. 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 Lütü* that this survey was for the purpose of military recruitment, though this objective was embodied in the registers, according to Karal⁴⁰⁷.

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 known⁴⁰⁸. In Mahmud's terms, the census was described as "memaliki mahrusatül mesaliki mülkanerinde meskun ve mütevattin ve mevcut olan ehli islam ve Reayanın dahi taraf bertaraf tahrirleriyle defatirinin takdimi ..." ⁴⁰⁹. Although the conduct of such a survey was the first attempt and the official staff was unpracticed, the survey covered an extensive regional zone⁴¹⁰.

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 recruitment⁴¹¹. A new council was organized for transactions and regulations of the survey and instructions were prepared by this council for the procedures of the survey⁴¹².

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p.11

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 11, 12.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p.10

⁴⁰⁹ As cited by Karal, p.12

⁴¹⁰ Karpas, Kemal H. *Ottoman Population 1830-1914, Demographic and Social Characteristics*, (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p.21.

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 people⁴¹³. The reason of this could be also related with the reorganization of bureaucracy⁴¹⁴. 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”⁴¹⁵. 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 only⁴¹⁶. In order to collect, organize and summarize the results of the compiled registers after the surveys, new state department was established, *Ceride Nezareti*⁴¹⁷. It was established in 1829 and worked until 1853, when the organizational framework of the Ottoman institutions was replaced by European models⁴¹⁸. The census clerks in each *kazas* would register every single birth, death, migration and they would prepare reports to be sent the central department in the capital⁴¹⁹.

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 *mathuba muvafik*, meaning that having characteristics required, and *gayri-muvafik*, 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(*ihitiyar*), little child(*sabi*), crippled(*sakat*) etc. For some places, ages were considered in three categories,

⁴¹³ *Ibid*, p.12

⁴¹⁴ Shaw, S., “The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914”, p.326.

⁴¹⁵ Karal, Enver Ziya. 1943. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831*, p.12

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.18

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.12

⁴¹⁸ Karpas, Kemal H. *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, p.20

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid* p.20

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 service⁴²⁰.

For the registration of non-Muslims, at the first hand, non-Muslim subjects of the empire were named and registered as *reaya*, in the registers for mostly Christians, *kiptis*(gypsies) and Jewish subjects were registered separately⁴²¹. When the religious community was large enough, they were registered according to their *millets*⁴²². For instance, Bulgarians were recorded as *taife-i Bulgar* in the *Filibe defter*⁴²³. Regardless of the ethnicity, non-Muslim subjects were classified and registered by two categories, *cizyeye müstehak*, being eligible for *cizye* and not being eligible to *cizye*. For those would be levied by *cizye*, there were also three categories, by following the tradition of this non-Muslim head-tax, *edna*(low), *evsat*(middle), *ala*(high)⁴²⁴, 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 *reaya*, non-Muslim subjects. They were also sometimes mixed with tribes (*aşirets*) mistakenly. Tribes were registered separately time to time⁴²⁵.

The census published by Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, actually is *icmal* (summary) form, named in *hülasa* in the register itself⁴²⁶. The text is organized according to description above with the summary of detailed (*mufassal*) registers, by only including the total sums for each and every category of registration.

⁴²⁰ Karal, Enver Ziya. 1943. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831*, p.18

⁴²¹ Karal, Enver Ziya. 1943. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831*, p.19; Karpat, Kemal H. *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, p.20

⁴²² Karal, Enver Ziya. 1943. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831*, p.19

⁴²³ Karpat, Kemal H. *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, p.21

⁴²⁴ Karal, Enver Ziya. 1943. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı 1831*, p.19

⁴²⁵ *Ibid*, pp.20, 21

⁴²⁶ *Ibid*, p.28

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 Çadırcı⁴²⁷, 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 (zükür-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*⁴²⁸.

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 age⁴²⁹.

Another *defter*⁴³⁰, 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*.

⁴²⁷ Çadırcı, Musa. "1830 Genel Sayımına Göre Ankara Şehir Merkezi Nüfusu Üzerinde Bir Araştırma", *the Journal of Ottoman Studies*, (İstanbul, 1980).

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.

<i>Yekun Mahallat</i>	<i>Yekun Hane</i>	<i>Yekun Nüfus</i>
86	2922	6352

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 register⁴³¹ 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

Ala/Evsat/Edna

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 kır bıyıklı/ orta boylu siyah bıyıklı...

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 kiracısı*⁴³². 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 nakil*⁴³⁴).

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

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 given⁴³⁶.

Firstly, the non-Muslim male population is categorized according to their *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, *edna*(low), *evsat*(middle), *ala*(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 *defter* for other *millets*, namely Catholics and Armenians⁴³⁷. In one register, Catholic subjects were registered. The register is starting with an index showing the total number of households and population (*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 (*edna evsat ala*) and their ages.

The register is organized according to the districts, like former *defters*. In each district, non-Muslim 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 *defter*, Armenian subjects were registered in the same way⁴³⁸. 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.

⁴³⁶ BOA, *NFS*, nr.01748_0002

⁴³⁷ BOA, *NFS*, nr.01749

⁴³⁸ BOA, *NFS*, nr.01750

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*⁴³⁹.

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 records⁴⁴⁰. 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 used⁴⁴¹. 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"⁴⁴².

⁴³⁹ Shaw, S. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p.40

⁴⁴⁰ Çadırcı, Musa. *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013), pp.45, 46

⁴⁴¹ Çadırcı, 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 taxation⁴⁴³. 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 God⁴⁴⁴. 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 recruitment⁴⁴⁵. 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

⁴⁴³ Güran, Tevfik. "19. Yüzyıl Temettüat Tahrirleri" in *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bilgi ve İstatistik* ed. İnalçık, H. and Pamuk, Ş. (Ankara: T.C Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000), p.75

⁴⁴⁴ "Tanzimat Fermanı" in *Tanzimat, Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, ed. İnalçık, H. and Seyitdanlioğlu M. (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014), p.13; İnalçık, H. "Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu" in *Tanzimat, Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, ed. İnalçık, H. and Seyitdanlioğlu M. (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014), p.99.

⁴⁴⁵ "Tanzimat Fermanı", pp.13, 14; İnalçık, H. "Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu", p.99.

establishment is required and some expenses must be met, and this would be made by means of taxation⁴⁴⁶.

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 collected⁴⁴⁷.

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 nüfus 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 service⁴⁴⁸.

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 Empire⁴⁴⁹. 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 sharia⁴⁵⁰.

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

⁴⁴⁶ “Tanzimat Fermanı”, p.14; İnalçık, H. “Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu”, p.100.

⁴⁴⁷ “Tanzimat Fermanı”, p.14; İnalçık, H. “Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu”, p.100.

⁴⁴⁸ “Tanzimat Fermanı”, pp.14, 15; İnalçık, H. “Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu”, pp.100, 101.

⁴⁴⁹ “Tanzimat Fermanı”, p. 15; İnalçık, H. “Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu”, p. 101.

⁴⁵⁰ İnalçık, H. “Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu”, pp.106, 107.

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, *muhassılık*. The basic task of *muhassılıks* was to conduct new surveys to determine the population and its financial capacities for the newly introduced taxes⁴⁵¹. For the surveys, scribes were also appointed to work with *muhassıls*⁴⁵². New councils (*muhassılık meclisleri*) were also be established to help tasks of *muhassıls*. Members of these councils were *kadı*, military commander of the region, local notables, representatives of religious and ethnic communities (*metropolit* and *kocabaş*), and scribes⁴⁵³. The government issued instructions and regulations, *talimatnames* and *nizamnames*, for the tasks of *muhassıls*, surveyors and the survey procedures⁴⁵⁴.

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 artisans⁴⁵⁵. Scribes would be accompanying the *muhassıls* for the survey. All holdings would be registered as it was ordered and any violating,

⁴⁵¹ Güran, Tevfik. “19. Yüzyıl Temettüat Tahrirleri”, p.76.

⁴⁵² *Ibid*, p.76.

⁴⁵³ *Tahrir-i Emlak ve Nüfus Talimat Defteri*, BOA, A_{DVNSNZAM, nr. 00039_00003; Özkaya, Y. and Akyıldız, A. “Muhassıl”, in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v.31(2006) <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c31/c310013.pdf> (accessed 21 June 2017), p.19

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 *muhasıls* in 1840.

However, the intended aim of the surveys could not be realized. The basic aim of the introduction of *muhasıllık* 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 *muhasıls* 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 *muhasıllık* 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

⁴⁵⁶ BOA, A_{DVNSNZAM, nr. 00039_00004

⁴⁵⁷ Güran, Tefik. “19. Yüzyıl Temettüat Tahrirleri”, p.76

⁴⁵⁸ Özkaya, Y. and Akyıldız, A. “Muhassıl”, p.19

⁴⁵⁹ Çadırcı, Musa. *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı*, p. 209; Güran, Tefik. “19. Yüzyıl Temettüat Tahrirleri”, p.76

⁴⁶⁰ Çadırcı, Musa. *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı*, pp. 209, 210

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid*, p.210

⁴⁶² Güran, Tefik. “19. Yüzyıl Temettüat 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 village⁴⁶⁴.

5.6.1 Two *Temettuat Defters* of 1840s

The *temettuat* surveys were conducted by *muhtars* and *imams* for the Muslims and by *kocabaşıs* 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 subjects⁴⁶⁵.

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*⁴⁶⁶, papers of *cizye* levies for non-Muslims, the amount traditional tithe(*öşür*) in kind and in cash were recorded for each household⁴⁶⁷. 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 underlined⁴⁶⁸.

5.6.1.1 Registration of Muslims

An example⁴⁶⁹ 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, *Kıraçlık*. People/households are documented also as shown below.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p.76

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p.77

⁴⁶⁶ It was a form of annual income tax as mentioned by Güran, Tevfik. "19. Yüzyıl Temettüat Tahrirleri", p.77

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p.77

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.78

⁴⁶⁹ BOA, ML.VRD.TMT, nr.07833

“Hüdavendigâr Eyaleti dahilinde Bilecik Kaymakamlığı mülhakatında Eskişehir kazasına tabi Kiraçlık karyesinde mukin ahaliî İslâmın Emlak ve arazi ve temettuatlarının mikdarını mübeyyin defterdir.”⁴⁷⁰

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)⁴⁷¹

Karye-i Kiraçlık.....

Hane 1

Muhtar-ı Karye Ali Ağa

Erbabı ziraatle etdiği.....

