

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE IN THREE OTTOMAN CITIES
(BURSA, KÜTAHYA AND VRANJE) IN THE MID-19TH
CENTURY THROUGH *TEMETTU‘AT* & *NÜFUS* REGISTERS**

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TEMETTU'AT & NÜFUS REGISTERS**

**Temettu'at ve Nüfus Defterleri'ne Göre 19. Yüzyıl'da Üç Osmanlı Şehrinde (Bursa,
Kütahya, İvranya) Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayat**

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Abstract

In this study named “Socio-Economic Life in Three Ottoman Cities (Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje) in the mid-19th Century through *Temettu‘at* & *Nüfus* Registers”, the population and the demographic outline of these three cities were investigated using *temettu‘at* registers and population censuses conducted in the 19th century, after a general depiction of the development of Ottoman tax registry method: *tahrir*, after an introduction containing the characteristics and history of the income tax survey, namely the *temettu‘at*.

The ethnic structure in these three cities in the mid-19th century was put into account in terms of the smallest units of the administrative and social corpus of the Ottoman Empire, the neighborhoods; also a comparative study of *temettu‘at* and the population census of one representative neighborhood from Kütahya, the Pirlar neighborhood was realized for the purpose of pointing the similarities and differences between these two sources. A chapter is devoted to the occupations and work force of these cities, where the occupational structure of these three cities was studied in terms of the different sectors and also different ethnicities. In the next chapter, the three types of taxes collected and recorded in *temettu‘at* registers, the *cizye*/poll tax, the *a‘şar*/tithe; and the *vergi-yi mahsûsa*/income tax were discussed and a tentative study of income, distribution of wealth and inequality in each three city were analyzed. Also in this chapter, the occupations that provided the highest incomes in three cities were represented in addition to the highest income holders, namely the wealthiest individuals of each city were treated, as well as some notable members of three cities’ represented using biographical sources for the Ottoman writers and bureaucrats.

Özet

“*Temettu‘at* ve *Nüfus Defterleri*’ne Göre 19. Yüzyıl’da Üç Osmanlı Şehrinde (Bursa, Kütahya, İvranya) Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayat” isimli bu çalışmada, Osmanlı Devleti’nin vergi sayım metodu olan *Tahrir* tanıtıldıktan sonra, çalışmanın ana kaynağı olan *Temettu‘at Tahriri* incelenip, kaynağın hazırlanışında rol oynamış faktörlerden bahsedilerek, tezin konusunu teşkil eden üç şehrin nüfusu ve demografik yapısı ele alınmıştır.

Bu şehirlerin 19. Yüzyıl’daki millet yapısı, Osmanlı Devleti’nde idarenin ve sosyal hayatın en küçük ünitesi olan mahalleler vasıtasıyla ortaya konulmuştur. Bu esnada *Temettu‘at* kaynağıyla yine aynı dönemde hazırlanmış *Nüfus* Defterleri ele alınmış ve iki kaynak arasındaki benzerlikleri ve farkları göstermesi bakımından Kütahya’da Pirlar Mahallesi’nin *Temettu‘at* ve *Nüfus* Defterleri arasında bir karşılaştırma yapılmıştır. Çalışmanın diğer bölümünde bu şehirlerde

mevcut meslekler ele alınmış ve bu mesleklerin sektörleriyle birlikte meslekleri icra eden milletlerden bahsedilmiştir. Bir sonraki bölümde ise, toplanmış ve defterlere kaydedilmiş üç çeşit vergi olan *cizye*, *a'şar* ve *vergi-yi mahsûsa*'dan bahsedilmiş ve gelir, gelir dağılımı ve gelir eşitsizliği üzerine bir inceleme yapılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu bölümde ayrıca, her şehirde en çok geliri olan meslekler ortaya konulmuş ve her şehrin en yüksek gelire sahip bireyleri listelenerek, şehirlerde diğer biyografik kaynaklarda geçen şahıslardan bahsedilmiştir.

*Bezm-i aşk içre Fuzûlî nice âh eylemeyem
Ne temettu‘ bulunur bende sadâdan gayrı*

Fuzûlî

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Introduction

During the mid-19th century a new tax form was created and partially implemented in the Ottoman Empire based on the yearly income of every household. And to determine this yearly income, a general income survey was conducted, hence *Temettu'*, *Temettu'at* or *Emlak, Arazî, Hayvanat ve Temettu'at Tahrir Defterleri*/ Property, Land, Animal and Income Survey Registers.

In this study I will scrutinize and illustrate the significance and evolution of the *tahrir*/Ottoman land and population surveys; the main motives and objectives of reforms concerning the tax collection in the Ottoman territory in the first half of the 19th century; how, where and by whom these property, land, animal and income surveys had been carried out and the registers had been composed; how historians and other social scientists such as anthropologists, demographers, or sociologists can and do make use of these sources, what we observe when we compare *temettu'at* registers with other contemporary sources such as populations records, and yearbooks.

In the main body of the research, three cities, two from the western Ottoman Anatolia and which are in western Turkey today, Bursa and Kütahya; and one from the western frontier of the empire in the mid-19th century, Vranje, a city located today in the south of Serbia will be discussed in detail. The first chapter will investigate the population and the demographic outline of these cities. The ethnic structure in these three cities will be put into account in terms of the smallest units of the administrative and social corpus of the Ottoman Empire, the neighborhoods. In the second chapter the occupations and work force of these cities will be analyzed through the categorization of occupations using a particular occupational system developed in the University of Cambridge, the PST system. In this chapter also the division of labor and the ethnic division of labor will be discussed with respect to the occupational data provided using the *temettu'at* registers in Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje. In the third chapter, the two types of taxes collected and recorded in *temettu'at* registers, the *cizye*/poll tax and the *a'şar*/tithe; and the *vergi-yi mahsûsa*/income tax that was created as a result of *Tanzimat*, will be discussed and the income, a tentative study of distribution of wealth and income inequality in each three city will be analyzed. In this matter, this study will try to determine the origins of *temettu'at* registers and position them as a source for Ottoman economic, social and demographic history of 19th century in a perspective of *defterology*¹ by proposing the questions:

¹ This term is coined by Heath Lowry, mainly for the studies concerning the *tahrir* registers of 15th-16th century, although our source is from a later period I think it can be categorized under the *defterology*.

Into what extent can historians use these registers, what are the conveniences and setbacks of *temettu'at* as a source for demographic and economic history.

Tahrir

The Ottoman Empire determined the amount of the state's revenues collected as taxes from its subjects via the *tahrirs*/surveys, a single territory or a province was surveyed by an agent (*emin-i defter*) or a registrar (*yazıcı* or *muharrir*) accompanied by a scribe (*kâtib*) when a new land was conquered, when a new sultan ascended to the throne or when the valid law was changed or a reform was implemented. The *defters*/final registers were sent to the capital to be kept in the *defter-i hâkânî*/imperial register and utilized for distribution of the land in the form of *timar* (lands granted to the Ottoman ruling class for the purpose of generating income to the army), *vakf* (pious foundation) and *mülk* (private property).² Although the date of this tradition's first practice in the Ottoman realm is not certain, we know that *tahrirs* were regularly and periodically carried out in the 15th and 16th century. Ömer Lütfi Barkan was the first scholar who presented the *tahrirs* to academic milieu in 1940. He used them as source for population and social framework³ and the oldest surviving *defter* which dates 1431 CE, was published by Halil İnalcık in 1954.⁴ Ömer Lütfi Barkan also manifested the significance and outcomes which can be deducted from *tahrir*, and calculated the population of the Ottoman territory with an attempt to articulate the literature created by the *Annales* historian Fernand Braudel in his seminal work *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Epoque de Philippe II*,⁵ where Braudel tries to an estimated population for lands in the Mediterranean World.

For more information, see: Heath Lowry, *Studies in Defterology* (Istanbul; Isis Press, 1992) and *Defterology Revisited - Studies on 15th & 16th Century Ottoman Society*, (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2008).

² Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660*, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage*, v. 6 (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1996), 31.

³ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Türkiye'de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 2 (1940-1941): 39–45.

⁴ Halil İnalcık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954).

⁵ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Tarihî Demografi Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10, no. 0 (1953): 15. Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Epoque de Philippe II*, (Paris, 1949).

The outcomes gathered from the surveys were recorded mainly in two different types of registers: The *mufassal defter*/detailed register, where the names and occasionally the occupations of the taxpayers according the every unit known as *hane*/household were listed in addition to the taxes imposed on them, on their agricultural and manufactural activities; and the second type, *icmâl defteri*/summary register where the income from the taxes of a certain state or province were recorded without the names of the individuals.⁶

The financial administration of the Ottoman Empire abandoned the practice of producing *tahrir* registers for the tax collection and obtained other methods of tax registers such as *avârız*/extraordinary impositions *defterleri* or *cizye*/poll tax *defterleri*⁷ for non-Muslim population. Although *avârız* and *cizye* registers can be classified among the examples of the *tahrir* tradition, we do not have detailed surveys for the second half of the 17th century and the whole 18th century compared to the surveys of the earlier epochs; hence it's appropriate to identify this period as a period of absence of Ottoman Empire concerning the demographic sources.⁸

The Ottoman Empire used another system for the collection of taxes called the *iltizam*/tax farming aside from the *emânet*, which means the realization of the tax collection through the *emin-i defter*/public agents. In the *iltizam* system, the *muqâta'a*/certain unit of land for taxation was distributed to the *mültezim*/tax farmer via *müzayede*/auction and this private bidder had the right to collect the tax of his land for the state or rent his land.⁹ This structure brought the Ottoman State apparatus some advantages such as redistribution of tax collection duties to the non-public independent local of especially the distant territory, but it turned into a

In addition to Barkan and İnalçık, numerous scholars used *tahrir* registers for their research as from the 1950's: Irène Beldiceanu, Nicoara Beldiceanu, "Règlement ottoman concernant le recensement (première moitié du xvie siècle)", *Südost-Forschungen* 39, (1978): 1-40; Feridun Mustafa Emecen, *On Altıncı Asırda Manisa Kazâsı* (Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1989); Heath Lowry, *The Islamization and Turkification of Trabzon, 1461-1483*. (Istanbul, Bosphorus University Press, 1981).

⁶ Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy*, 33.

⁷ For more information about these sources see: Oktay Özel, "Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri" in Halil İnalçık and Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bilgi ve İstatistik: Data and Statistics in the Ottoman Empire* (T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000), 33–50.

⁸ Cem Bahar named this period "black whole" of the Ottoman demographic history in his study about censuses: Cem Behar, "Qui compte ? [«Recensements» et statistiques démographiques dans l'Empire ottoman, du XVIIe au XXe siècle]," *Histoire & Mesure* 13, no. 1 (1998).

⁹ Mehmet Genç, "İltizam," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2000).

decentralizing element of the state and an instrument prone to tyranny for the local notables who were in charge of the tax collection.

Tanzimat: Premises and Consequences

During the last decade of the 18th century and over the course of the 19th century as from the reign of Selim III (1789-1808) but notably when Mahmud II ascended to the throne after his brother in 1808, various reforms and regulations have been accomplished in numerous fields such as the establishment of the Chamber of Translation in 1821, the abolition of the Janissary Corps and foundation of a new army in 1826, the inauguration of the Military Medical School in 1827, the first population survey and the first official newspaper, *Takvîm-i Vekâyi'* in 1831, the establishment of the Ministry of Finance instead of the *Hazine-i Âmire*¹⁰ and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs instead of the *Reissülküttâblık*, the establishment of the *Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliye*/the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances in 1838 for the plan and regulation of the new developments¹¹ and the same year also, the Treaty of Balta Limanı, signed between Ottoman Empire and the Britain, which gave Britain the privileges of free trade in the Ottoman markets.¹² All these transformations were the products of the substantial changes which were aiming to transform the long established Ottoman State into a centralized government supported by a strong western influence with a more competent administration and possessing adequate institutions,¹³ and they embodied and crystallized into a *Hatt-ı Hümayûn*/Imperial Edict read by Mustafa Reşid Paşa, the foreign minister of the new Sultan who would become the grand vizier several times, in 1839 in the *Gülhane*, an imperial garden inside the walls of the Topkapı Palace.

It would be convenient to assert that *Tanzimat* was primarily aiming to realize several reforms and ameliorations in the finance; and the reforms in the administrative sphere were essentially

¹⁰ Ottoman Financial system, had especially in the 19th century a complexe structure which consisted more than one treasury. For a study about these different treasuries and about *Hazine-i Hassa* / Sultan's Imperial Treasury, see: Arzu Terzi, *Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000).