Senei Sabıkada Virgüs 160

Aşar olarak ita eylemek olduğu

Hınta kile... guruş... and other agricultural products...

hasıl...

Aşar

Guruş...

Hasılat-ı Senevisi

Mezru Tarlar Dönüm... guruş... nadas tarlası dönüm... guruş...

Bağı ve Bostanı dönüm...guruş...[myrbr?bkması?] dönüm...guruş...

re's

Kısrak

...

Kara sığır öküz

...

Merkep

...

Sağman sığır

...

Merkumum bir senede tahminen temetau eder 2245

Hane 2, Numara 2

Name

Senei sabıkda virgüsü...

Aşar... hınta ve diğer mahsüller...

hasıl ...

Hasılat-ı Senevisi

Mezru tarla dönüm... guruş... nadas tarlası dönüm...guruş...

re's

Kara sığır öküz

...

Merkep

...

Sağman kara sığır

...

Merkumun bir senedetahmini temettuatı

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 register⁴⁷² 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 mahallde mukim yahudi milletin emlak ve temettuatlarıyle cizyelerinin mikdarini mübeyyin defterdir”

Households were documented in the following way.

⁴⁷² BOA, ML.VRD.TMT, nr.00144

Table 4.2: Registration of non-Muslims in *Temettuat Defters* (1261/1845)⁴⁷³

Hane 1 Numero 1

Haham oğlu ... emlak ve arazi ve temettuatı

Ala cizye

Attar esnafından itdüğü

Senei sabıkada virgü olarak vermiş olduğu 700

mersumun sakin olduğu hanesinden maada bir göz emlakı olub fakat hıfzına yerine tahminen temettuatı...diger temettuatı...

Hane 2 Numbre 2

Falanca oğlu filanca emlak ve arazi ve temettuatı...

Evsat Cizye

Atar esnafından itdüğü

Senei sabıkada virgü olarak vermiş olduğu...

Mersumun sakin olduğu hanesine maada bir göz emlak olub fakat hıfzından bir senede tahminen temettuat...

5.7 Towards genuine population censuses

The administrative mechanisms of these registers, *nüfus defters* of 1830s and *temettuat defters* of 1840s, had functioned until 1850s⁴⁷⁴. 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 1840s⁴⁷⁵ because of migration to the Danube province after the revolutions of 1848 and Crimean War⁴⁷⁶. After these changes, new census was planned in order cope with the current

⁴⁷³ BOA, ML.VRD.TMT, nr.00144_00002

⁴⁷⁴ Karpat, Kemal H. *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, p.20

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p.24

⁴⁷⁶ Shaw, S. *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 ethnic 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 census⁴⁷⁷.

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 administrations⁴⁷⁸. 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 in 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 list⁴⁷⁹.

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 Karpaz, 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 models⁴⁸⁰. In this year, a Regulation for the Population Registers (*Sicil-i Nüfus Nizamnamesi*⁴⁸¹) was issued. It determined the organization of the registration system and rules and regulations of the census making processes and procedures in the provinces⁴⁸². In 1881, *Nüfus-ı Umumi İdaresi* was also established within the organization of the Ministry of Interior⁴⁸³.

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 card, they were not being able to dwell upon any official matters and they would be punished accordingly. In terms of the regularity of

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 30, 31.

⁴⁸¹ BOA, A.}DVN.MKL, nr. 00020_00036_001_001

⁴⁸² Karpas, 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 annually⁴⁸⁴.

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 Karpas, 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 1905/6⁴⁸⁵.

5.8 Conclusion: Enumerations of the Subjects in the 19th Century

In the long 19th 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 empire⁴⁸⁶. One of the

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p.32

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p.33, 34, 35

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 (*hane*). Through these surveys, subjects were documented with respect to their holdings, property and income and the status of the *cizye* 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 19th 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 (*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 policies⁴⁸⁷, and as important dimension of domestic and foreign politics⁴⁸⁸. In Tanzimat era, aimed developments in agriculture, industry and trade were directly associated with policies about the population⁴⁸⁹. The population of the empire was understood as a source of wealth and prosperity⁴⁹⁰. New policies were initiated to protect and to increase the population⁴⁹¹. Moreover, the population had become a crucial element in domestic and foreign politics in the world of nations and nation-state politics⁴⁹². 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 19th century, like Namık Kemal, were participated debates related with the issue of the population of the empire⁴⁹³. Throughout these processes in the 19th 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

⁴⁸⁷ Dursun, Selçuk. "Population Policies of the Ottoman State in the Tanzimat Era, 1840-1870". (Master Thesis, Sabancı University, 2002)

⁴⁸⁸ Karpaz, Kemal H. *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, pp.28, 29

⁴⁸⁹ Dursun, Selçuk. *Population Policies of the Ottoman State in the Tanzimat Era, 1840-1870*

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹² Karpaz, Kemal H. *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, pp.28, 29, 30

⁴⁹³ Fındıkoğlu, Ziyaeddin Fahri. "Namık Kemal ve Nüfus Meselesi", *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 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.

⁴⁹⁴ Islamoğlu, Huri. “Towards a Political Economy of Legal and Administrative Constitutions of Individual Property” in *Constituting Modernity: Private Property in the East and West* ed. Huri Islamoglu, (London: I.B.Tauris, 2004); “Politics of Administering Property: Law and Statistics in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire” in *Constituting Modernity: Private Property in the East and West*, ed. Huri Islamoglu (London: I.B.Tauris, 2004); “Property as a Contested Domain: A Re-evaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 “, *New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East*, ed. Roger Owen (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).

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

exercise of power is possible by means of an economy of discourses of truth and vice versa⁴⁹⁵. 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 subjects⁴⁹⁶ 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 *cizye 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

⁴⁹⁵ Foucault, "Two Lectures", in. *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Foucault, Michel, and Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p.93

⁴⁹⁶ Foucault, M. *History of Sexuality, Volume 2*, (New York, Vintage Books, 1990), pp.11,12

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 *defter*s 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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BOA, MAD, nr. 2498

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BOA, MAD, nr. 4277

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c) Kamil Kepeci Tasnifi(KK)

KK, nr. 3810

d) Maliye Nezareti Maliye Varidat Muhasebesi Temettuat
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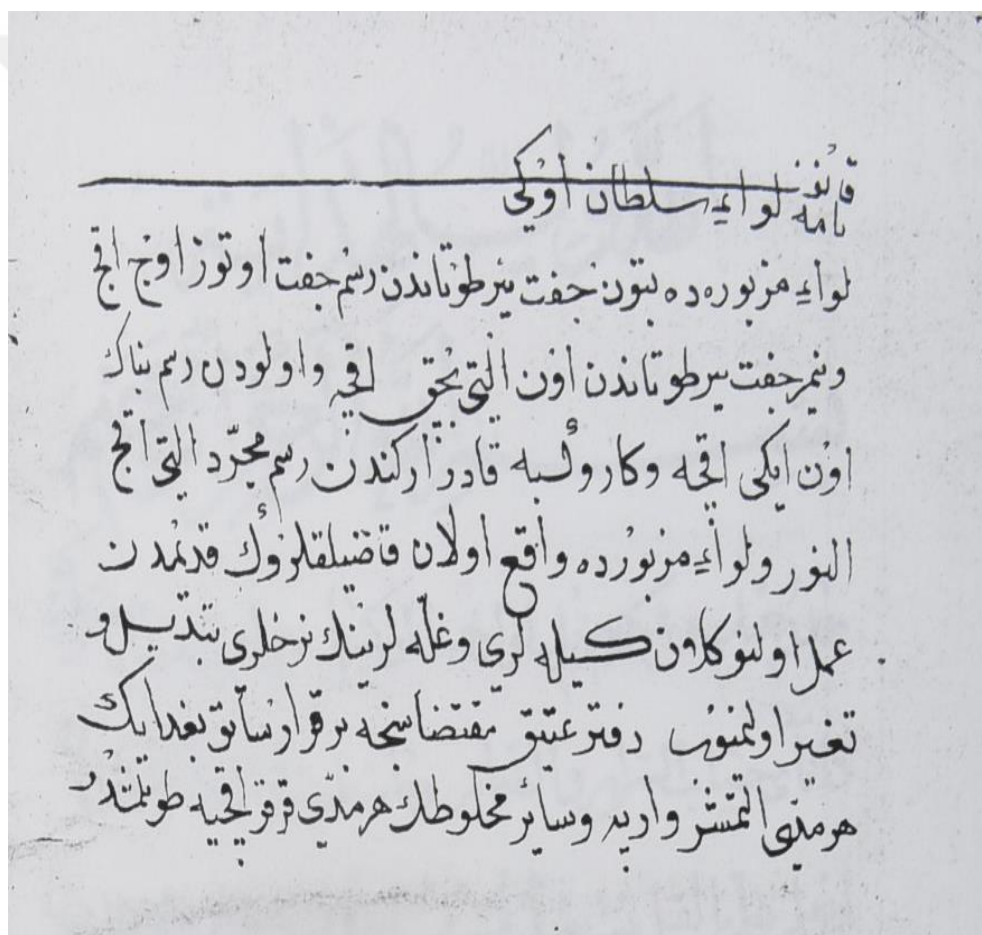
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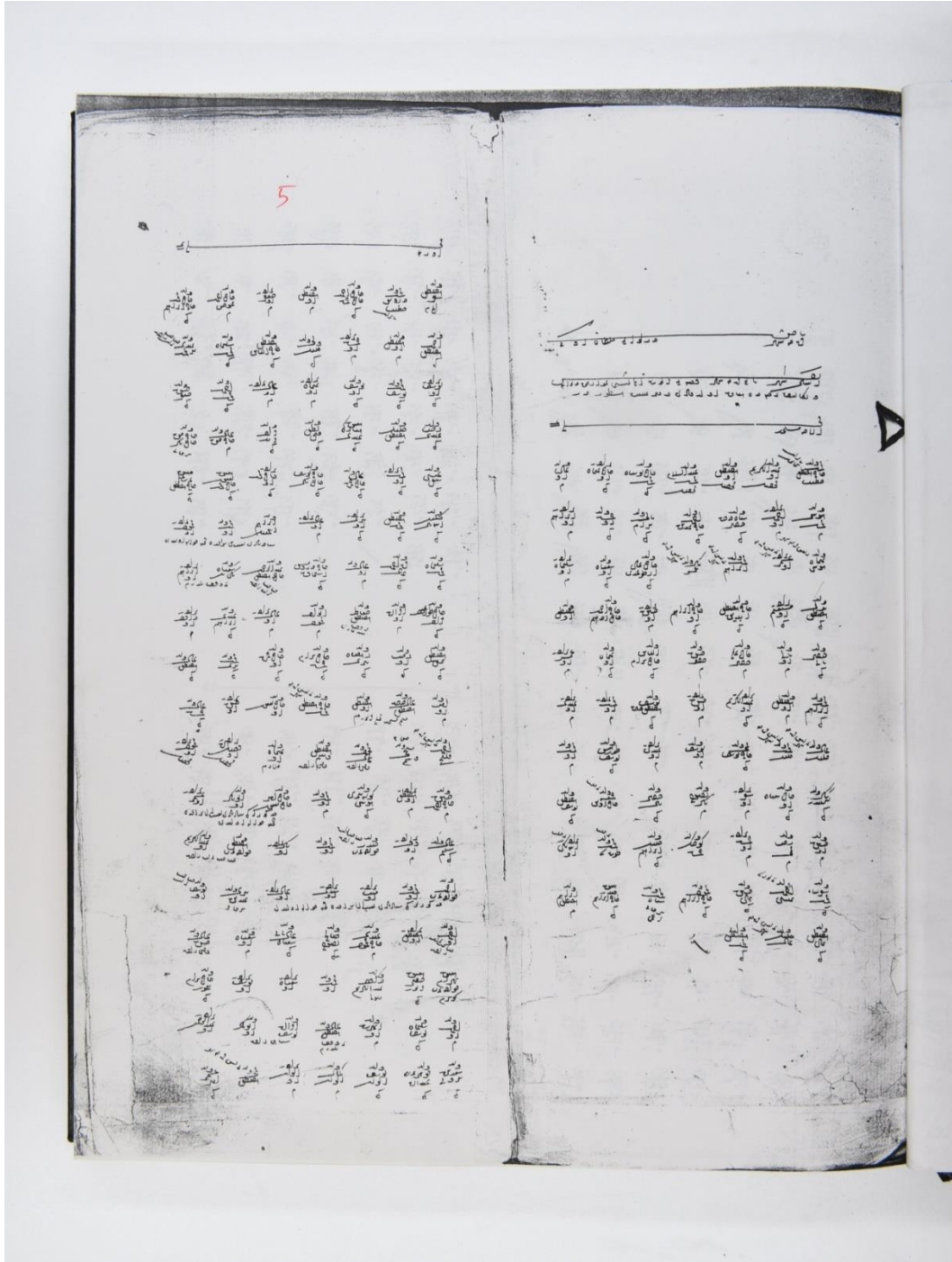


APPENDICES

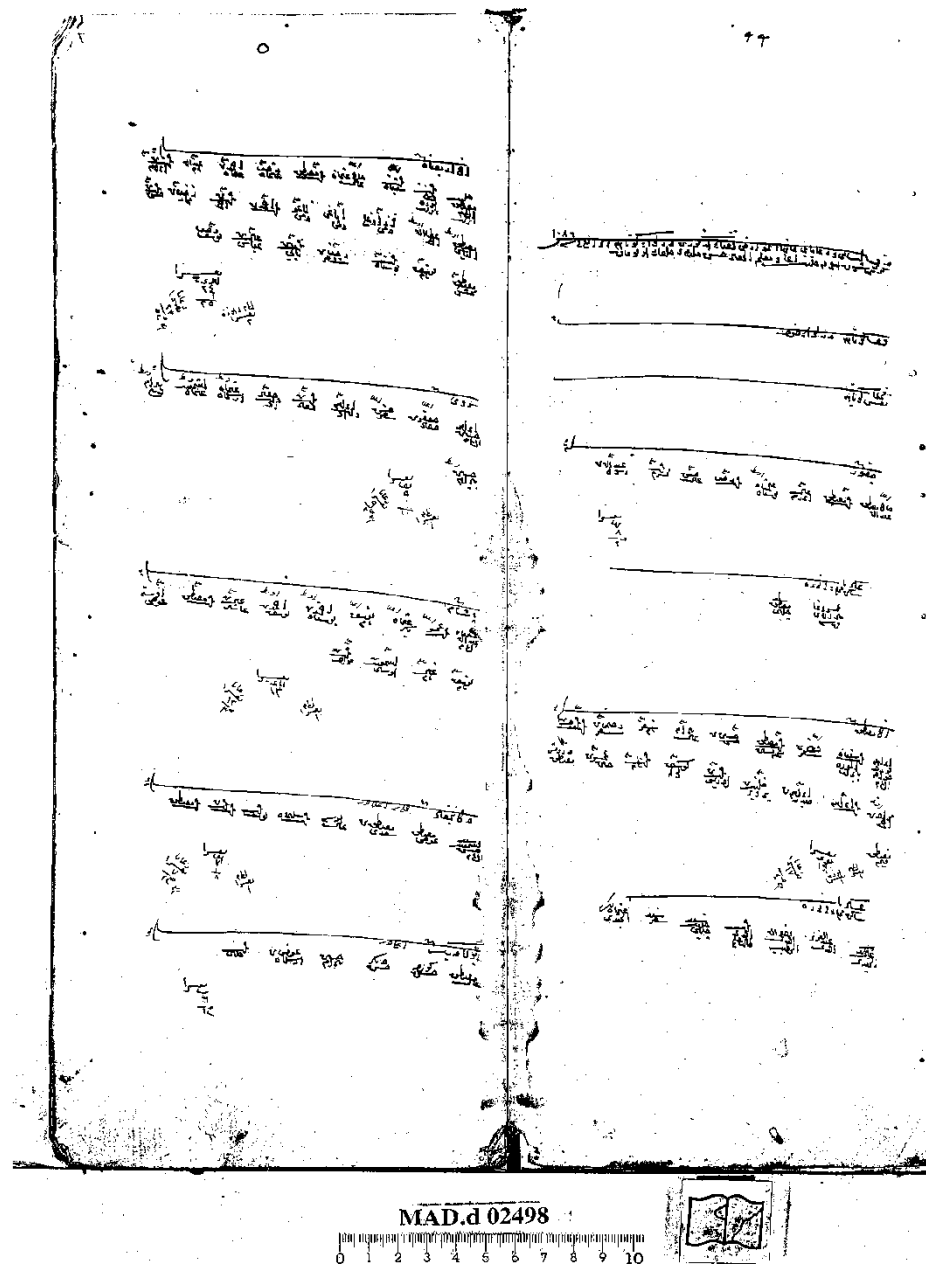
APPENDIX A: KANUNNAME OF SULTANÖNÜ (TT.1102, 980/1572-73)



APPENDIX B: TAHRİR DEFTER OF SULTANÖNÜ (TT.1102, 980/1572-73)

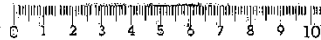


APPENDIX C: AVARIZ DEFTER OF KÜTAHYA (MAD.2498, 1086/1675-76)

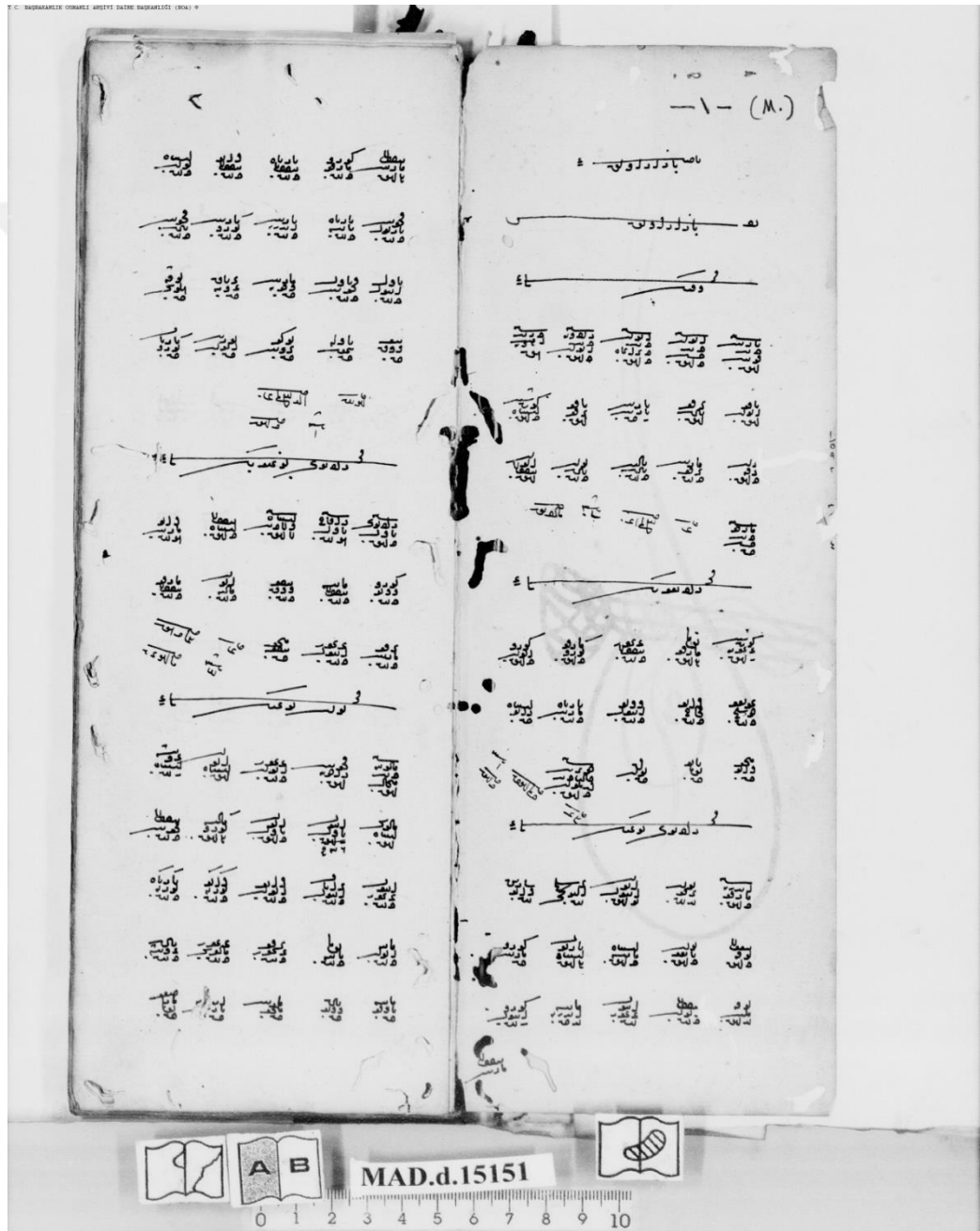


Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a form of Chinese or a related East Asian script, arranged in vertical columns. The text is written on a page with a vertical fold line down the center. The script is dense and appears to be a historical or literary document.