¹¹ For more information about the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances see:

Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Tanzimat Devrinde Meclis-i Vâlâ, 1838-1868*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, sa. 149 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1994).

¹² Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu and Halil İnalçık, *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2011), 765–766.

¹³ İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), 109.

intended to enable and secure the centralization of the financial system.¹⁴ During the last years of the reign of Mahmud II, the regulations to create a taxation system based upon the income and wealth of the subjects were being established and the State was planning to conduct a property and income survey in 1838 for the application of this new taxation.¹⁵ The article of the Imperial Edict read by Mustafa Reşid Paşa in 1839 that concerned the old and “harmful” tax farming and the new taxation, stated initially the importance of the taxes as the source of revenue, with regard to protection of the state’s territory and other expenditures, and then asserted:

“[T]he harmful system of tax farms, which never has produced useful fruit and is highly injurious, still is in use. This means handing over political and financial affairs of a state to the will of a man and perhaps to the grip of compulsion and subjugation, for if he is not a good man, he will care only for his own benefit, and all his actions will be oppressive. Hereafter, therefore, it is necessary that every one of the people [ehâli] shall be assigned a suitable tax according to his possessions and ability, and nothing more shall be taken by anyone...”¹⁶

This declaration was an absolute repugnance to the tax farming system and we also acknowledge that Sultan Abdulmecid personally called *iltizam* as “*sirkat-i müevvele*” / a furtive

¹⁴ Halil İnalçık, “Tanzimat’ın Uygulanması ve Sosyal Tepkileri,” in Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu and Halil İnalçık, *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2011), 171–195, 175. See also Nadir Özbek’s article about tax system of *Tanzimat* and the attempt to create social justice: “Tanzimat Devleti, Vergi Sistemi ve Toplumsal Adalet, 1839-1908” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 252 (2014): 24-30.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 176.

¹⁶ Stanford J Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Vol. 2*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 60.

“... âlât-ı tahrîbiyyeden olup hiçbir vakitte semere-i nâfi’ası görülemeyen iltizâmât usûl-i muzırrası el-yeym cârî olarak bu ise bir memleketin mesâlih-i siyâsiye ve umûr-ı mâliyesini bir adamın yed-i ihtiyârına ve belki pençe-i cebr ü kahrına teslim demek olarak ol dahi eğer zâten bir iyice adam değilse hemân kendi çıkarına bakıp cemî’-i harekât ü sekenâtı gadr u zulmden ibâret olmasıyla ba’d ez-în ehâlî-i memâlikten her ferdin emlâk ve kudretine göre vergi-yi münâsib ta’yin olunarak kimseden ziyâde şey alınmaması...”

The text of the Imperial Edict was published in *Takvîm-i Veķâyî* ‘ 187, (15 Ramazan 1255); Lütî Efendi, *Târih-i Lütî*, VI, 59-65; *Düstûr*, I, 4–7.

robbery.¹⁷ Therefore, the preparation to put an end to the tax farming and create a new taxation method via *emânet* in order to cease the misconduct and oppression of the *Ancien Régime* and increase the income of the treasury have been commenced, and the new income tax was intended to be collected based on every individual's *emlâk ve kudret*/ possessions and ability as stated in the *Gülhane* decree.

The Ottoman Empire established the *muhassıl*/tax collector system to engender the new fair taxing system in conjunction with the creation of required sources to carry out the reforms.¹⁸ The official newspaper of the Ottoman Empire *Takvîm-i Veķâyî*, announced on February 21, 1840 that the tax collections henceforth would be determined and realized by the *muhassıl-ı emvâl*/collectors of assets and property, who were to be sent from the Ottoman capital and to be paid regular salaries by the treasury.¹⁹ In the first years of *Tanzimat*, solely the territories where the new tax collection system had been introduced were considered to be in the scope of the reforms (*dâhil-i dâire-i Tanzimat*), a factor which represents the characteristics of the new order.²⁰

The State also reorganized the administrative divisions of each *eyalet*/province with regard to extend the central control and enhance the efficacy of reforms. The traditional term *sancak*/district remained valid; nevertheless the *sancaks* within the scope of *Tanzimat* were governed by *muhassıls*, and the *sancaks* where the reforms were not implemented yet, were still headed by *kaymakams*. In the scope of *Tanzimat* regulations, each *sancak* was subdivided into *kazas*/counties, ruled by *müdürs*/administrators and counties consisted of *nahiyes*/subdistricts, where there existed several towns or villages.²¹ The smallest units of the administrative and social corpus of the Ottoman Empire were *mahalles*/neighborhoods and they were managed by

¹⁷ Fatma Aliye, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa ve Zamani*, (1332), 93. Quoted in Yavuz Abadan, "Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Tahlili", in Seyitdanlıođlu and İnalçık, *Tanzimat*, 85.

¹⁸ Yoichi Takamatsu, "Ottoman Income Survey (1840-1846)" in Kayoko Hayashi and Mahir Aydın, *The Ottoman State and Societies in Change: A Study of the Nineteenth Century Temettuat Registers* (London; New York: Kegan Paul ; Columbia University Press, 2004), 18.

¹⁹ *Takvîm-i Veķâyî* 191 (17 Zilhicce 1255), quoted in Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Vol. 2*, 84.

²⁰ Yoichi Takamatsu, "Ottoman Income Survey (1840-1846)," 18.

Takamatsu refers to the implementation of *muhassıl* system as the core of *Tanzimat*, stating: "... [T]he register compiled after the 1840 survey was integral to the introducing of the *muhassıl* system, and thus was the centerpiece of Tanzimat reform." *Loc. cit.*

²¹ Shaw and Shaw, *loc. cit.*

muhtars/ neighborhood headmen, an official service settled by Mahmud II in 1833, in order to maintain order and represent the central authority after the eradication of Janissaries who had security roles in the Ottoman towns.²²

Tahrir-i Temettu‘at: Continuity or rupture?

Immediately after these preparations, the Ottoman Empire initiated a first wave of income and property survey in the territories where the *Tanzimat* was valid in Hijri 1256²³ (1840 CE), but this attempt did not result as a success, for the reason that the State’s tax revenue severely decreased related to the difficulties of abolition of the tax farming and implementation of the new taxation method based on the *emânet*/tax collection via *muhassıls*/public agents.²⁴ Meanwhile, in 1841, Mustafa Reşid Paşa who would come back and become the grand vizier in a few years, was discharged in 1841²⁵ and the State restored the *iltizam*/tax farming. Nevertheless, Reşid Paşa’s reforms remained to be implemented and when he became the grand vizier in 1260 H./1845 CE, the new tax and the income survey were re-implemented and several *nizamnames*/codes of practices were constituted and a new manual consisted of the questions and answers for conducting the surveys was engendered and all these documents were sent to the provinces where the regulations of *Tanzimat* were practiced and this time the State was to some degree successful at realizing a survey apropos of income and properties of the subjects. The survey was conducted by the *muhassıls* and with the aid of the local scribes, *muhtars* and religious leaders. The registers which were completed were finalized after being sealed and confirmed by the first and second *muhtars* and *imams* of the neighborhoods or villages and by the *kocabaşı*/administrative leader of a *millet* and religious leader of the communities for non-Muslim communities, and they were sent to the *kaza*/county for the inspection of the councils

²² Musa Çadırcı, “Türkiye’de Muhtarlık Kurumunun Tarihi Gelişimi,” *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler Dergisi* 2, no. 3 (1993): 412.

The institution of neighborhood headmanship as a social and social personage will be discussed in detail in the first chapter of this study.

²³ This survey of the year 1840 is not the earliest kind of the income, we are aware of the existence of an income survey during the reing of Mahmud II in Kayseri, in 1834-1835.

İsmail Demir (ed.), *Kayseri Temettuât Defteri (H. 1250/M. 1834 Tarihli)*, 3 volumes, Kayseri, 1998-1999. Cited in Yoichi Takamatsu, “Ottoman Income Survey (1840-1846),” 17.

²⁴ Said Öztürk, “Türkiye’de Temettuat Çalışmaları,” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, vol. 1, 1, (2003), 287–304

²⁵ İnalçık, “Tanzimat’ın Uygulanması ve Sosyal Tepkileri,” 185.

and then sent to the *sancaks*/district to be examined and bound before being sent to the Ottoman capital.²⁶

The manual for the conduct of the survey included 26 questions and answers explained thoroughly such as filing the income of taxpayers, if non-taxpayers income would be filed or if useless live stock would be filed etc.²⁷

The record of each neighborhood or village was categorized according to the ethnic-religious groups living in the *eyalet*/province, *kaza*/county, *nahiye*/subdistrict, and *mahalle*/neighborhood or *karye*/village respectively.

Information obtained and recorded in the registers were the name and title of the head of household (and inhabitants of the house if they had an occupation or a property or they had any income i.e. they were taxpayers); the amount of taxes paid or supposed to be paid by the household that consisted *vergi-yi mahsûsa*/special income tax paid in *kuruş* last year, the category of *cizye*/poll tax collected from the members of the non-Muslim household according to their level of wealth (*a'lâ*=highest, *evsat*=middle, *ednâ*=lowest), the amount of *a'şar*/tithe in kind of agricultural products and tithe and *rûsûm*/excise taxes in cash; moveable and immovable properties, lands, livestock and mills, shops of the head and/or inhabitants of the household and the annual income as profit or rental income derived from movable and immovable property held or retained by the household and income obtained from artisanship, trade and labor by the head of the house old and the members of the family.²⁸ (Refer to the Figure 1 below: How to Decipher an Entry of the Income Tax Survey.)

The annual income of a resident was noted in detail, including the income from his/her occupation, the rent he/she obtains from immovable properties, his/her income from agricultural outcome and irregular or uncertain income noted as “*zuhurat*.” Although the survey was conducted by the *muhassıl* via questions and answers and the occupation, properties and the income of the resident were determined based on his/her declaration; the amount of each component was assessed by the officials and the total *temettu'at*/income was calculated according to these items. There rose the question, if the total income would be calculated as a net sum i.e. after the reduction of the agricultural costs of the agents or investments along with

²⁶ Nuri Adıyeke, “Temettuat Sayımları ve Bu Sayımları Düzenleyen Nizamname Örnekleri,” *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi (OTAM)* 11, no. 11 (2000): 778–779.

²⁷ Yoichi Takamatsu, “Ottoman Income Survey (1840-1846),” 27–28.

²⁸ Tevfik Güran “Temettuat Registers as Resource about Ottoman Social and Economic Life” in Hayashi and Aydın, *The Ottoman State and Societies in Change* (2004), 7–8.

other expenses; nevertheless it was decided that the total income would be determined as a gross sum.²⁹

All these registers were written with a rather legible script which was a mixture of *nesih* and essential version of *rik'a* are kept catalogued in Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives in Istanbul under the collection ML.VRD.TMT. (*Maliye Nezareti, Varidat Muhasebesi, Temettu'at Defterleri*); however several other *Temettu'at* registers can be located in the collections of MVL (*Meclis-i Vâlâ*), KK.d. (*Kâmil Kepeci, Defterler*) and MAD.d. (*Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler*). The collection ML.VRD.TMT. was made available to the public in 1988 and numerous researchers started to use these 17540 *defter* as a source for the socio-economic data of Ottoman towns in the mid-19th century (See table 1 for the regional distribution of the registers) . However, Tefik Güran used these sources for the first time, before the inauguration of the main collection, ML.VRD.TMT. in the studies he published in 1980 and 1985 consequently.³⁰ Mübahat Kütükoğlu as well, wrote an article presenting and depicting *Temettu'at* registers in 1995.³¹ Since this collection opened to the researchers, various studies have been realized concerning *temettu'at* registers; many books, articles, master theses and PhD dissertations made use of these sources and they have become the centerpiece of the inquiries in the matter of Ottoman city centers and periphery, a prominent source for population, crafts, tribe and family histories for the mid nineteenth century.