MAD.d 02498



APPENDIX D: CİZYE DEFTER OF PAZAROLUK AND VISEGRAD
(MAD.15151, 993/1585)



APPENDIX E: CİZYE DEFTER OF SİDREKAPISI (MAD.1209, 1052/1642-43)

[illegible]

APPENDIX F: CİZYE DEFTER OF JEWS IN EDİRNE (MAD.4021,
1100/1688-89)

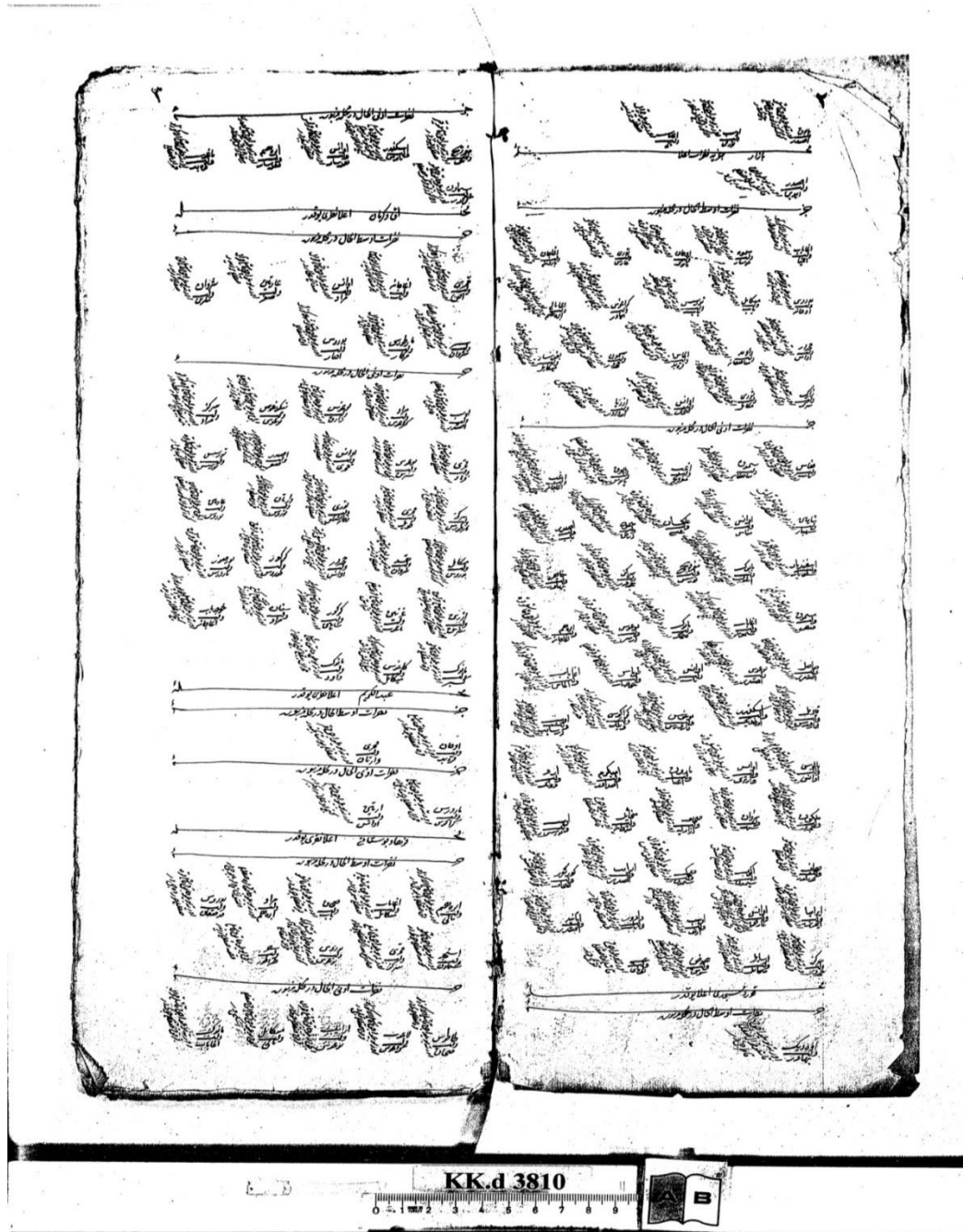
Handwritten text in Ottoman Turkish, likely a tax register (Cizye Defter) for Jews in Edirne. The text is written in a cursive script and is organized into columns. The right page has a large heading at the top, and the left page has a large heading at the bottom.



MAD.d 04021

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

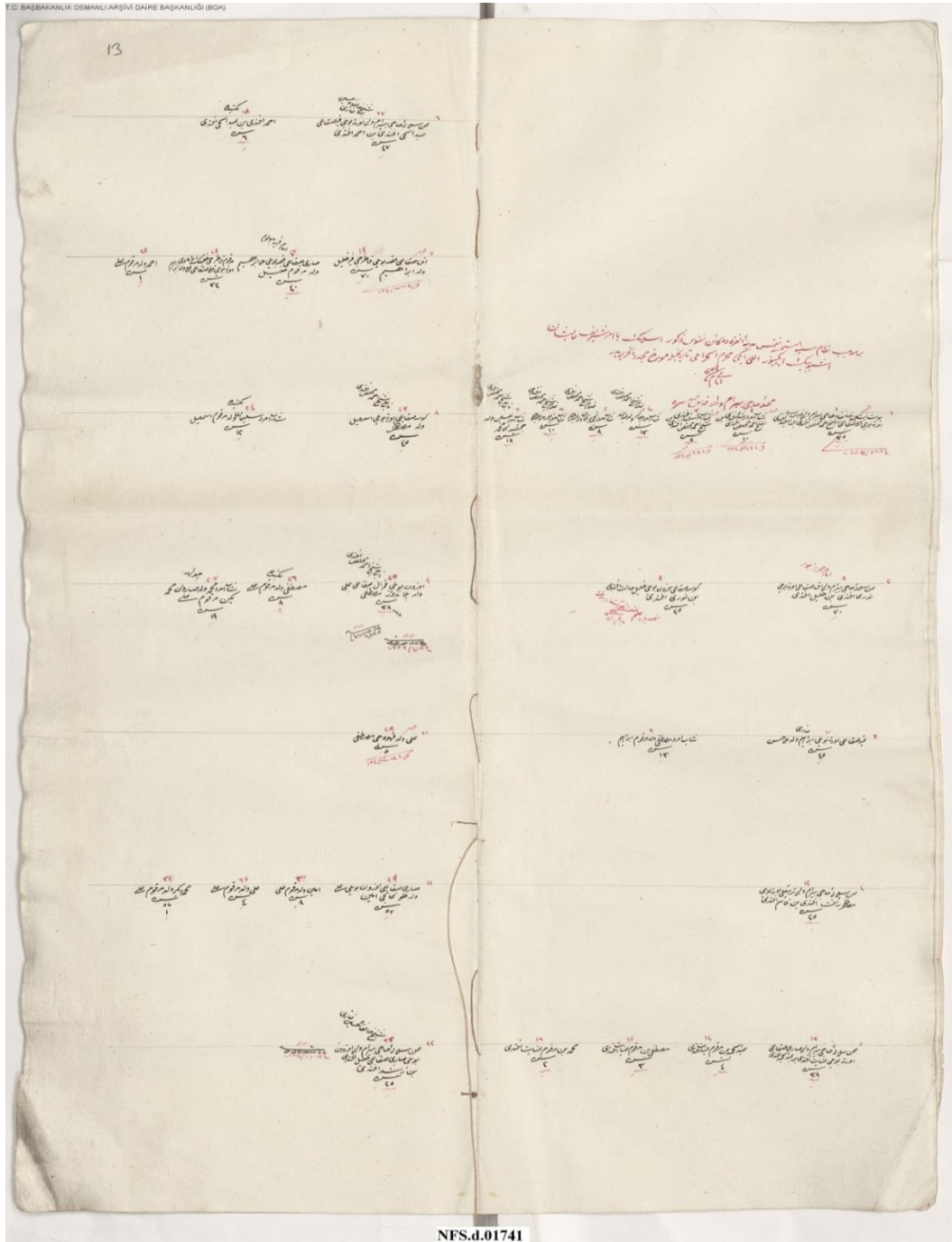
APPENDIX G: CİZYE DEFTER OF SİVAS, TOKAT, NİKSAR AND ZİLE
(KK.3810, 1102/1690-91)



**APPENDIX H: NÜFUS DEFTER OF NON-MUSLIMS IN ANKARA (NFS.
1745, 1246/1830-31)**

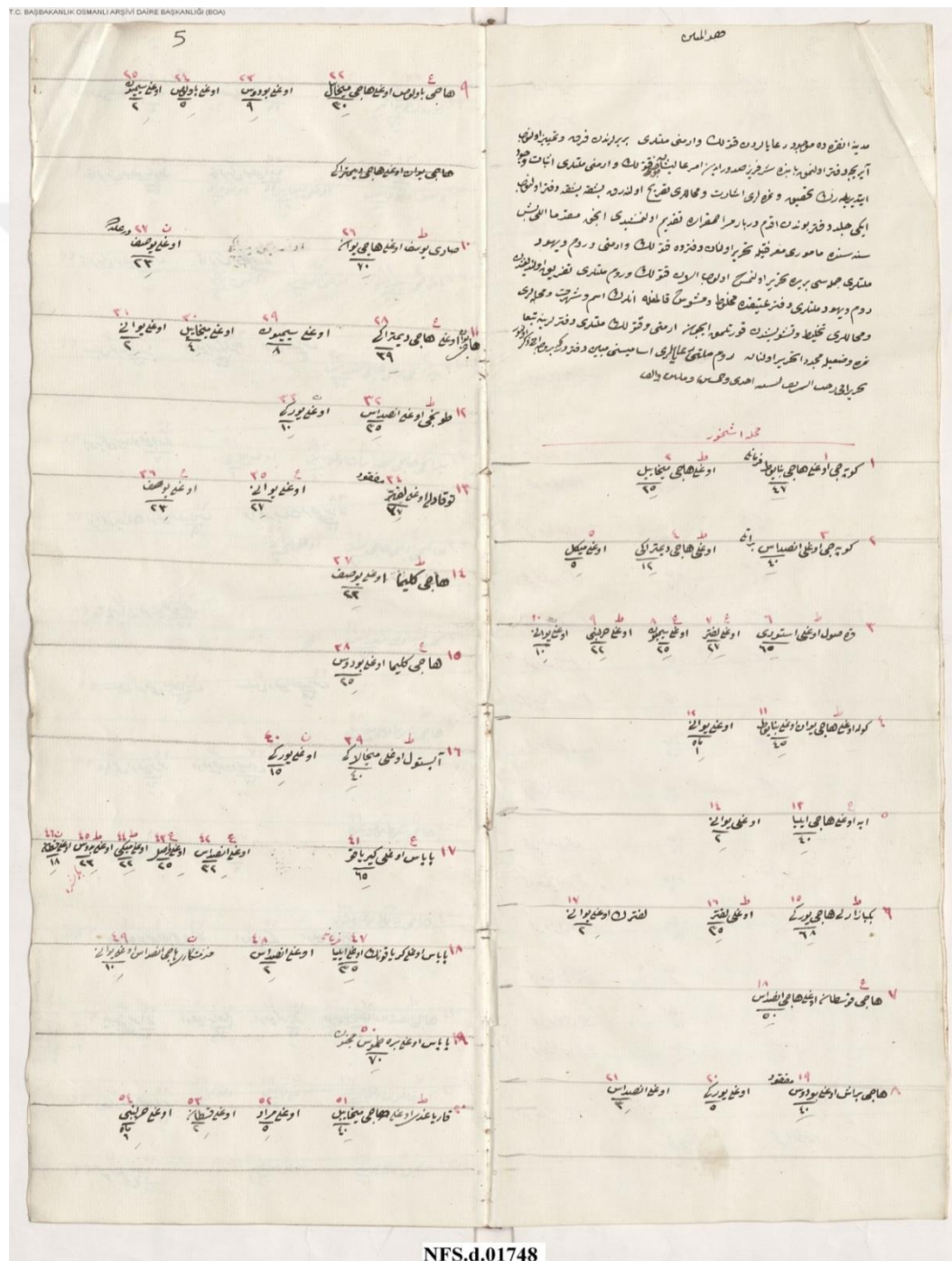


APPENDIX I: NÜFUS DEFTER OF MUSLIMS IN ANKARA (NFS. 1741,
1251/1835-36)

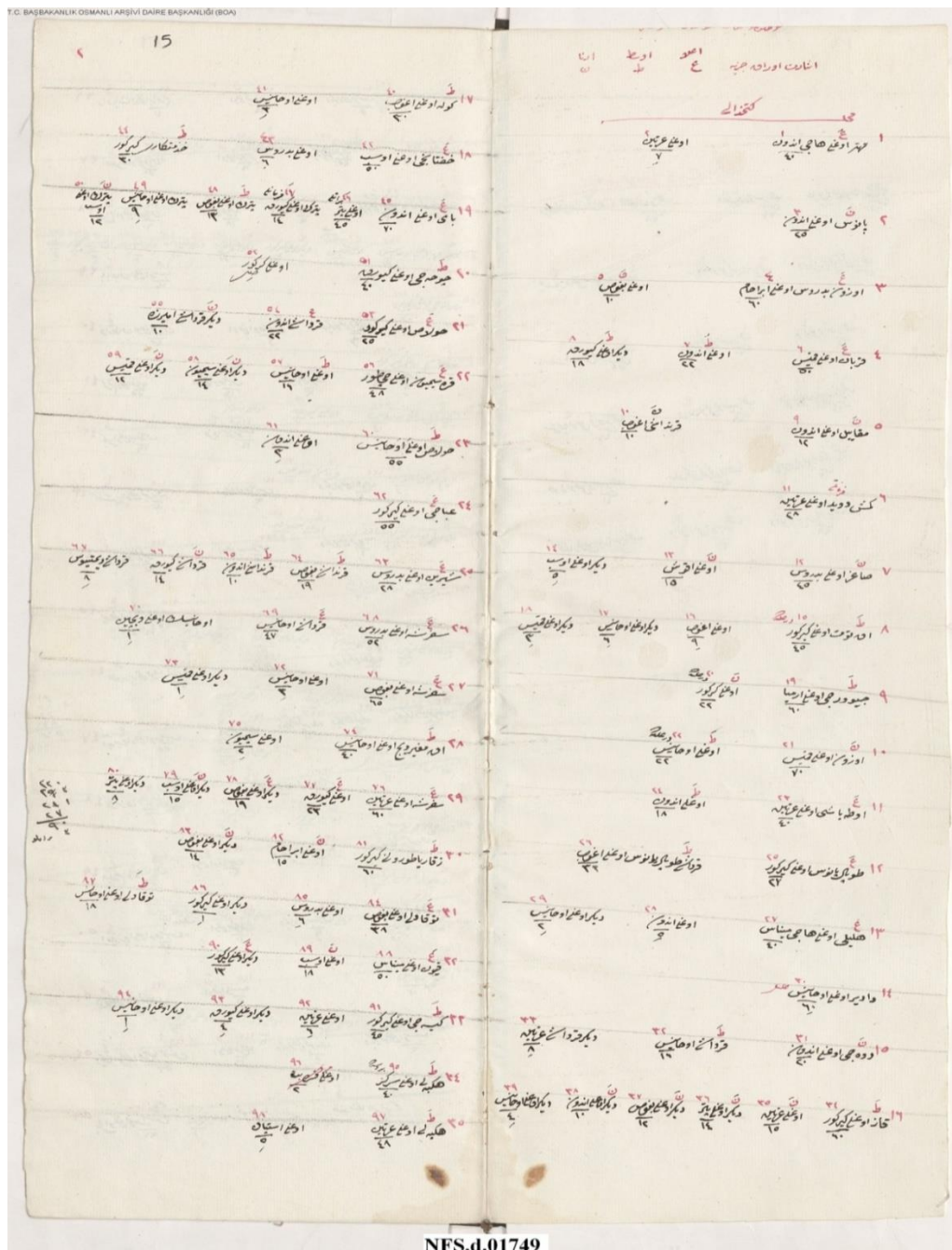


NFS.d.01741

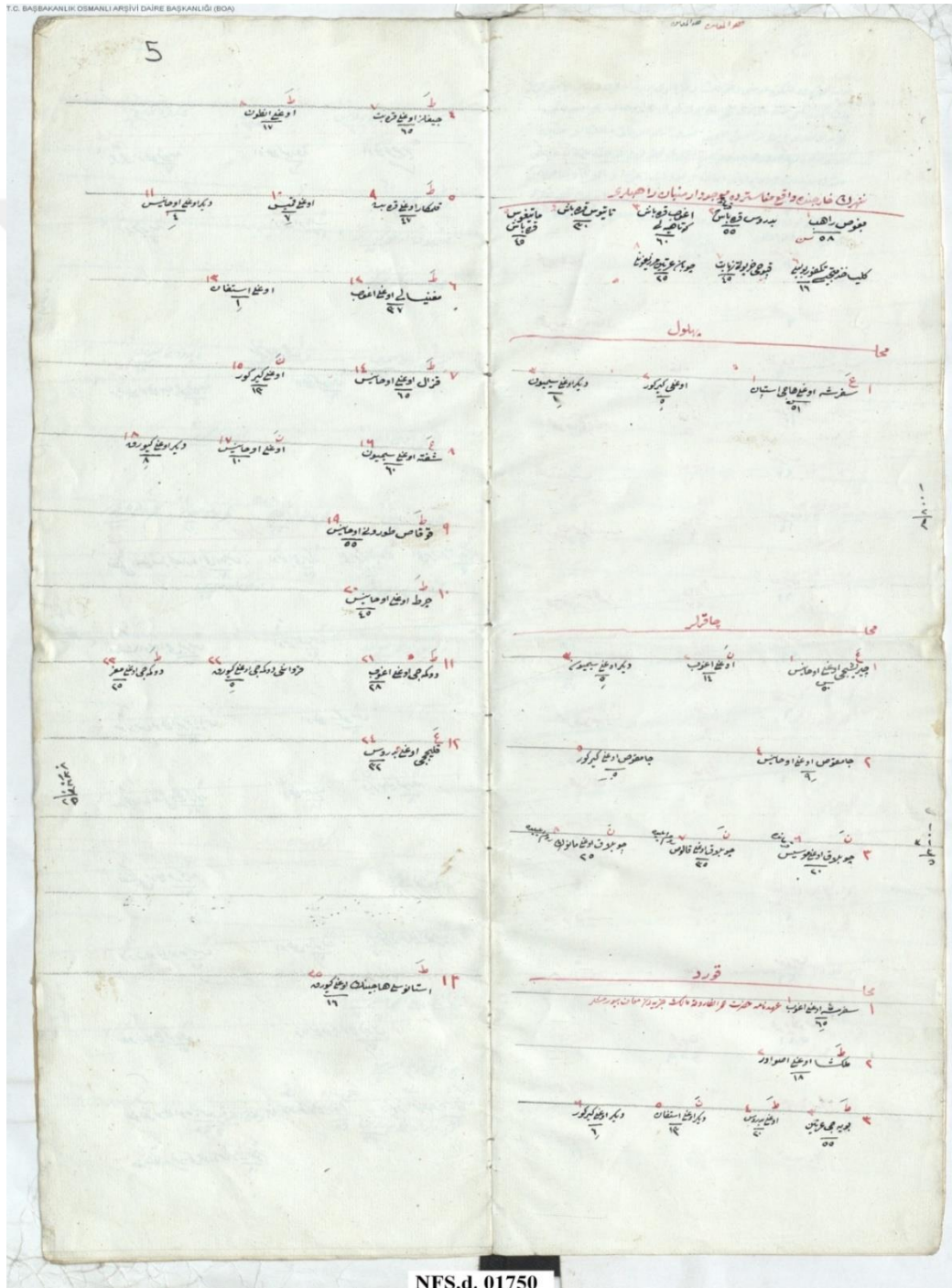
APPENDIX J: NÜFUS DEFTER OF NON-MUSLIMS IN ANKARA (NFS. 1748, 1251/1835-36)



**APPENDIX K: NÜFUS DEFTER OF NON-MUSLIMS IN ANKARA (NFS.
1749, 1251/1835-36)**



**APPENDIX L: NÜFUS DEFTER OF NON-MUSLIMS IN ANKARA (NFS.
1750, 1251/1835-36)**





APPENDIX O: TURKISH SUMMARY/ TRKE ZET

Bu alıřmada problem merkezli bir sosyolojik ve tarihsel alıřma hedeflenmektedir. Bahsi geen problem ise Osmanlı Sayımlarının sylemsel ve metinsel oluřumu ierisinde tebaanın bu sayımlardaki yeridir. Tezin temel sorusu ise tebaanın devletin idari mekanizmaları tarafından belirli bir sylemsel ereve ierisinde nasıl sayıldıkları ve kayda geirildikleridir.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Klasik Dneminde(1300-1600), temel sayım mekanizması tahrir defterleridir. Bu defterler 16. Yzyılın sonlarından itibaren imparatorluk dzeyinde tutulmamaya bařlanmıřtır. 17. ve 18. Yzyıllarda ise avarız ve cizye defterleri temel sayım mekanizmaları olmuřtur. 19. Yzyılda ise, temettuat ve nfus defterleri karřımıza ıkmaktadır. Her defter tipi ise farklı idari iřleyiřlerin farklı tarihsel dnemlerdeki farklı rnleridir.