²⁹ Adıyeke, "Temettuat Sayımları ve Bu Sayımları Düzenleyen Nizamname Örnekleri," 773.

sual: bağ ve bağçenin hâsılat-ı seneviyyesinden masârîf-ı vâkı'a-yı zarûriye ihrâc olunduktan sonra bâkîsi mi yoksa hâsılat-ı vâkı'aları tamamen mi temettu' kayd olunmak icâb ideceği

*cevab: ashâb-ı bağ ve bağçe gerek kendü timar itsün ve gerek âhere timar itdirsün iş bu lâyihanın bend-i âhirinde tafsil ve beyân olunan sûrete tatbiken bunların dahi masârîfi tenzil olunmayarak hâsılat her ne ise takımıyla temettu' kayd olunmak ve âhere icâr olunduğu tatbiken bunların dahi masârîfi tenzil olunmayarak hasılat her ne ise takımıyla temettu' kayd olunmak ve âhere icâr olunduğu hâlde bedel-i icarı ashâbına ve hâsılatı müteâhhirine temettu' yazılmak lâzım geleceği (B.O.A., A. DVN. no. 13/44. Quoted in *idem*, 797.)*

³⁰ Tefik Güran, *Structure économique et sociale d'une région de campagne dans l'Empire Ottoman vers le milieu du XIX^e s.: étude comparée de neuf villages de la nahiye de Koyuntepe, sandjak de Filibe* (Sofia: CIBAL, 1980); "XIX. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Ödemiş Kasabası'nın Sosyo-Ekonomik Özellikleri," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 41, no. 1-4 (Ord. Prof. Dr. Ömer Lütfi Barkan'a Armağan Özel Sayısı), (Istanbul: 1985), 301–319.

³¹ Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Osmanlı Sosyal ve İktisadi Tarihi Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri," *Bellekten* LIX, no. 225 (1995): 365–418.

All the things considered, one has to analyze this source similarly to the other sources with precaution and take into account the numbers with suspicion keeping in mind that this is a tax register that was conducted only for once and beside all its advantages, many data are deficient or missing. For instance, although the survey was initiated in 1261 H./1845 CE in Izmir, which was one of the most populated cities of the Ottoman Empire, and a center for trade due to its port in the Aegan Sea towards Greece and the Mediterranean lands, it was never possible to accomplish the survey because of the fire outbreak of the same year.³² Not any pieces of registers was sent to the capital of the Empire from the Diyarbakır Province even though the reforms of the *Tanzimat* were implemented in the region and there exist reports manifesting the execution of the survey;³³ in Trabzon the reforms were attempted to be invoked in 1841, however the notables of the region were not accustomed to pay taxes and the *Meclis-i Vâlâ*/Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances came to the decision that the “Local community was not ready to perceive the benefits of *Tanzimat*” and the reforms were postponed in this region by the consent of the Sultan until they were implemented in 1847.³⁴

³² Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, “İzmir Temettü Sayımları ve Yabancı Tebaa,” *Belleten* LXIII, no. 238 (1999): 757. In this article, Kütükoğlu analyzes the registers of the foreign residents in Izmir and claims that the remaining registers containing the Muslim and non-Muslim residents of the city can be discovered in the Ottoman Archives.

³³ Yoichi Takamatsu, “Ottoman Income Survey (1840-1846),” 40.

³⁴ Musa Çadircı, “Tanzimat’ın Uygulanması ve Karşılaşılan Güçlükler (1840-1856)” in in Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu and Halil İnalçık, *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2011), 199–207, 206.

Table 1. Number of Temettu‘at Registers in the Collection of ML.VRD.TMT. in the Prime Minister’s Ottoman Archives in Istanbul³⁵

<i>Eyalet</i> /Province	Number of Registers	Number of <i>Kaza</i> /County
Ankara	1.401	42
Aydın	1.411	96
Bolu	2.299	96
Cezâyir-i Bahr-ı Sefid	26	8
Edirne	1.623	31
Erzurum	316	5
Hüdavendigâr	2.491	59
Konya	1.025	1025
Niş	817	817
Rumeli	45	45
Selanik	370	370
Silistre	987	987
Sivas	2.297	2297
Üsküb	365	365
Vidin	316	316
Miscellaneous	1.751	
Total	17.540	

I became acquainted with this source when I joined as a researcher a project³⁶ concerning the occupations in Ottoman cities in the 19th century, in the Istanbul Bilgi University, initiated and managed by M. Erdem Kabadayı. In this project *temettu‘at* registers of 18 cities and 6 towns were read and digitized (Some of the registers were already digitized in a prior project); and a total number of 84923 entries representing the heads of the households, in addition to the male workers, income owners or taxpayers and in some cases female subjects were recorded

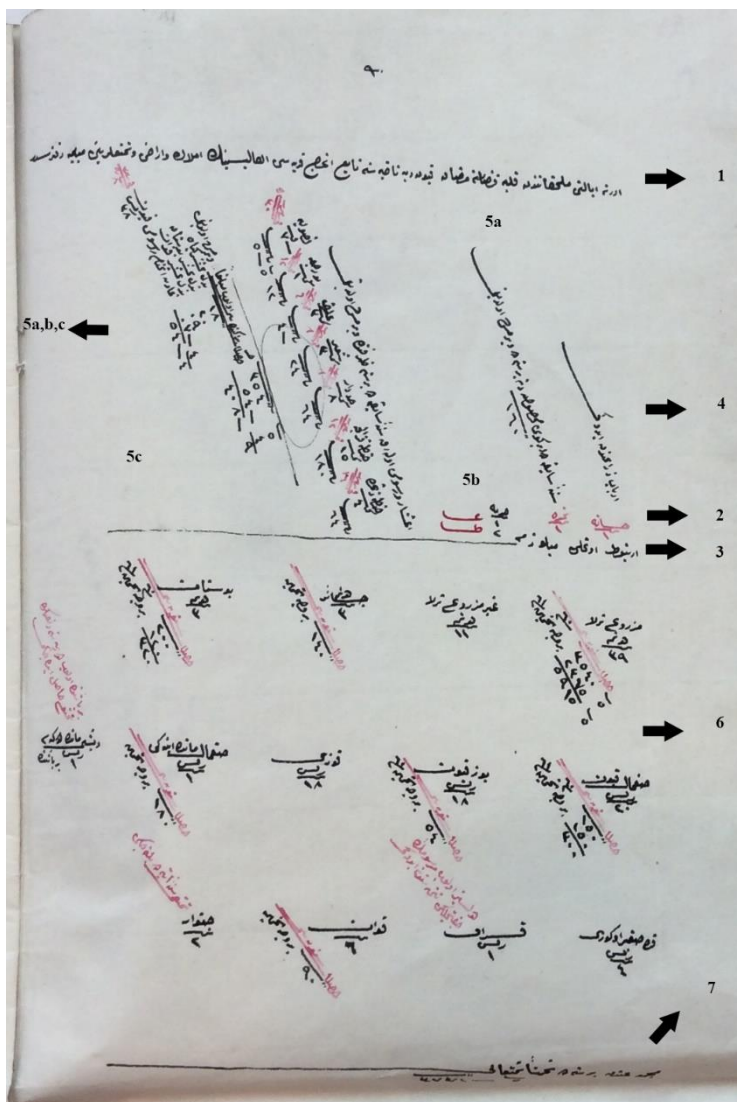
³⁵ This table is taken from Tefvik Güran “Temettuat Registers” in Hayashi and Aydın, *The Ottoman State and Societies in Change* (2004), 6; also from the same author: “19. Yüzyıl Temettuat Tahrirleri”, in İnalçık and Pamuk, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde Bilgi ve İstatistik* (2000), 77.

³⁶ Funded by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (Project Nr. 112K271) *An Introduction to the Occupational History of Turkey via New Methods and New Approaches (1840 - 1940)*

according to the region and ethno-religiosity (Refer to the map 1, *Temettu'at* Cities, for the cities and for the compound of Muslim/non-Muslim residents filed in the registers). Since this was a project on the subject of occupations in Ottoman cities (In the course of time, our research expanded and population and demographic structure of Ottoman cities became one of our concerns), other than the activities that generated income such as *vazife*/salaries related to public charges and revenues derived from the disposition of the public land such as *timar*, *mâlikâne*, *çiftlik* or *mukâta'a*; the lands, properties or livestock of the residents were left out of the scope of the research.

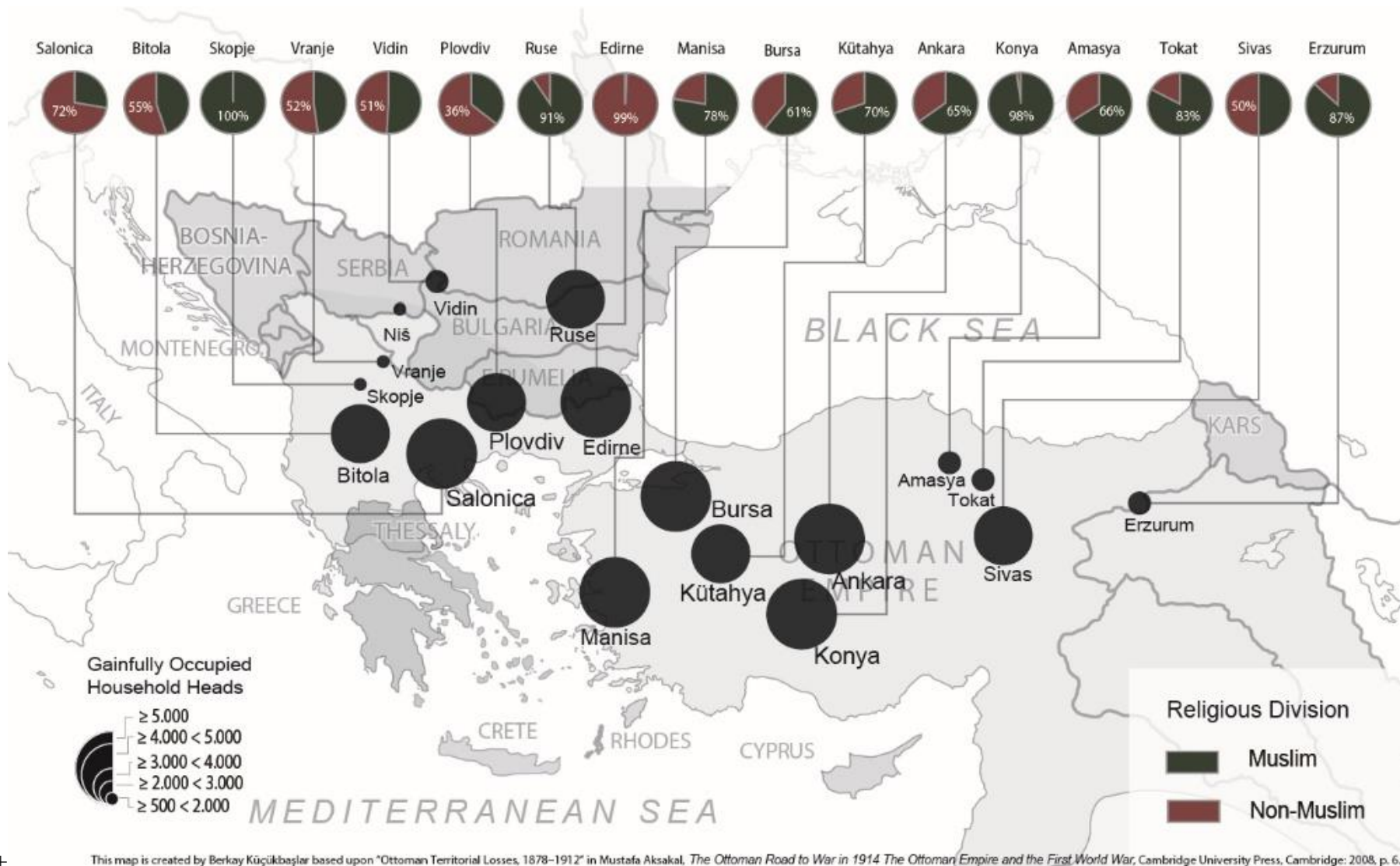
Table 2. Number of Total Entries in Each Town According to Our Research Concerning *Temettu'at* Registers

Towns and their sub-districts (<i>nahiye</i>)	Number of Entries
Amasya	2345
Ankara	5892
Ayaş	735
Beypazarı	501
Bitola (Manastır)	4668
Bursa	7759
Gemlik	1448
Mudanya	231
İnegöl	46
Erzurum	3229
Konya	5744
Kütahya	5090
Manisa	6280
Turgutlu	2388
Niş (Niş)	669
Plovdiv (Filibe)	5317
Ruse (Rusçuk)	5013
Salonica (Selanik)	7730
Sivas	5020
Skopje (Üsküb)	1453
Tokat	2936
Vidin	3017
Vranje (Ivranya)	1257
Total	84923



- 1 Name of the *eyalet*/province, *kaza*/county, *nahiye*/subdistrict, *mahalle*/neighborhood or *karye*/village and *millet*/ethnicity of the residences.
- 2 Number of the house in the *mahalle*/neighborhood or *karye*/village and number of the inhabitant of the house.
- 3 Name and title of the head of household (and inhabitants consequently).
- 4 Occupation title of the head of the household.
- 5 Taxes determined to be paid by the household.
- 5a *Vergi-yi mahsûsa*/special income tax paid in *kuruş* last year.
- 5b *Cizye*/poll tax of the members of the household collected from the non-Muslim population based on three categories according to the level of wealth, (*a'lâ*=highest, *evsat*=middle, *ednâ*=lowest).
- 5c *A'şar*/tithe in kind of agricultural products and tithe *rûsûm*/excise taxes paid in cash.
- 6 Moveable and immovable properties, lands, livestock and mills, shops of the head and/or inhabitants of the household.
- 7 Annual income (approximate) received by the head and/or members of the household.