Bu kayıtlar, genel olarak, tarihiler tarafından ait oldukları tarihsel dnemler iin temsili karakterleri aısından sorunsallařtırılmıř ve kullanılmıřtır. Aynı zamanda, Osmanlı idari ve mali dzeninin ve yapısının tarihsel malumat kaynakları olarak grlmřlerdir. Burada ise, iddia edilmektedir ki bu defterlerin kendilerine zg sylemsel ve metinsel rgleri, dzenleri vardır. Bu sylemsel, metinsel ereve de zgn iktidar rejimlerine tekabl etmektedir. Bu kayıtların metinsel dzenine bakarak, Osmanlı tebaasının zgn řekillerde nasıl kayda geirildikleri ve bu kayıt formunun devlet ve tebaası arasında nasıl siyasal iliřkiler ngrdę gsterilebilir. Bu baęlamda, belirli tarihsel dnemlerdeki sayımların sonucu olan bu kayıtların dili ve metinsel yapısı tebaanın devlet tarafından nasıl sorunsallařtırıldığını, dert edildiğini gstermektedir.

Giriş sonrasında, tezin ikinci bölümü “Tebaanın Sayımı” olarak adlandırılmıştır. Bu bölümde tezin kuramsal ve kavramsal çerçevesi ortaya konacaktır. Tezin kuramsal problematiği için Foucault’nun söylemsel/metinsel oluşum ve iktidar ilişkileri arasındaki kavramsal çerçevesi takip edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda tebaanın sayımı sorunsallaştırılmıştır. Yukarıda bahsi geçen Osmanlı sayımlarının ve bunun sonucunda ortaya çıkan defterlerde bulunan kayıt nesneleri analizin konusu olmaktadır. Bu kayıt nesneleri ise belirli bir idari zihniyetin ortaya çıkardığı nesneler olmakla birlikte, belirli bir tarihsel dönemde ortaya çıkmış olan tebaa ve devlet arasındaki siyasi ilişkinin bir ifadesidir. Başka bir deyişle, bu sayım defterlerinde ifade edilmiş olan özgün bir yönetilen tipidir söz konusu olan. Dönemsel olarak ise, Osmanlı siyaseti içerisinde Klasik dönemin reayası, 17. ve 18. Yüzyılların reayası ve 19. Yüzyılın tebaası, nüfusu yönetilenler olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Takip eden, üçüncü, dördüncü ve beşinci bölümlerde, bu dönemler bahsi geçen kayıtlar bağlamında tek tek ele alınmıştır. Son bölümde ise sayım pratiklerindeki tahrir-i memlekette tahrir-i nüfus olan dönüşüm tartışılmıştır.

Çalışma içerisinde, Klasik dönem için Sultanönü mufassal tahrir defteri, 17. ve 18. Yüzyıllar için Kütahya mufassal avarız defteri, farklı bölgelere ait cizye defterleri, 19. Yüzyıl için de Eskişehir ve Ankara’ya ait olan temettuat defterleri ve 1831 nüfus sayımı ve Ankara nüfus defterleri kullanılmıştır. Bunların yanında Klasik Dönem ve 17. Yüzyıl için bazı mühimme kayıtlarına başvurulmuştur.

Foucault’ya göre, söylem(discourse) belirli bir ifade(statement) grubunun oluşturduğu bir oluşum zemini, çerçevesidir. Bu ifadeler basit anlamda cümle değildir, fonksiyondur. Şeyleri belirli bir düzen içerisinde adlandırır ve belirli formlarda ilişkilendirirler. Dolayısıyla, bir söylemsel çerçeve şeyleri belli bir düzen içerisinde sunar. Söylem ise unutulmamalıdır ki pratiğin kendisidir. Söylem nesnelerin ortaya çıkışını koşullar. Belli bir söylemsel pratik olmaksızın herhangi bir bilgi sisteminden söz edilemez. Bu bağlamda, söylemsel pratik belirli bir bilgi sistemi ve onun nesneleri ortaya koyar. Bunun yanında, Foucault, ifadeler sistemine arşiv demektedir. Bu arşiv bir tür zemin olarak da düşünülebilir. Söylemsel-nesneler bu zeminde ortaya çıkar. Nesnelerin bilgi ve deneyim nesnesi olarak ortaya çıkması doğrudan söylemsel pratiklerin belirli tarihsel dönemlerde işleyişinin sonucudur.

Osmanlı sayımları ve defterleri içinse soru bahsi geçen kayıtlarda belirli ifade biçimlerinin nasıl ortaya çıktığı, ne tür nesneleri ortaya çıkarttığıdır. Başka bir deyişle, bu kayıtlarda hangi nesnelerin nasıl kaydedildiği, nasıl ifade edildiğidir araştırma sorusu.

Söylemin yanında, iktidar rejimleri meselenin diğer boyutunu oluşturmaktadır. Foucault'ya göre, iktidar rejimleri bilgi alanıyla doğrudan doğruya ilişkilidir. Belirli bir iktidar rejimine her zaman belirli bir bilgi alanı eşlik etmektedir. Bilgi ve iktidar arasındaki bu ilişki Foucault tarafından iktidar/bilgi(power/knowledge) kavramıyla ifade edilmektedir. Toplumsal olan yaygın ve çok yönlü iktidar ilişkilerinin sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu iktidar ilişkileri ise söylemin üretimi, birikimi, dolaşımı ve işleyişi olmaksızın ayakta duramaz. Hakikatin bir bilgi formu olarak üretilmesi de aynı şekilde iktidar ilişkilerinin faallığı ile mümkündür. Dolayısıyla, bilgi ve iktidar toplumsal olan ilişkilerin iki yüzü olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

İktidar ilişkileri belirli iktidar rejimleri, belirli yönetim biçimleri ve bunların sonucunda belirli öznellik biçimleri oluşturur. Bu öznellikler hem yönetilen özne ve nesne olarak hem de bilgi nesnesi olarak karşımıza çıkar. Osmanlı sayımları konusu özelinde ise, bu sayımların Osmanlı siyasi iktidarının yönetilenlere karşı özgün yaklaşımları olduğu söylenebilir. Yönetilene karşı olan bu yaklaşım biçimlerinin ise farklı iktidar rejimlerin farklı tezahürleri olduğu söylenebilir. Somut olarak, Klasik Dönem Osmanlı tahrir sayımlarından 19. Yüzyılın nüfus sayımlarına doğru olan dönüşüm yönetilenlere karşı olan özgün yaklaşımların tarihidir. Her dönemde, sayım pratikleri aracılığı ile gerçekleştirilen, sorunsallaştırılan belirli bir yönetilen özneliği kurulmaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, Osmanlı sayımlarının dili, düzeni, kategorileri belirli sosyal, siyasal ve iktisadi ayrımları öngörmekte ve bunun üzerinde şekillenmektedir. Devletin bu sayımları neden ve nasıl yaptığı, kayıtların nasıl ve ne şekilde tutulduğu bize devletin tebaasını nasıl sorunsallaştırdığını, bu kayıtlarda tebaa ile devlet arasında nasıl bir ilişki tariflendiğini göstermektedir. Bu sayımlar, kısaca, belirli iktidar ilişkilerinin kâğıda dökülmüş halidir.

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

değişen koşullara bu kayıt tutma pratiklerinin de içerisinde bulunduğu stratejilerle uyum sağlamaya çalışmıştır. 19. Yüzyılda ise tebaa mülkiyeti, gelirleri ve yaşamı üzerinde kayda geçirilmeye başlanmıştır. Bu kayıt formlarının değişimi ise bizlere devlet ve tebaası arasındaki ilişkiye dair çok şey söylemektedir.

“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.

Ancak bu tahrir sayımları gerçek anlamda nüfus sayımları değildir. Tahrir defterleri belirli bir siyasi, sosyal, idari ve ekonomik örgütlenmenin bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Temel olarak miri arazi rejimi içerisinde bulunan askeri sınıf mensubu olan sipahilere geçimleri için verilen topraklar(dirlik) ve padişahın has toprakları üzerlerinde yaşayan reaya, vergi mükellefiyetleri ve işledikleri toprak üzerinden kayda geçirilmiştir. Bu kayıtlarda reaya hane vergi birimi üzerinden kayda geçirilmiştir. Bunların yanında vakıf arazileride sayımlara dâhil edilmektedir.

15. ve 16. Yüzyıllarda merkezi eyaletler olan Anadolu ve Rumeli’de tahrir sayımları düzenli şekillerde yapılmıştır. Bu sayımlar her bir sultan tahta çıktığında, fetih sonralarında ve ihtiyaç görüldükleri zamanlarda yapılmaktaydı. Tahrir defterleri iki nüsha halinde hazırlanırdı. İlk nüsha mufassal, yani detaylı kayıt olup, ikinci nüsha ise icmal, yani özet defterdi. Mufassal tahrir defterlerinde reaya ve diğer gelir kaynaklarının kaydı tutulurdu. Reaya deftere hane birimi üzerinden ödemekle yükümlü olduğu çift-resmi ve bağlantılarıyla kaydedilirdi. Bu vergiler çift-resmi, nim-çift, ekinlübennak, cababennak, mücerred, caba/kara ve muaf ve müsellemdir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun klasik döneminde, vergi mükellefiyeti askeri ve reaya arasındaki temel ayrımlardan birisiydi. Reaya vergi ödemekle yükümlü, ekonomik faaliyetlerde bulunanlar iken askeri sınıf ise devletin yönetici kesimiydi.

Mufassal defterlerde, vergi mükellefi reayanın her mahalle ve köy için isimleri yazılarak bir tür listesi hazırlanırdı. Reayanın 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 içermektedir. Askeri sınıf mensupları üzerlerine olan toprakları ve gelirleriyle kayda geçirilir ve bu kayıtlar tımarlıları denetlemek için kullanılırdı.

Tahrir sayımları ve tahrir defterleri genel olarak devletin vergi gelirlerinin tespiti fonksiyonuna sahipti. Bunun yanında, devletin o bölgedeki askeri, idari ve mali örgütlenmesinin teftişi de bu kayıtlar aracılığıyla olurdu. Sayımlar sırasında reaya askeri sınıf mensupları üzerine yazılırdı. Bir dahaki sayıma kadar bu kayıtlar reaya ve askeri sınıf üyeleri için legal statülerini ve vergi yükümlülüklerini belirlemektedir.

Sayım emirleri ve tahrir defterleri içerisinde bulunan sayımı yapan kâtipler ve görevliler tarafından hazırlanan defterlerin girişlerine göre bu sayımlar memleketin gerçek durumunu tespit için yapılmaktaydı. Yine aynı kayıtlarda memleketin gerçek durumunun bilinmesi, sultanın sorumluluklarını yerine getirmesinin bir gereği olarak ifade edilmektedir. Ortaya çıkması mümkün olan yolsuzluk ve adaletsizliklerin önüne geçilmesi için bu teftişler ve kayıtlar gerekliydi. Defterler hazırlandıktan sonra ise deftere muhalif birileri ve deftere aykırı olan her hangi bir durumun olmaması gerektiğinin altı da çizilmektedir. Defterlerde bulunan girişlerde işaret edilen bir başka nokta ise zamanla bozulan geleneklerin ve adetlerin tekrar düzeltilmesi için bu sayımlar yapıldığıydı. Sayımlar ise doğrudan merkezden gönderilen bir heyet tarafından yerinde teftiş usulü ile devletin hiçbir gelir kaynağının ve reayadan kimsenin dışarıda kalmaması amaçlanarak yapıldı.

Tahrir defterleri içerisinde görülebilen sancak kanunnameleri doğrudan o bölgenin vergilendirilmesi ile ilişkilidir. Kayıtların bir bölümü yukarda bahsi geçen giriş bölümlerini de içermektedir. Bunlardan sonra ise kaydı tutulan idari birimler, mahalle mahalle, köy köy yazılmış ve reaya bulunduğu mahalle veya köylerde vergi yükümlülükleri ve ellerinde tuttıkları toprak üzerinden kayda geçirilmiştir.

Kısaca, klasik tahrir defterleri tebaaya yönelmiş olan özgün bir yaklaşımın, bir yönetim biçiminin, tarihsel kaynaklarıdır 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 kırdaki bir ekonomik faaliyette bulunan, devlete karşı belirli sorumlulukları bulunan ve devletin belirli sorumluluklarının konusu olan birileridir. Bu da tahrir defterlerinin söylemi ve metinsel düzeninde karşımıza çıkan klasik dönem Osmanlı tebaasıdır denilebilir.

16. Yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren imparatorluk geneli tahrir sayımları yapılmamaya başlanmış, 17. Yüzyılda ise imparatorluğun vergi gelirlerini tespit amaçlı farklı kayıtlar düzenlenmeye başlanmıştır. Klasik tahrirlerin tutulmamaya başlanmasının temel sebebi doğrudan klasik tahrirlerin klasik Osmanlı tımar, çift-hane ve vergi sistemleriyle birlikte çalışma prensibidir. 17. Yüzyıl başlarından itibaren, klasik Osmanlı iktidar rejimi çok önemli dönüşümler geçirmiş, askeri ve reaya arasındaki ayrım ve ilişkiler çözülmeye başlamıştır.

Genel olarak 17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı tarihi kriz ve değişim dönemi olarak ifade edilmektedir. İmparatorluğun askeri, mali ve idari sistemleri bu koşullarda önemli değişimler geçirmiştir. 16. Yüzyıl sonlarından miras kalan demografik basınç, süregelen Celali İsyanları, imparatorluğun içerisinde bulunduğu uzun savaşlar dönemi, klasik Osmanlı düzeninde önemli değişim ve dönüşümlerin yolunu açmıştır. Yine bu dönemde, imparatorluğun klasik kurumlarından olan yeniçeri ocağı, mensuplarının sayısı bakımından önemli ölçüde büyümeye başlamıştır. Bu durum, dönemin ateşli silah kullanan piyade ihtiyacından kaynaklanmaktadır. Bunun yanında “nüfus fazlası” olarak nitelendirilebilecek olan köylü erkeklerden savaş zamanları ihtiyaçlarına göre sekban-sarıca bölükleri oluşturulmaya başlanmıştır. Bu bölüklerin maaşları ise sadece savaş zamanları devletin bu gruplara ihtiyacı ölçüsünde verilmiştir ve bu bölükler geri kalan zamanlarda askeri düzenin kurumsal çerçevesi içerisinde tutulmamışlardır. Bu bölüklerin saflarını dolduranlar ise ileride büyük küçük Celalilerin ordularında, eşkıyalık faaliyetlerinde ve paşaların kapılarında bulunmaya başlamışlardır. Dönemin askeri açıdan bir başka özelliği ise işlevsiz hale gelmeye başlayan tımarlı sipahilerdir. Bunlara ek olarak, 17. Yüzyıl boyunca, klasik dönemin tımar arazileri giderek artan ölçülerde iltizama verilmeye başlanmıştır. Yüzyılın sonunda ise iki üç senelik sözleşmelerle verilen bu

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

Bu tarihsel bağlamda devletin vergi sistemi önemli değişiklikler geçirmiştir. Bahsi geçtiği üzere, iltizam uygulaması imparatorluk çapında yaygın bir biçimde uygulanmıştır. Klasik dönemi arızı vergileri senelik düzenli vergiler haline gelmiştir. Cizye ise bir süreklilik göstermekle birlikte, merkezi idarenin en önemli gelir kalemlerinden birisi olmuştur.

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

Avarız defterleri 17. Yüzyılda düzenli hale gelmiş olan avarız vergisinin kaynaklarını tespit amaçlı, avarız vergisi mükelleflerinin kayıtlarıdır. Reaya, vergi mükellefiyetine göre yaşadıkları idari bölgeler üzerinden kayda geçirilmiştir. Bir önemli husus da klasik dönemin bazı askeri sınıf mensupları da avarız vergisi yükümlüsü haline getirilmiş ve kayıtları tutulmuştur. Bu bağlamda, klasik dönemde askeri ve reaya arasındaki temel ayrımın vergi mükellefiyeti olduğu düşünüldüğünde, vergi ve kayıt mekanizmalarında değişimlerin önemi daha iyi anlaşılabilir. Ayrıca, reayasız köyler ortaya çıkmış buna paralel olarak da askeri çiftlikleri önemli ölçüde kırdı yer kaplamaya başlamıştır.

Cizye defterleri ise klasik dönemden itibaren tutulmakla birlikte, 17. Yüzyılın başlarından itibaren müstakil defterler halinde tutulmaya başlanmıştır ve 17. Yüzyılın sonlarına kadar önemli bir defter serisini oluştururlar. İslami bir baş vergisi olmakla birlikte, klasik Osmanlı idari ve mali hiyerarşisi içerisinde hane üzerinden toplanan cizye, 17. Yüzyılın sonundaki cizye reformundan itibaren yetişkin gayrimüslim tüm erkeklerden toplanır olmaya başlamıştır. Bu durum, cizyenin bedeli askeriyeye dönüştürüldüğü 19. Yüzyılın ortasına dek sürmüştür.

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

uydurmaya çalışmıştır. Avarız ve cizye kayıtlarının tertibinde bu durum açıkça görülmektedir. Kayıtlar vergi mükelleflerini takip etmekte, yaşadığı yerden göçmüş olanları yeni yerlerinde yazmaktadır. Cizye kayıtlarında görüldüğü üzere, gayrimüslimlerden alınan vergi merkezi idarenin en önemli gelir kalemlerinden birisi olmuş, cizyenin kayıtları da bu bağlamda daha ayrıntılı bir şekilde cizye mükellefi erkek bireyleri hedef alır hale gelmiştir.

Tüm bu gelişmelerin sonunda toplumsal, siyasi, ekonomik ve idari yapıların değişimi 18. Yüzyıl'da yerleşiklik kazanacak olan ayanlar dönemi için önemli bir zemin oluşturmuştur. Bahsi geçen merkezi idare tarafından yapılan sayım ve hazırlanan defterler 18. Yüzyılda müstakil seriler halinde görülmemektedir. Bu durum vergi toplama ve asker alma işlerinin önemli ölçüde yerel iktidar odakları olmaya başlayan, yerel yöneticilere, ayanlara verilmeye başlanması ile açıklanabilir.

18. yüzyılın sonlarıyla başlayan ve 19. Yüzyılın tamamını kapsayabilecek olan dönem bir reformlar çağı olarak görülebilir. Merkezi idarenin otoritesinin yeniden tesisi, 18. Yüzyılda var olagelen ordu yapısının yeniden düzenlenmesi ve kaybedilen toprakların geri alınması, özellikle III. Selim döneminden itibaren reform programının başlıca amaçlarıdır. III. Selim dönemindeki reform programı olan Nizam-ı Cedid (Yeni Düzen) programının başlıca hedefi ordunun yeniden düzenlenmesiydi. Buna ek olarak, büyük kentlere doğru olan göçler, kamusal düzen açısından dert edilmiş ve kontrol altına alınmaya çalışılmıştır. Her ne kadar toplumsal kapsamı sınırlı olmakla birlikte, Nizam-ı Cedid, “eski düzen”e alternatif teşkil edecek bir programı içermektedir. Bu program kışlaların, gündelik siyasi ve sosyal hayatın bir tür terbiyesini, kontrol altına alınmasını amaçlamaktaydı.