Figure 1. How to Decipher an Entry of the Income Tax Survey: Enumerated Image of an Representative Page from Temettu‘at Registers with Explanations (MVL. 41/15 p. 1)



Map 1. Temettu‘at Cities and Sample Size

A total quantity of 1100 different occupations identified and recorded in our research, and these 1100 occupations³⁷ were categorized with respect to a system of classifying occupations named PST (Primary, Secondary, Tertiary) developed by The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (Campop)³⁸ in the University of Cambridge, England. According to this system each occupation is identified with a four-digit code where the first digit defines the sector, the second the group, the third the section and the fourth the occupation.³⁹ In this manner, we can categorize a *çoban*/shepherd as 1, 1, 2, 3 under the category of the first digit 1 as the primary sector, the second digit 1 as the group of agriculture, the third digit as the animal husbandry and the fourth digit as the sheep husbandry or *harir dellali*/dealer of silk in the tertiary category with the code 3, 20, 7, 1; as tertiary dealers/dealers in textiles and products/dealers in silk and products/silk dealers. We likewise classified each occupation from 1845 according to the occupation categories of the 1935 population census of Turkey. In the following chapters I will formulate questions and try to generate answers to them using *temettu'at* / income tax survey and *nüfus* / census registers concerning the demographics and socio-economic structure of three different cities: Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje.⁴⁰ The first two

³⁷ An encyclopedic lexicon of these occupations is prepared by myself to be published as a future research.

³⁸ The web site of the group is: www.campop.geog.cam.ac.uk

³⁹ E. Anthony Wrigley, "The PST System of Classifying Occupations," *Unpublished Paper, Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, University of Cambridge*, 2011, 13, <http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk:8000/research/projects/occupations/britain19c/papers/paper1.pdf>.

⁴⁰ *Temettu'at* registers I used from the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives ML.VRD.TMT for Bursa: 7362, 7363, 7364, 7365, 7367, 7368, 7369, 7370, 7371, 7373, 7375, 7376, 7381, 7382, 7383, 7386, 7387, 7391, 7392, 7393, 7395, 7399, 7402, 7405, 7408, 7409, 7412, 7414, 7415, 7416, 7418, 7420, 7423, 7427, 7428, 7429, 7431, 7441, 7443, 7444, 7448, 7449, 7451, 7454, 7457, 7459, 7461, 7464, 7466, 7467, 7468, 7470, 7471, 7472, 7473, 7475, 7476, 7477, 7479, 7484, 7485, 7486, 7490, 7495, 7496, 7498, 7499, 7500, 7505, 7506, 7508, 7509, 7515, 7516, 7517, 7518, 7519, 7521, 7522, 7525, 7528, 7530, 7532, 7533, 7534 (Muslim residents of neighborhoods); 7394, 7400, 7411, 7422, 7430, 7439, 7442, 7445, 7447, 7450, 7466, 7469, 7491, 7492, 7501, 7503, 7524, 7538, 7540, 7550 (Armenians); 7407, 7410, 7426, 7432, 7438, 7455, 7462, 7466, 7481, 7497, 7502, 7504, 7520, 7523, 7526, 7547, 7569 (Orthodox Christians); 7465 (Catholics); 7466, 7572 (Jewish people); 7453 (Non-Muslim *Kıptıyan*);

for Kütahya: 8735, 8736, 8738, 8739, 8742, 8744, 8745, 8747, 8751, 8752, 8753, 8754, 8755, 8757, 8759, 8760, 8761, 8762, 8763, 8764, 8765, 8767, 8768, 8769, 8770, 8772, 8773, 8774, 8775, 8776

from the western part of Asia Minor are situated in the same province (*Hüdavendigâr Eyaleti*) and were the capitals of the sancaks/district carrying their names respectively (Bursa and Kütahya); Vranje, which was a kaza/county of the Province of Üsküb, District of Köstendil;⁴¹ is located in the south-east of Serbia today.⁴²

The main reasons for choosing these three cities were that Bursa was one of the most important cities Ottoman Empire in terms of the political role it played as the first capital and also as a center for textile and other manufacture; Kütahya, a west-Anatolian city where the occupational structure offers a steady balance of public workers, manufacturers and agriculturists. The most particular of these three cities is Vranje, which was a city in the western border of the Ottoman Empire during the mid-19th century, where the regulations of *Tanzimat* were practiced in 1844-1845 CE. Vranje is a much understudied territory, it came to the scene of Ottoman history with the work of Cengiz Kırılı, where he took into account the relations of power and tyranny between the Muslim bureaucrats and tax paying non-Muslims.⁴³ There also raises the question of the “periphery” in the mid-19th century Ottoman Empire, it is obvious that Vranje was a western

(Muslims); 8749, 8750, 8766, 8769, 8770, 8776, 8738, 8750 (Armenians); 8740, 8746, 8758, 8771 (Orthodox Christians); 8748, 8756, 8766, 8770, 8776 (Catholics);

for Vranje: 15199 (One single registers which contains all of the recorded Muslim and Orthodox Christian population.)

In case of the population censuses, I used the following registers:

Bursa: Muslim: NFS.d 1391, (1247 H), NFS.d 1393 (1247 H), NFS.d 1396.

Non-Muslims: NFS.d 1394, NFS.d 1398.

Kütahya: Muslims: NFS.d 1619 (1250 H), NFS.d 1620 (1258 H), NFS.d 1621 (1260 H).

Non-Muslims: NFS.d 1623 (1253 H).

Unfortunately, the censuses from Vranje were not open to public research during I conducted my study in the Prime Minister’s Ottoman Archive in Istanbul.

⁴¹ The first provincial yearbook of Province of Danube which dates 1285 H/ 1268-1269 CE, indicates Vranje as a part of the Province of Danube, District of Niš.

See: *Tuna Vilayeti Salnamesi* (1285 H), 70.

⁴² In 1878, Serbia and Montenegro declared war on the Ottoman Empire and according to the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) Vranje became a part of Serbia. The Congress of Berlin in 1878 revised and confirmed the conditions of this treaty. (Gabor Agoston and Bruce Alan Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, (Infobase Publishing, 2009, “Albania”, 29.)

⁴³ Cengiz Kırılı, “İvranyalılar, Hüseyin Paşa ve Tasvir-i Zulüm,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no: 195, March 2010, 12–21.

periphery of the Ottoman capital yet the liaison between Istanbul, Bursa and Kütahya and also the question of whether Bursa was a periphery of Istanbul with Kütahya or Kütahya was a periphery of its state capital Bursa remains unclear and stays as an interesting subject of research.

Vranje / İvranya, a city which was located in the Vranje Valley on the west of the South Morava River, was conquered by the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II in 1455; in the 1850's, there existed 14 neighborhoods / *mahalles* in Vranje and in these neighborhoods resided 1000 Christian houses, 600 mostly Albanian Muslims as well as the 50 *kıptıyan* families living in the city, Austro-Hungarian geographer, archeologist and ethnographer observed in the turn of the 20th century, that in the Carsija (Pazar Street) of Vranje, there were many coffee houses in addition to the various shops and works shops such as boilers, blacksmiths, tinsmiths and cloth weavers and shoe makers & sellers.⁴⁴ Since the town was a junction point of the roads connecting Ottoman Serbia, Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia, it had a mixed demographic structure and it was an economically important Ottoman Balkan town with considerably large *çiftlik*s / agricultural estates and iron ores.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk*. 2 Volumes, Leipzig B. Meyer, 1904-1909, 251-255.

⁴⁵ Cengiz Kırılı, "Tyranny Illustrated - From Petition to Rebellion in Ottoman Vranje," 3. (This is the English translation of the article which appeared in *Toplumsal Tarih* in 2010, the English translation was presented by the author in March 30, 2012, in CUNY Center for Humanities.)



Map 2. Locating Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje (The sizes of the circles are referring to the quantity of entries of household members according to *temettu‘at* registers in each three city.)

Meanwhile, Bursa which became the first capital of the Ottoman Beylik after being conquered by Orhan Gazi in 1326 and which remained as the capital until Edirne became the capital of the empire during the interregnum which started after the Battle of Ankara in 1402.⁴⁶ Located in the south of the Marmara Sea and in the north western side of the Mount of Uludağ which was known as the Mysian Olympus or Keşiş Dağı in the earlier times, Bursa was a center where trade and logistic roads passed and it has also been one of the most populated cities of the Ottoman Empire throughout many centuries. The political characteristic of the city continued with its centralized structure and the commercial significance. Towards the end of the 15th century, 6456 tax paying households lived in the Bursa city center and this population increased by almost hundred percent by the end of the 16th century. This population was made of mainly Muslims however 600 Christian and 300 Jewish households also lived in the city; the most

⁴⁶ Halil İnalcık, “Bursa” *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2000).

populated neighborhoods of Bursa at that time were Emir Sultan, Sultaniye İmaretı, Hacı Baba (known later on as Ahmed Aziz Paşa), Yıldırım Bayezid (Yıldırım), Cedid Yiğidođlu, Reyhan Paşa, Hoca Enbiya, Umur Bey, Daye Hatun, Şeyh Paşa, Murad Han, Hamza Bey, Bayezid Paşa, Timurtaş and Kiremitçiođlu.⁴⁷ The famous traveler Evliya Çelebi, who visited the city in the mid-17th century states that, there existed 2000 houses, 7 neighborhoods, 7 mosques, a bath and a market in the inner citadel, and the city had a layered topography with totally 23000 houses in 176 Muslim, 9 Greek, 9 Jewish, 7 Armenian and a *Kıptıyan* neighborhoods; the city had a very vivid and elaborate commercial activity in its markets where there existed 9000 shops and a *bedesten* / covered market mainly for textiles, as well as 1040 mosques with miscellaneous dimensions.⁴⁸ Beginning from its acquisition, until the 19th century, 60 extant travelogues were written by the travelers who visited Bursa and more than half of them mentions the economic activity of the city.⁴⁹ The city was always a major commercial center, where merchants from various places such as Venice, Geneva or Florentine, traded silk and other goods, there was a slave market where non-Muslim slaves were sold,⁵⁰ however it was Evliya Çelebi according to Lowry, who noticed the transformation of Bursa from a city where the Persian silk was being sold, to a manufacturer of its own raw silk.⁵¹ The adventurous traveler observed the activity of tailors, cotton-beaters, cap-makers, thread merchants, drapers and linen merchants in the different marketplaces of the city and he named the city as the “emporium of silk,” he was also the first author to point out the mulberry plantations, settled in the plains in the north of the city.⁵²

In the 19th century many travelers visited Bursa in addition to the diplomatic reports remaining from the foreign consuls who resided in the city, and there exist very significant texts giving information about the population structure, commercial activity and social life in Bursa. For instance, William George Browne visited the city in 1802, after a very destructive fire and noted that 60000 people resided in the city among which 7000 were Armenians, 3000 were Greeks

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* (Referring to the *Tahrir* of the year 1573 CE).

⁴⁸ Evliya Çelebi. *Seyahatname*, II, 7-55. (Cited in İnalçık, *op.cit.*)

⁴⁹ Heath W. Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Ottoman and Modern Turkish Studies Publications, 2003), 40.

⁵⁰ Bertrandon de la Broquière, *The Voyage d'Outremer*, Translated and edited by Galen R. Kline. New York and Bern. (Cited in Lowry, *op.cit.*)

⁵¹ Lowry, *op.cit.* 50. (Lowry doesn't indicate the page numbers in Evliya's work.)

⁵² *Ibid*, 49.

and 1800 were Jews.⁵³ Traveler John Macdonald Kinneir who visited the city mentioned 40000 inhabitants and British diplomat William Turner who visited Bursa in 1816, wrote about the silk production in the city and recorded 10000 Turkish, 1500 Armenian, 800 Greek and 350 Jewish families living in the city center.⁵⁴

Miss Julia Pardoe who visited the city in 1836 depicted extensively and admirably the environment and the architecture of Bursa, stating: “*I never traversed a more lovely country; vineyards were succeeded by mulberry plantations and olive groves, gardens of cucumber plants, beet-root, and melons, stretches of rich corn land, and immense plains, hemmed in by gigantic mountains, of which the unredeemed portions were a perfect garden.*”⁵⁵ She gave a detailed picture of the population and inhabitants in as much as the silk production, shops, markets and local sellers. Her description of the silk market is remarkable and worth mentioning although it contains a strong emphasis of the Western movement of thought towards the East hence it must still be considered with precaution and suspicion:⁵⁶

“*From the Charshee we passed into the silk-bazar, which was almost entirely closed, three-fourths of the merchants being Armenians; but among those who were at their posts, we selected one magnificent looking Turk, who spread out before us a pile of satin scarfs, used by the ladies of the country for binding up their hair after the bath; the brightest crimson and the deepest orange appeared to be the favorite mixture, and were strongly recommended; but their texture was so extremely coarse, and their price so exorbitant, that we declined becoming purchasers.*”⁵⁷

⁵³ William George Browne, “Journey from Constantinople through Asia Minor, in the 1802”, *Travels in Various Countries of the East; Being a Continuation of Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, (Edit. Robert Walpole), London 1820, 111. (Cited in Emre Satici, *19. Yüzyılda Hüdavendigâr Eyaleti*, Unpublished PhD dissertation, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih (Yakınçağ Tarihi Anabilim Dalı), Ankara, 2008, 71).

⁵⁴ Satici, *op. cit.* 72.

⁵⁵ Miss [Julia S.H.] Pardoe, 1837. *The City of the Sultans and Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836*. Volumes 1-3. London.

⁵⁶ In this matter of Orientalism, Western travelers and their accounts the preface to the Turkish translation of Miss Pardoe, written by Stephanos Yerasimos is noteworthy: Miss Julia Pardoe, *Şehirlerin Ecesi İstanbul. Bir Leydinin Gözüyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Yaşamı*, translated by Banu Büyükkal (Istanbul, Kitap Yayınevi, 2004) 7-9.

⁵⁷ Miss Pardoe, 1837. *The City of the Sultans and Domestic Manners of the Turks*, v. II, 47.

Before the 19th century, the silk was exported to Europe as a good finalized by the local weavers; yet the shifts in the apparel from silk to cotton due to the mechanization of the cotton production in the Great Britain, Ottoman silk market which always had a volatile characteristic, focused and oriented towards the new reeling technologies.⁵⁸ The hand-reeling technology was abandoned during the 1840's and reeling mills of silk started to become very common in the city center and periphery of Bursa; there was only one mill in Bursa in 1840, yet there were 15 mills in 1851 and 83 mills in 1861.⁵⁹ As a consequence and as an effort to catch up with the Western industrialization, a silk reeling factory was established by the order and will of the Sultan in 1851.⁶⁰ Until the 1960's, history of Ottoman Empire was perceived through the perspective of the state, yet with the influence of the new historiography and the tendencies to observe and apprehend the economic structure of cities, production and commercial activities,⁶¹ historians of the domain started to research different topics and Bursa became one of the most inquired place alongside the Ottoman capital, Istanbul. One of the earlier studies was realized by Halil İnalçık using the court registers of Bursa from the 15th century⁶² where he pointed out the production and commerce of silk as well as other textile items using the court registers for the first time as a source. The same year Fahri Dalsar published his monography about the production and trade of silk in Bursa using as well the court registers,⁶³ and pointed out that the city was already a trade center of textile in the 15th century and that it became the center for the silk production and the silk from Bursa was traded in the western countries as well as the east.⁶⁴ He also mentions the weaving looms in the 19th century and tells about the shift from the local

⁵⁸ Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 116.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 123. (Quataert referred here to the Diplomatic and Consular Reports of British Consuls in Bursa in the mid-19th century, J. Maling and D. Sandison.)

⁶⁰ Mustafa Çakıcı, *Osmanlı Sanayileşme Çabalarında Bursa İpek Fabrikası Örneği (1851-1873)*, (Unpublished MA thesis), İstanbul Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, İktisat Anabilim Dalı, İktisat Tarihi Bilim Dalı, İstanbul, 2010.

⁶¹ Suraiya Faroqhi. *Artisans of Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople under the Ottomans*. I.B.Tauris, 2009, 9.

⁶² Halil İnalçık, "Bursa I: XV. Asır Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihine Dair Vesikalar", *Bellekten XXIV*, no: 93, (TTK, 1960), 45-102.

⁶³ Fahri Dalsar, *Türk Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihinde Bursa'da İpekçilik*, (Sermet Matbaası, İstanbul, 1960).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 333.

production in the homes and neighborhood towards a more industrialized structure where the factories involved in the mid-19th century.⁶⁵

Another study concerning the developments in the economic and social life of Bursa was realized by Leila Erder in 1976, where she took into account the industrialization of the silk reeling process and the outcomes of these factories in the demographic pattern of Bursa, in addition to the labor structure in the city.⁶⁶ Haim Gerber published in 1988 the study he prepared in the preceding decade using court registers and other sources about the 17th century Bursa,⁶⁷ where he demonstrated the guild structures in terms of the silk production as well as the non-members of the guilds in the urban and rural Bursa; and he made inquiries about the population of the city, for instance he calculated the population of the city 19714 in 1631 and 27241 in 1696.⁶⁸ Suraiya Faroqhi, who is a pioneering historian of the social life in Ottoman cities and Ottoman guilds, crafts and artisans made many seminal studies about Ottoman cities and Bursa.⁶⁹ In her recent study published in 2015, Faroqhi discussed the cotton and silk trade at the turn of the 19th century, a period during which suffered through long wars with Russia and Habsburgs and rebellions in Egypt and the market for many products shrunk as a result of this

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 411.

⁶⁶ Leila Erder, *The Making of Industrial Bursa: Economic Activity and Population in a Turkish City, 1835-1975*, (Unpublished PhD dissertation) New Jersey, Princeton University 1976.

⁶⁷ Haim Gerber, *Economy and Social Life in an Ottoman City: Bursa 1600-1700*, (Jerusalem, The Hebrew University, 1988).

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 12.

⁶⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ottoman Guilds in the Late Eighteenth Century: The Bursa Case" in Suraiya Faroqhi, *Making a Living in the Ottoman Lands 1480-1820* (Isis Press, Istanbul, 1995), 93-112; "The Business of Trade: Bursa Merchants of the 1480's" in Suraiya Faroqhi, *Making a Living in the Ottoman Lands 1480-1820* (Isis Press, Istanbul, 1995) 193-216; "Between Conflict and Accomodatin: Guildsmen in Bursa and Istanbul during the 18th Century" in *Guilds, Economy and Society: Proceedings of the Twelfth International Economic History Congress, B1*, ed Stephen Epstein, Clara Eugenia Nunez, et al (Sevilla: Fundacion Fomento de la Historia Economica), 143-152; "Between Collective Workshops and Private Homes: Places of Work in Eighteenth-century Bursa" in *Stories of Ottoman Men and Women: Establishing Status, Establishing Control* (Eren, Istanbul, 2002), 245-263; "Once Again, Ottoman Artists" in Suraiya Faroqhi, *Bread from the Lion's Mouth: Artisans Struggling for a Livelihood in Ottoman Cities*, (Berghahn Books, 2015) 1-50.

turmoil.⁷⁰ She used the travel account of Austrian scholar-diplomat Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, who visited Bursa in 1804 for illustrating the cotton and silk market of the city. Hammer mentioned the yearly capacity of silk production (100000 *toffet* of raw silk every year which worth 8.8 to 9 million Ottoman silver coins), he also mentions the different products manufactured such as *kutni* and *bürümcük*, and Faroqhi noted that Hammer did not hint any indication of any downturn in the textile production of the city.⁷¹ To compare with Hammers's observations, Faroqhi used probate inventories (*tereke*) of three men who were active in the manufacture in Bursa in the late 18th century and she came up with the conclusion that the textile production in Bursa was not disturbed by the long-term economic depression and the weavers of the city were still manufacturing good quality products, yet she also noted that there saw no evidence in Hammer or in any other sources that raw silk had been exported to Europe in 1804, presumably as a result of the wars.⁷²

Murat Çızakça discussed the transformation of Bursa from a place known for finished manufactured textile goods to center where raw material was produced along with the “price revolution” in his study published in 1980,⁷³ and the role and weight of the cash *waqfs* in the social organization and financial life in Bursa over a period of almost three hundred years in his article from the year 1995.⁷⁴

Another important figure of the urban history in Bursa is the local author Raif Kaplanoğlu who published several monographies and articles about the population, social life and dynamics of occupations in the city.⁷⁵ In his study concerning the economic and social structure of Bursa where he made use of the earliest population censuses from the first half of the 19th century which were made available for researchers recently, he brings up the population of

⁷⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Surviving in Difficult Times: The Cotton and Silk Trades in Bursa around 1800” in Suraiya Faroqhi *Bread from the Lion's Mouth: Artisans Struggling for a Livelihood in Ottoman Cities*, (Berghahn Books, 2015), 136-156.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 138-140.

⁷² *Ibid*, 153.

⁷³ Murat Çızakça, “Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry: A Study in Ottoman Industrial Decline, 1550-1650.” *The Journal of Economic History*, 40, 1980, 533-550.

⁷⁴ Murat Çızakça, “Cash Waqfs of Bursa, 1555-1823”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 35, 1995, 313-354.

⁷⁵ Raif Kaplanoğlu, “İlk Nüfus Defterlerine Göre (1830-1843) Bursa'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı Hayat”, “1844 Yılı Temettuat Defterlerine Göre Bursa'da Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yaşam”, “Temettuat Defterlerine Göre M. Kemalpaşa.” et al.

neighborhoods of Bursa and since he also used *temettu'at* as a source in his other researches, he points out the differences between two sources and underlines the fact that although *temettu'at* gives a wide ranged information about the economic activity and properties of inhabitants in each city, population censuses contain data that is not available in the scope of *temettu'at*, primarily because contrary to tax surveys, all the male population was recorded including their ages and physical appearances and the records of *vuku'at* / incidents - changes in the population censuses, they provide details about births, deaths and immigrations in the neighborhoods and villages; and particularly in Bursa for instance, unlike *temettu'at* registers, the names of the slaves were also recorded.⁷⁶

A very elaborate study was prepared by Sevilay Kaygalak in 2006 about the changes in the urban structure and the social life in Bursa in the mid-19th century as results of natural disasters such as earthquakes and fires, the technological and organizational developments concerning the production of silk which was related itself with the increase of demand of raw silk in the Western countries and the implementation of the reforms of *Tanzimat*.⁷⁷ She argues that the regulations realized in the Western manner and practices made significant changes in every Ottoman city, yet Bursa was very particular concerning its transformation which she pointed out as “capitalist industrialization” in the manufactory of silk.⁷⁸

In the case of our third city, Kütahya is situated in mid-western part of Anatolia, it served as the capital to the Anatolian *Beylik* of Germiyan, until when it became an Ottoman territory in 1429, because the Germiyanid ruler Ya'kub Bey did not have a male heir; and Murad II sent his eldest son Alaeddin Bey as the governor to the city.⁷⁹ Bertrandon de la Broquière who visited Asia Minor as a pilgrim and a “spy” wrote about the freshly Ottoman city in his travelogue that: “*Kütahya is a nice city, without walls of any kind, but there is fine large castle. It is really three fortresses one above the other, going up the mountain. It is well protected with double walls.*”

⁷⁶ Raif Kaplanoğlu, “İlk Nüfus Defterlerine Göre (1830-1843) Bursa'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı Hayat” 87.

⁷⁷ Sevilay Kaygalak, *Kapitalistleşme Sürecinde Bir Osmanlı Anadolu Kenti: Bursa, 1840-1914*, Ankara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Kamu Yönetimi (Kentleşme ve Çevre Sorunları) Anabilim Dalı, PhD dissertation, Ankara, 2006; published also as a book: *Kapitalizmin Taşrası: 16. Yüzyıldan 19. Yüzyıla Bursa'da Toplumsal Süreçler ve Mekânsal Değişim*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 138.

⁷⁹ Mustafa Çetin Varlık, “Kütahya” *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul, 2002).

*The eldest son of the Grand Turk was there.*⁸⁰ Kütahya became the capital of the province in the mid-15th century and it remained as an important city where the *şehzades* / princes who could have the opportunity one day of becoming the sultan, were sent as the administrators;⁸¹ and during the 18th century many famous bureaucrats were sent to Kütahya as the governors.⁸² During the struggle between the Ottoman Empire and the governor of Egypt Mehmed Ali Paşa in 1833, the son of Mehmed Ali Paşa, İbrahim Paşa defeated the Ottoman army and captured the city but he left the city according to the treaty of Kütahya.⁸³

According to the early *tahrir* from the year 1520 CE, there existed 28 neighborhoods in the city; and the *tahrir* from the year 1571 CE, mentions 40 neighborhoods; and the number of households were 1060 (145 Armenians, 26 Greeks and 15 Jews) in addition to the 138 *bekâr* / single males in 1520 CE and 1487 households (68 Armenians and 40 Greeks) and 290 single males in 1571 CE.⁸⁴

Evliya Çelebi visited Kütahya in 1082 H,⁸⁵ (1671-72 CE), and he stated in his travelogue that there existed 7000 houses in the city, scattered in 33 Muslim neighborhoods and 3 Armenian and 3 Greek neighborhoods; he mentions that there is no Jewish neighborhood in the city, that they occasionally came for trade, however if they stay and reside in the city they die!⁸⁶ The neighborhoods of Kütahya according to Evliya Çelebi were:

1. Saray, 2. Gökçemen, 3. Böğürcük, 4. Şaraküstü, 5. Orta Mahalle, 6. Lâlâ Mahallesi, 7. Ahi Erbasan, 8. Ahi Mustafa, 9. Kâncık, 10. Börekçiler, 11. Sultanbağı, 12. Bezciler, 13. Efendi yolu mahallesi, 14. Kadı Şeyh mahallesi, 15. Cemâleddin, 16. Çukur, 17. Analıca, 18. Balıklı, 19. Buladın, 20. Servi, 21. Meydân, 22. Hacı İbrahim, 23. İsak Fakı – İshâk Fakih, 24. Ma'rûf,

⁸⁰ Bertrand de la Broquière, *The Voyage d'Outremer*, cited in Murat Dağlı, "Kutahya in the Eighteenth Century: Transformation or the Persistence of the Old Order?" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2012), 50.

⁸¹ Murat Dağlı, *Kutahya in the Eighteenth Century*, 71.

⁸² Mustafa Çetin Varlık, "Kütahya".

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 306, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Pertev Paşa 462, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Hacı Beşir Ağa 452 Numaralı Yazmalarının Mukayeseli Transkripsiyonu. Edited by Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı and Robert Dankoff. vol. 9. (Istanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları, 2005), 12.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 13. "Kadîm-i eyyâmdan berü Yahûd tâ'ifesi yokdur. Ticaret edüp giderler, tavattun etseler ölürler, aceb hikmetdir"

25. Dibik, 26. Hüseyin Paşa, 27. Yeni Mahalle, 28. Çerçi Süleyman, 29. Ahi Evren, 30. Mumcular, 31. Ahi İzzeddin, 32. Pirlar, 33. Câ-be-câ kefereler mahallesi.

Kütahya was widely famous for its ceramic and glazed earthenware, and its ceramic jugs, and plates with blue, green, yellow and white patterns were exported to the Western market.⁸⁷ However, the primary goods produced in the city were mainly wheat and barley other than the ceramics; and Murat Dağlı argues that the Kütahya-wares were in reality for the middle and lower-class consumers and the market was dominated by the products from Iznik; yet even when Iznik lost its importance after the 17th century, Kütahya never became a universal exporter of ceramics.⁸⁸

Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje in Ottoman Provincial Yearbooks

Before going towards the main part of my study, I also want to evaluate the first Provincial yearbooks of the Ottoman Empire prepared and published in the second half of the 19th century, in terms of the information they provide about Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje. The yearbooks are also the products of the *Tanzimat*, they are the compilations of information in a given year about the whole empire, a ministry, a province or any other subject. The first year book of the Empire was published during the grand viziership of Mustafa Reşid Paşa in 1847, it was a yearbook of the whole empire which contained details about the political, military, judicial, and administrative state of the empire; and it was also translated in French and published partly the same year in *Journal asiatique*.⁸⁹ The Sublime Porte ordered every province to prepare its yearbook in the 1860's and the first provincial yearbook of the Ottoman Empire was published in the province of in Bosnia by the name of the *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Bosna* in 1283 H (1866 CE).⁹⁰ Provincial yearbooks contained important dates for the whole empire and the province, depictions of the geographical structure of the province and extensive lists of the administrative corpus of every province in terms of the heads administration and public employees who worked in the province, in addition to the population, demographic structure of the districts and

⁸⁷ Richard G. Hovannisian and Armen Manuk-Khaloyan, *The Armenian Communities of Asia Minor: A Pictorial Essay*, in "The Armenian Communities of Asia Minor," ed. R. G. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2014), 9-88, 33. See also: John Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery from the Armenian Cathedral of St. James*, Jerusalem, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Garabed Belian, *Modern Kutahya Pottery from Jerusalem* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1983)

⁸⁸ Murat Dağlı, *op. cit*, 228-229.

⁸⁹ Bilgin Aydın, "Salnâme" *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2009), 52.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 53.

cities in the province as well as the economic activities such as the agricultural products, manufacture, mines, forest etc., and the content and the scope of the provincial yearbooks depended on the region.⁹¹

As I mentioned above, the year book of Danube Province from the year 1287 H (1869-1870 CE), records the administrative location of Vranje, yet it does not give any information other than a slight reference to the mine situated in the territory.⁹² However, the first yearbook of the Hüdavendigâr Province is very generous in terms of the detail it provides. According to the year book of 1287 H (1869-1870 CE), there existed in the Bursa city including its surrounding vicinities 134 villages and farms, 173 neighborhoods, 16408 households, and the total male population of 35709 individuals (22826 Muslims and 12883 non-Muslims).⁹³ In the same way, there existed 28 villages and farms, 83 neighborhoods, 14297 households and the total population of male individuals of 33466 individuals (30142 Muslims and 3324 non-Muslims) in the Kütahya city center with the surrounding districts belonging to the city.⁹⁴ We observe that in the yearbook of the year 1290 H (1873-1874 CE), the number of households in Bursa was noted as 16587 yet the number of the male population remained the same as the preceding years: 35709 (22826 Muslims and 12883 non-Muslims).⁹⁵ However in Kütahya, the number of the households were stated as 16077 and the male population of the city became 41673 (38339 Muslims and 3334 non-Muslims).⁹⁶

The yearbook of 1291 H also repeats the same numbers for Bursa for the previous 5 years and the same numbers for Kütahya from the preceding year.⁹⁷ Hence we observe that the population

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Tuna Vilayeti Salnamesi* (1285 H), 70.

⁹³ *Hüdavendigâr Vilayeti Salnamesi* (1287 H), 150.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 153. These figures appear invariably in the Yearbooks of the Province of Hüdavendigâr in the two years next years (1288H) identically [*Hüdavendigâr Vilayeti Salnamesi* (1288 H) p.117 Bursa and p. 119 Kütahya] and [*Hüdavendigâr Vilayeti Salnamesi* (1289 H) p. 112 Bursa and p. 114 Kütahya]. This repetition can be linked with the fact that there was not any census conducted in the province during those two following years and the functionaries who prepared the yearbook used the same information for the population.

⁹⁵ *Hüdavendigâr Vilayeti Salnamesi* (1290 H), 119.

⁹⁶ *Hüdavendigâr Vilayeti Salnamesi* (1290 H), 121. These figures contained often calculation errors in itself thus I included in my study the accurate values for the additions and subtractions where it was necessary and avoided the notation “*sic*”.

⁹⁷ *Hüdavendigâr Vilayeti Salnamesi* (1291 H), 112 (Bursa), 114 (Kütahya).

figures in the Ottoman yearbooks from 1287 to 1291 H had remained the same for 5 years for Bursa and they had been updated concerning Kütahya in the year 1290 H.

In terms of the economic activity, from the yearbook of 1287 H that silk was produced as the output of cocoon in the neighborhoods of the Bursa *Sancak*, and this silk was exported to the Europe and other places (*mahal-i saire*); also in the city center of Bursa, fabric named *kutni*, *şeştârî*, *hakir-çekme*, *kalıdanlı* and *canfes* were manufactured, in addition to the inlaid (*işlemeli*), *ağbânî* and *börümcek*. Silk is also used for the manufacture of bed lining, pillow and cushion covers and handkerchief for ladies; there is also the production of towels and loincloth (*peştemâl*) in Bursa and these goods were sold in the markets of the city, in addition to the praying carpets produced from high quality wool.⁹⁸

In this matter, there existed (*çini*) tile workshops in the Kütahya city center, where very delicate cups, mugs, plates and jugs were produced and sold inside and outside the province. There are also manufacture of different types of woolen cloth makers (*muytab*) and saddlers (*sarrac*) and there is a particular market for these goods. The Christian households produced cotton fabric and sold inside the city. Also in the city center of Kütahya earthen-ware jugs (*testi*), pitchers (*ibrik*), clay water pipes, bricks and roofing tiles were produced and sold.⁹⁹ We also learn that there were coal and crystal mines in Kütahya and these products were sold in Kütahya and they were sent to Bursa.¹⁰⁰

In the yearbooks of the Hüdavendigâr province for the years after 1287 H, the information stated above invariably repeats itself for the following years. The yearbook of 1296 H (1878-1879 CE), mentions pines hornbeams (*gürgen*) in the Keşiş Mount (Uludağ) in Bursa and also yellow and white pines as well as hornbeams in Kütahya and that the woods from these cities were sold and consumed in the region.¹⁰¹

In this yearbook from the year 1296 H, silk was featured as the primary product of Bursa, so the mulberry gardens, silkworms and cocoons were explained extensively¹⁰² and the annual amount of production were given in kind and in Ottoman kuruş.¹⁰³ Quite interestingly it was stated that until the year 1253 H (1837-1838 CE), the silk producers were processing their

⁹⁸ *Hüdavendigâr Vilayeti Salnamesi* (1287 H), 155.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 159.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 161.

¹⁰¹ *Hüdavendigâr Vilayeti Salnamesi* (1296 H), 187-190.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 195-205.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 202.

cocoons in their homes or neighborhoods but since the year 1253 H there existed small and big factories in Bursa.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 203.

Chapter 1: Population, Demographics, Ethnic Structure and Neighborhoods in Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje in the mid-19th Century

*Bu cihânın halkına bir bir yolum uğrar benim
Cem ' edip bunca kumaşı bir bezistân olurum
Geh nasârâ geh yahûdî gâhî tersa geh mecûs
Gâhi şî 'â gâh olur sünnî müselmân olurum*
Niyâzî-i Mısırî

The first population census was conducted in 1831 in the Ottoman territory on the grounds of the evaluating the military potential of the Empire after the abolition of Janissary Corps in 1826 in terms of Muslim male adults and the survey of the non-Muslim male population primarily for taxation.¹⁰⁵ Very similarly to the *tahrirs*, the results of these population censuses were registered in the *nüfus* registers and they were sent to the Ottoman capital. Also very similarly again, there existed two kinds of *nüfus* registers: The *mufassal defters*/detailed registers, where every male household member living in a certain neighborhood was recorded and the second was the output of this detailed recording process, the *icmâl defteri*/summary register, a final register which compiled the population data of a city, a province or the whole empire. The population registers kept in the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archive covers the whole 19th century, beginning from the year 1831 CE, and this collection was opened to the researchers in 2011;¹⁰⁶ since then, many scholars started to use 19th century population records for tracing the demographic history of different geographies, ethnic structure of Ottoman urban and rural territories, and narratives of the single individuals, group, tribes, etc. Although both have many similarities, the differences between *nüfus* / population records and *tahrirs* / tax surveys, (For

¹⁰⁵ Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, Turkish and Ottoman Studies (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 9-10; Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831* (T. C. Başvekâlet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943). The original copy of the population census is in the Rare Book Library of University Istanbul, TY 8867.

¹⁰⁶ They are categorized under the code NFS.d. *Nüfus Defterleri*. This collection is still being classified and categorized during I conducted my research, hence many registers from different parts of the Ottoman Empire were not available for the public research. For instance, I did spot registers from Vranje from the mid-19th century, but when I demanded them, I received an answer stating that they were being prepared.

our purpose, *temettu'at* registers, yet as a matter of fact they were also called *Emlak, Arazî, Hayvanat ve Temettu'at Tahrir Defterleri*, hence an advanced *tahrir*), are that in the *temettu'at* registers the main objective was to determine the subject's capacity of paying taxes, thus they were recording the economic activity and the assets of the individuals, thus any male who was out of the "economic life" which means that he was too young or too old, or unable to practice any profession or he did not have any property, would be out of the scope of *temettu'at*, if he was not living in a house, or in the single-men's rooms (*bekâr han odaları*). *Temettu'at* registers give also a detailed portrait of the economic activity with a very broad emphasis of projected per annum income calculated by the tax collectors and the taxes paid by these individuals. On the other hand, the population censuses had the objective of recording every male subject of the Ottoman Empire, the record keeping of these registers were practiced similarly to the *temettu'at*, i.e. the names of the provinces, districts, cities, neighborhoods or villages (and in some cases neighborhoods of these villages), were recorded according to the ethnicity of the inhabitants of these places. The geographic scope of the censuses were very broad, since there were not any known revolts against being registered in the population records; the census agents collected very detailed descriptions of every individual, namely the names and titles, their physical appearances and their age. The births, the transfers of new individuals were recorded with red ink and the death of an inhabitant was also remarked since keeping of these registers were a steady, reciprocative process. The *nüfus* registers provide information to us about the economic activity of the individuals in terms of the occupation they practiced but no other "economic" data is available aside from the their category of poll tax for non-Muslim subjects. Before I start to evaluate the information I provided from *temettu'at* and population registers I want to take into account two very significant concepts concerning the Ottoman urban and rural life: *mahalle* and *hane - menzil*.

Mahalles in Ottoman cities are places where every inhabitants know each other, where the families are until some degree responsible for the comportments of other individuals; Ottoman neighborhoods were formed by the members of the "*cema'at*", who in some occasion settled around a mosque for the Muslim communities and a church or a synagogue in non-Muslim neighborhoods.¹⁰⁷ We observed in the registers that different ethnic groups lived in the same neighborhoods in the Ottoman cities, yet our claim is that the shop or work places of these inhabitants were not all the time in the same neighborhoods, they were moving to the places in

¹⁰⁷ Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehrindeki 'Mahalle'nin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine" *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, IV, İstanbul, 1984, 69-78, 70.

the vicinity and those who had daily jobs in the agriculture or forestry went to the rural parts of the cities. In each neighborhood there was a practice of creating a common expenditure funds and these funds were regulated by the *mütevelli* of the neighborhoods; building and repairing expenses of the local mosques, schools, fountains, in addition to the purchases of candle or carpet were provided by these funds, the salaries of *imam*, *muezzin* or religious teachers were paid by the inhabitants of the neighborhoods,¹⁰⁸ and the extraordinary impositions “*Tekâlif-i örfiyye ve avâriz-ı divâniyye*” that became a regular tax later on, were paid by the common funds of the neighborhoods.¹⁰⁹ During the reign of Mahmud II, an institution called *muhtarlık* was established to replace the security role performed by the abolished Janissary Corps and it was obliged that every neighborhood had 2 *muhtars* for the administrative affairs of their neighborhoods.¹¹⁰ This institution had the aim to create connection of information and control for the establishment of the centralization of the Ottoman administrative bureaucracy,¹¹¹ they had a very significant intermediary role between the society and the state since level of literacy was very low among the Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire; yet their position stayed ambiguous for the fact that they represented both the state and the people they lived together but their administrative duties were vague and they did not have a public servant position.¹¹²

The main unit for the recording of the *tahrir* and 19th century population registers which enumerated only male individuals, were the *hane* or *menzil*, a word which represented the

¹⁰⁸ In *temettu'at* registers we encountered that occasionally Muslims and non-Muslims inhabitants with the affiliations such as *imam*, *muezzin* or *muallim-i sıbyan* and *rahib*, *papas*, etc., were not paying any taxes and were not claiming any incomes stating they were supported their selves with the help of their communities, (*milletin ianesiyle geçinmekte*).

¹⁰⁹ Ergenç, *op. cit.*76.

¹¹⁰ Musa Çadırcı, “Türkiye’de Muhtarlık Kurumunun Tarihi Gelişimi,” 412. See also, Cem Behar’s work: *Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul, Fruit Vendors and Civils Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 2003.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 414.

¹¹² Elise Massicard, “The Incomplete Civil Servant? The Figure of the Neighbourhood Headman (Muhtar),” *Order and Compromise: Government Practices in Turkey from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early 21st Century: 265–90*. Brill, 2015.

In this very elaborate study, Massicard calls the *muhtars* as “non-Weberian civil servant” because they did not fit into the “civil servant model” with the broad administrative and control power and they did not have a precise distance with the communities they were responsible for.

family, house and households at the same time.¹¹³ According to the pioneering scholar of economic and demographic history of Ottoman Empire, Ömer Lütfi Barkan the number of inhabitants in an Ottoman household was 5 in the 16th century.¹¹⁴ Many scholars used his coefficient of 5 for the calculation of the total population of a territory through the *tahrir* and *temettu'at* registers; however, for instance Bernard Lewis claimed that this number should be between 5 and 8, Faruk Sümer proposed the number 7; and Halil İnalçık calculated the total members of a households 9 in Bursa for the end of the 15th century, and 3-4 in Istanbul in the 19th century.¹¹⁵

When we take into account the first population census of the Ottoman Empire from the year 1831, we observe that unfortunately the population of Vranje was presented with two other towns, i.e. Karatuva and Palankai (Eğridere) that were also in the *Sancağ* of Köstendil, *Eyalet* of Rumeli yet I still include these data to my study. Thus, in the case of Muslims, there were 1676 male inhabitants in three towns who were between the age of 13 and 25, and who were able to provide the military service, 902 people who were between the age of 25 and 40 and who were also able to become soldiers, 12 who were already in the infantry, 273 people who were retired from the military service or who possessed *timar*, 1107 children who were younger than the age of 13, and 779 people who were older than the age of 40; 4749 Muslim and non-Muslim *Kıptıyan* (135 of them were children but the remaining 485 people were paying their poll taxes); and 21068 Non-Muslims among which 14799 were paying their poll taxes thus a total population of 26444 among which 4749 were Muslims, 627 *Kıptis* and 21068 were non-Muslims.¹¹⁶ Although I cannot comment on the case of Vranje precisely concerning the population census of 1831 CE, it is obvious to observe the majority of the non-Muslims in this territory of the Balkans.

¹¹³ Nejat Göyünç, "Hane" *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1997).

¹¹⁴ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Tarihî Demografi Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi." *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10, (1953), 1-26, 12.

One must not forget that Barkan claim the uncertainty of this number 5 and he used it for the calculation of the total population of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century.

¹¹⁵ B, Lewis, "The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands", *JRAS* (1951), 139-155; Faruk Sümer, "Kayı", *İA*, IV, 461; Halil İnalçık, *From Empire to Republic*, Istanbul 1995, 61-72; (quoted in Nejat Göyünç, *op. cit.*)

¹¹⁶ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831* (T. C. Başvekâlet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943), 67-68.

In the case of Bursa, there were 3652 Muslim males who were too young or too old to provide the military service, 1234 people who were selected as soldiers, and 5675 people who had any occupation related to religion or craftsmanship, 307 people who were in the Islamic school and 259 merchants who were staying in the inns (*han*); also 2159 Greeks, 627 Jews and 2800 Armenians with a total male population of 16118 people.¹¹⁷

In Kütahya, there were 7126 Muslims who were living in the 33 neighborhoods and in 6 *hans* and in 3629 houses. Unfortunately the non-Muslim population of the city was not represented in this primary census.¹¹⁸

If we take into account our *temettu'at* registers from the years 1844-1845 CE, we will observe that in Bursa there were 108 neighborhood where Muslims lived, 9 neighborhood where Armenians lived, 10 neighborhoods where Orthodox Christians (Greeks) lived, 1 neighborhood where Catholics¹¹⁹ lived, 1 neighborhood also where Jews lived, and 1 neighborhood also where *Kiptis* lived, in 8 neighborhoods Muslims and Armenians lived together, in 5 neighborhoods Orthodox Christians and Muslims lived together;¹²⁰ accordingly, *temettu'at* registers indicate

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, 94-99. Bursa was in the *Eyalet* of Hüdavendigâr and in the *Sancağ* of Hüdavendigâr.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 165. Kütahya was also in the *Eyalet* of Hüdavendigâr and in the *Sancağ* of Kütahya.

¹¹⁹ Catholics who lived in Bursa and Kütahya and in the other parts of the Asia Minor during the mid-19th century and who were recorded in our tax registers and population censuses were mainly Armenians who changed their church as a result of the missionary activities and the different from the Roman Catholics who were called “Latins” or “Levantine”. See: Kemal Beydilli, *II. Mahmud Devri'nde Katolik Ermeni Cemaati ve Kilisesi'nin Tanınması (1830)*, Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1995; İlber Ortaylı, “Millet (Osmanlılarda Millet Sistemi)” *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul, 2005, v. 5, 66-70.

¹²⁰ The names of the neighborhoods where only Muslims resided are: Hüdavendigâr Gazi Hazretleri, Maksem, Ali Paşa, Debbağhane, Hamzabey, İncirlice, Abdal Mehmed, Elvanbey, Daye Hatun, Kızıyakup, Alaaddin, Reyhan Paşa, İmaret-i İsabey, Meydancık, Alaca Mescid, Kiremitçi, Şeyh Konevî, Umurbey, Ahmed Dai, Şükrü Hoca, Bab-ı Zemin, Merkebcî, Cami-i Kala, İstabl-ı Bayezid Paşa, Şehabeddin Paşa, Hoşkadem Makromoy, Serpınar, Timurtaş, Veled-i Nalband, Anarlı, Bab-ı Siccin, Bahadır Ağa, Kavaklı, Veled-i Mizan, Altıparmak, Arablar, İbrahim Paşa, Veli Şemseddin, Babazakir, Elmalık, Şeyh Hamid, Veled-i Hariri, Hacı Sevindik, Hacılar, Said Fakih, Veled-i Enbiya, Kademeri, Karakavi, Mantıcı, Şeyhpan, Suzen-i Kefen, Abbas Bey Fenari, Azabbey, Başçı İbrahim, Selçuk Sultan, Fazlullah Paşa, Nakkaş Ali, Kösreciler, Hayreddin Paşa, Selimzade, Şeyh Şibli, Veled-i Vezirî, Ebu Şahme, Molla Fenari, Veled-i Yaniç, Çardak, Sariabdullah, Ahmed Paşa, Alacahırka, Hazret-i Üftade, Sivasiler, Şerafeddin Paşa, Zağferanlık, Çerağ Bey, İkikapılı Mescid, Tatarlar, Veled-i Bevvab, Semerci,

us that in Bursa 4692 Muslims, 1623 Armenians, 963 Orthodox Christians, 360 Armenians, 98 Catholics and 23 *Kiptis* resided.¹²¹

Muslims	4692
Armenians	1623
Orthodox Christians	963
Jews	360
Catholics	98
Total	7736

Abdürrezzak, Hoca Taşkın, Üçkozlar, Veziri, Bakırhane, Kirişçi, Pazar-ı Melih, Veledsarayı, Yenipazar, Yiğit Cedit, Bayezid Paşa, Kepezler, Yahşibey, Tekke-i Mescid, Helvalı, Molla Gürani, Tahtalı Mescid, Darphane, Kasap Hüseyin, Cami-i Kebir, Kösel, Simkeş, Hoca Menteş, Yıldırım Bayezid, Bilecik. The neighborhoods where only Armenians lived were: Karaağaç, Eşrafî, Selçuk Hatun, Veled-i Kurt, Çelebi Sultan, Veled-i Harrat, Mesud Makramavi, Molla Arab, Mehmed Karamanî. The neighborhoods where only Orthodox Christians lived were: Ahmedbey Fenari, Balıkcık, Bazar-ı Mahi, Bucak, Bulgarlar, Hacı Yakub, Kayabaşı, Kırkmerdiban, Şangur Şungur, Veled-i Saray. Kuruçeşme was the Jewish neighborhood of Bursa and in Sinanbey neighborhood lived the *Kiptis*. In Hacı Baba, Kale-i Umurbey, Hoca Mehmed Karamanî, Hacı İskender, İshakşah, Kayganzade, Hoca Tayyib, Bedreddin, Namazgâh, Hoca Alizade neighborhoods lived Armenians and Muslims together; and in Murad-ı Sâni, Kocanaib, Ahmed Bey, Attar Hüссam, Hoca Cafer neighborhoods lived likewise Muslims and Orthodox Christians together.

¹²¹ BOA. ML. VRD. TMT., Bursa *temettu'at* registers.

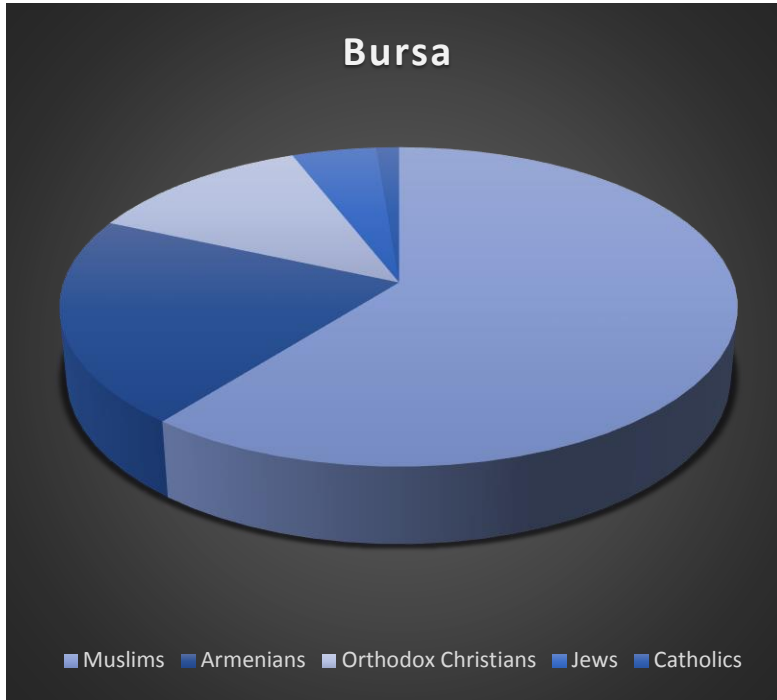


Figure 2. Ethnic Structure of Bursa in 1844-1845 according to number of entries in *temettu'at* registers

Likewise, according to the *temettu'at* registers in Kütahya there were 25 neighborhoods where only Muslims resided, one neighborhood where only Armenians resided, 2 neighborhoods where only Orthodox Christians resided and 1 neighborhood where only Catholics resided; in this matter there were 2 neighborhoods where Armenians and Muslims lived together, also 2 neighborhoods where Muslims and Orthodox Greeks lived together, and one neighborhood where Armenians and Catholics¹²² lived together; in this matter there were 2 neighborhoods in Kütahya where Armenians, Catholics and Muslims lived together.¹²³ Hence, according to the

¹²² Although they were registered in different *defters* the Catholics in Kütahya were Armenians also thus this neighborhood consisted of one ethnicity.

¹²³ In Kütahya, the population was consisted of Muslims in the neighborhoods: Meydan, Saray, Börekçiler, Ahi Mustafa, Sultanbağı, Cedid, Cemaleddin, Gönan, Hacı İbrahim, Bezirciler, Kale-i Sagir, Pirlar, Polad Bey, Maruf, Paşam, Dükkâncık, Kadışeyh, Efendibola, İshak Fakih, Çukur, Dibek, Hisaraltı; in the neighborhood of Küçük Orta only Armenians resided, in the Ahi Evren neighborhood only Orthodox Christians resided and in the Lala neighborhood only Catholics resided. In the Büyük Orta neighborhood lived Armenians and Catholics together, in the Ahi Erbasan and Hacı Ahmed neighborhoods lived Armenians and Muslims together and in the Lala Hüseyin Paşa and Çerçi neighborhoods lived Muslims and Orthodox Christians together. Şhreküstü and Balıklı were the two neighborhoods where Armenians, Catholics and Muslims lived together.

temettu'at registers there were 3566 Muslim males in Kütahya, 698 Orthodox Christians, 536 Armenians and 290 Catholics.¹²⁴

Muslims	3566
Orthodox Christians	698
Armenians	536
Catholics	290
Total	5090

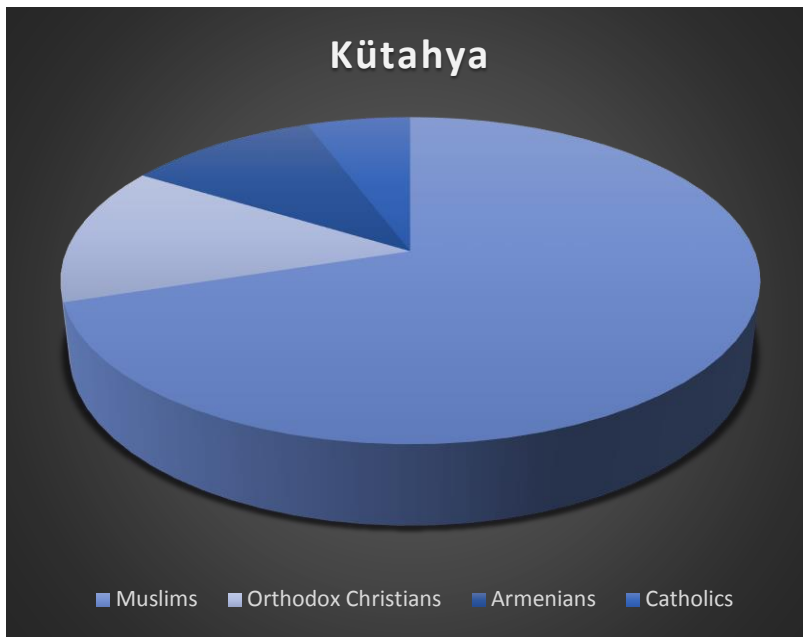


Figure 3. Ethnic Structure of Kütahya in 1844-1845 according to number of entries in *temettu'at* registers

In the case of Vranje, according to the *temettu'at* registers, there were 4 Muslim neighborhoods and 7 non-Muslim neighborhoods in addition to the 4 non-Muslim villages.¹²⁵ In the city of Vranje 1257 males were registered among which 648 were Orthodox Christians¹²⁶ and 609 were Muslims.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ BOA. ML. VRD. TMT., Kütahya *temettu'at* registers.

¹²⁵ Only one of the Muslim neighborhoods were enumerated with its name, i.e. Durmuş Bey neighborhood; the names of the non-Muslim neighborhoods were Benaješte, Debbağ, Kavvac, Saka Çelebi, Turesal, Yere Bakan and the names of the non-Muslim villages were Doluna İvranya, Hobna, Şabranca, and Raika.

¹²⁶ We assume using the names of these people that they were mainly Serbians and Albanians.

¹²⁷ BOA. ML. VRD. TMT. 15199. Vranje *temettu'at* register.

Orthodox Christians	648
Muslims	609
Total	1257

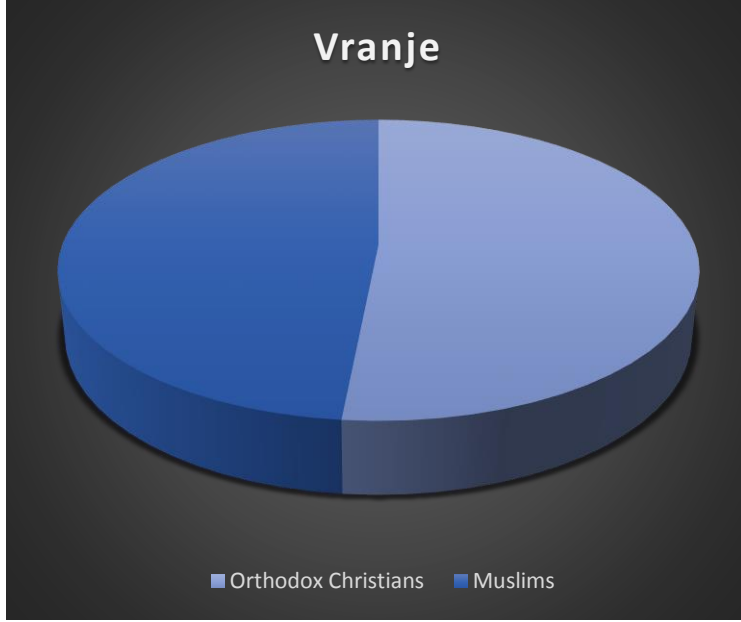


Figure 4. Ethnic Structure of Vranje in 1844-1845 according to number of entries in *temettu'at* registers

When I compare the demographic data for Bursa neighborhoods I provided from the *temettu'at* registers with two collections of populations censuses of Bursa's Muslim neighborhoods,¹²⁸ I observed that 52 Muslim neighborhoods from the two population censuses were not recorded in the *temettu'at* registers or they were recorded with different names,¹²⁹ 19 Muslim neighborhoods were not represented in the first population census from the year 1831 CE, and 27 Muslim neighborhoods were not represented in the second population census. The first

¹²⁸ NFS.d. 1391-1393 (1247 H / 1831 CE) and NFS.d 1396 (1258 H / 1843 CE). For a detailed list of the neighborhoods and their population see the appendix of this study.

¹²⁹ Ahmedbey Fenari, Arab Mehmed, Atpazarı (Bazar-ı Esp), Bazar-ı Mahi, Bezzaz-ı Cedid, Çelebi Sultan, Mehmed Han, Çukur, Davud Kadı, Doğanbey, Duhter-i Şerif, Ebu İshak, Eşrefiler, Filibos, Hacı İlyas, Hacı Sevinc, Hacı Seyfeddin, Hacı Yakub, Hacı Yunus, Hasan Paşa, Hazret-i Emir Kuddüse Sırrıhu, Hoca Hasan Efendi, Horasanî Aleyhirrahman, İbnü'l-Bezzaz, İsa-i Bey-i Fenari, Kanberler, Karaağaç, Karagörlü, Karaşeyh, Kaygan, Kurşunlu ma Cami-i Menteş, Manastır, Mecnun Dede, Mesud Makramavi, Mücellidi, Orhan Gazi, Sarıcasungur, Servi, Seyyidler, Simitçi, Şhreküstü, Şeyh Paşa der Hisar, Tefrishan, Temenyeri Kebir, Temenyeri Sagir, Veled-i Cemib, Veled-i Habib, Veled-i Harrat, Veled-i Helvani, Veled-i Kazzaz, Veled-i Kurd, Yenice, Yiğit Köhne, Zeyniler.

population census for the Muslim neighborhoods of Bursa had a degree of representation of 1,18 which means that the neighborhood which were available in both *temettu'at* registers and population censuses had the same numbers of households in average 1,18 and this coefficient was 1,17 for the second population record; in other words for instance in the *temettu'at* register of Ali Paşa neighborhood 89 households were recorded and in the population record from the year 1845 CE, this number is again 89; and in the neighborhood of İncirlice 83 households from *temettu'at* registers were corresponded with 88 households in the population census of the same year.

In the case of non-Muslim neighborhoods of Bursa, I used again two population censuses,¹³⁰ 9 Armenian neighborhoods which were recorded in the population censuses were not mentioned in the *temettu'at* registers or they had different names,¹³¹ and 6 Orthodox Christians neighborhoods either were not available in the scope *temettu'at* registers.¹³²

The population censuses of Kütahya's Muslim neighborhoods¹³³ provide us following information: Only three neighborhoods available in the all three population censuses were not represented in the *temettu'at* registers with their inhabitants,¹³⁴ thus we have quite similar information about 30 Muslim neighborhoods in *temettu'at* registers and in the population censuses; and there exists almost a one-to-one match between the population census from the same year¹³⁵ when the *temettu'at* survey was conducted in Kütahya, in terms of the numbers of households in each neighborhoods. In other words, Bölücek neighborhood apparently