Ancak merkezi idarenin bu reform girişimleri belirli sosyal ve siyasal kuvvetlerin, grupların direnciyle karşılaşmıştır. Bu kuvvetler 18. Yüzyıl boyunca iktidarlarını ve otoritelerini kurmuş olan yerel ayanların bir kısmı, ulema, yeniçeri ocağı ve İstanbullu kitlelerdir. Ortaya çıkan mücadele ise Selim'in tahtına mal olmakla birlikte, yeniçeri ocağının ortadan kaldırıldığı 1826'ya kadar yeni bir dönem açmıştır.

Yeniçeri ocağının ortadan kaldırılmasıyla birlikte, reform programının önünde bir engel kalmamış ve çok boyutlu bir şekilde hayata geçirilmiştir. Yeni bir ordu kurma amacıyla 1830 yılında bir nüfus sayımına girilmiştir ve bu çerçevede imparatorluğun önemli bir bölümünün sayımı yapılmıştır. Bu sayımlar, Müslüman ahali için askeri alma amacıyla, artık reaya diye anılmakta olan gayrimüslim ahali için ise vergi toplama maksadıyla yapılmıştır. Nüfus defterleri olarak karşımıza çıkan bu sayımlarda, her yaştan erkek birey, eşkâlleri, yaşları ve meslekleriyle birlikte kayda geçirilmiştir. Gayrimüslimler için ayrıca cizye statüsü not edilmiştir. Bu sayımlar takip eden beş, on yıl içerisinde ölümler, doğumlar ve göçler temel alınarak düzenli bir şekilde güncellenmiştir.

1839 yılına gelindiğinde ise Tanzimat Fermanı ilan edilmiştir. Fermanda yaşam, namus ve mülk dünya üzerindeki en kutsal şeyler olarak ifade edilmiş ve devletin bunların güvenliği sağlama sorumluluğu olduğunun altı çizilmiştir. Fermana göre yaşam ve namus güven altına alındığında, insanlar hakikatten sapmayacak, kendi işleriyle meşgul olup, devletine, milletine faydalı olacaklardır. Mülkiyet güvenliği sağlandığında ise, halkın devletle bütünlüğü ve devlet sevgisi artacaktır. Vergilerin ise yeniden düzenleneceği de ifade edilmektedir fermanda. Memleketi korumak için de bir orduya ihtiyaç olduğu belirtilmekte, bu ordunun ise vergilerle ayakta duracağı ifade edilmektedir. Yeniden düzenlenecek olan vergilerin halkın mülküne ve ekonomik gücüne göre olacağı açıkça fermanda ifade edilmektedir. Bunlara ek olarak, askerlik, fermanda, halkın görevi olarak ifade edilmiştir. O güne kadar olan askere alma memleketin aded-i nüfus mevcudesine göre yapılmamış ve bu durum bir düzensizlik yaratmış, tarım ve ticarete zarar vermiştir. Ayrıca, ömür boyu süren askeri görevler, insanların aile sahibi olmasının önüne geçmiştir. Bu sebeplerle, askere alma yönteminin de yeniden düzenleneceği fermanda belirtilmiştir.

Tanzimat Fermanı'nın ifade biçimine bakılacak olursa, özgün bir tebaa/halk, yönetilen grubunun tanımlandığı görülecektir. Fermanda, kanun önünde Müslüman gayrimüslim ayrımı gözetmeyen bir tebaa, halk ifade edilmiştir. Ayrıca halkın, yaşamı, namusu ve mülkünün kutsallığının altı çizilmiş ve bunların güvenliği devletin sorumluluğu olarak tarif edilmiştir. Üstelik halkın devleti ve milletine faydalılığı ve bağlılığı bu kutsalların korunmasının olumsuz sonucu olarak ifade

edilmiştir. Aynı zamanda askerlik bir görev olarak tariflenmiş ve askere alının memleketin aded-i nüfus mevcudesine, yani memleketin nüfusuna oranla yapılacağı söylenmiştir.

Süregelen reform sürecinin parçası olarak, Tanzimat sonrasında vergi sistemi yeniden organize edilmiştir. Yeni vergi sistemi halkın, nüfusun ekonomik gücünü temel alarak oluşturulmaya çalışılmıştır. Bunun sonucu olarak da yeni idari mekanizmalar kurulmuş ve sayımlar yapılmaya başlanmıştır. Temettuat defterleri bu sürecin ürünüdür. 1840lardan itibaren yapılan temettuat sayımlarında, hane birimi üzerinden, ahalinin emlakı, tarla, bağ bahçe, ev, dükkan, hayvan gibi gelir kaynakları, daha önceki senede verdiği vergi miktarı ve tahmini ödeyeceği yeni “gelir” vergisiyle birlikte kaydedilmiştir. Gayrimüslimler için ayrıca cizye statüleri belirtilmiştir.

1866 yılına gelindiğinde ise Tuna eyaletinde kısmi bir nüfus sayımı yapılmıştır. Bunun sebebi, 1840lardan bu yana, bu bölgenin toplumsal, ekonomik, etnik ve dini dokusunun değişmesidir. Bu sayımda, erkek bireyler haneleri içerisinde yaşlarıyla, medeni durumlarıyla, meslekleriyle, mülkleriyle sayılmıştır. Sayımın amacı, önceki sayımlara benzer şekilde, vergilendirilebilir nüfusun, etnik ve dinsel kimliklerin, gelirlerin tespitidir. Aynı zamanda, bir tür “kimlik kartı”, tezkere-i Osmaniye, sayılan insanlara verilmiştir. 1877/78 yılında yerel idari organlarca tutulan kayıtlar temel alınarak, imparatorluk genelinin nüfusunun listelendiği bir salname yayınlanmıştır. Yerelliklerde yapılan bu sayımlarda, erkek bireyler yaşadıkları mahalle ve köyler içerisinde, yaşları, eşkalleri ve askere alıma uygun olup olmadıkları üzerinden kayda geçirilmiştir. Günlük ölüm ve doğum sayımları, askere uygunluk durumları da düzenli bir şekilde güncellenmiştir. 1881 yılında ise, yine vergilendirme ve askere alma amacıyla bir sayım başlatılmıştır. Ancak bu kez, merkezi yönetim memlekette yaşayan ahalinin istatistikî bilgisinin önemini fark etmiş ve daha kapsamlı bir sayım planlanmıştır. Avrupa ülkelerindeki sayım pratikleri de bu yeni sayım için örnek alınmıştır. Bunların yanında Sicil-i Nüfus Nizamnamesi çıkartılmış ve Nüfus-ı Umumi İdaresi(Genel Nüfus İdaresi) kurulmuştur. İlk kez, kadın ve erkek tüm halk, yaşadıkları adresleri, yaşları, dinleri, meslekleri, seçim ve vatandaşlık statüleriyle kaydedilmiştir. Bu bilgiler doğrudan kaydı yapılacak bireylere sorulmuştur. Ancak

kadınların sayımı yapan memurların önüne çıkmak istemeyeceği göz önüne alınarak, şahitlik imkânı tanınmıştır. Sayım sırasında kaydedilen her bireye nüfus tezkeresi verilmiştir. Bireyler bu tezkereleri her türlü resmi işlem için kullanmak zorunda tutulmuştur. Bu 1881 sayımı, imparatorluğun gerçek ve modern anlamdaki ilk nüfus sayımıdır. Bu sayımın iki boyutu vardır, ilki imparatorluk içerisindeki tüm halkı nüfus kavramının bütünselliği içine, kadın erkek ayırmadan, yaşayan bireyler bazında almasıdır. İkincisi ise, bireyler resmi olarak, kayıt mekanizmaları aracılığıyla işaret edilmiştir.

Özetle, 19.yüzyılda tebaa, sayımlar aracılığıyla, 1830lardan itibaren askere alma ve vergilendirme maksadıyla yaşayan(erkek) bireyler olarak sorunsallaştırılmıştır. 1840larda ise bu yaşayan ahalinin mülkü ve gelirleridir vergilendirme üzerinden kaydı tutulan. Bu iki dönem temel alındığında, 19. Yüzyılın ilk yarısından itibaren Osmanlı tebaası, halkı, yaşamı, yaşları, meslekleri, mülkleri ve gelirleri üzerinden askere alma ve vergilendirme amacıyla sorunsallaştırılmıştır. 1881'e geldiğimizde ise, artık gerçek ve modern anlamda nüfus, bire ve vatandaş tarifi, sayımın temel sorunsalı ve ortaya koyduğu yönetilenler kümesi olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Başka ve kısa bir deyişle, 19. Yüzyılda nüfus devlet tarafından dert edilmeye başlanmıştır. Bu durum, yine 19. Yüzyıl boyunca, nüfusun bir bilgi nesnesi olarak da ortaya çıkması, iç ve dış siyasetin ve entelektüel tartışmaların konusu olmasıyla paraleldir.

Sonuç olarak, Osmanlı Klasik Döneminden 19. Yüzyılının sonlarına kadar olan süreç, tebaanın sayımı açısından, memleket sayımından nüfus sayımına olan dönüşüm olarak ifade edilebilir. Bu devletin tebaasını sorunsallaştırma biçimidir. Bahsi geçen her üç dönemde, farklı tebaa tarifleri kayıtların metinsel organizasyonu ve dilinde görülmektedir. Bu devletin kayıt mekanizmaları aracılığıyla yönetilenlere yönelik tutumunu, onları nasıl ve ne şekilde dert ettiğini, sorunsallaştırdığını gösterir. Sayım pratikleri, bu anlamda, devlet ve tebaası arasında özgün siyasi ilişkilerin kurulma araçlarından birisi ve bu ilişkilerin ifadesi olarak karşımıza çıkar. Klasik Çağ'ın reayası, 17. Ve 18. Yüzyılların reayası, tebaası ve 19. Yüzyılın nüfusu, bu bağlamda, farklı siyasal öznellikler olarak, incelenen kayıtlarda vücut bulmuştur, ifade edilmiştir.

APPENDIX P: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	☐
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	☒
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YAZARIN

Soyadı : Çelik
Adı : Mehmet Ali
Bölümü : Sosyoloji

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Genealogy of the Ottoman Surveys

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☒ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☒

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: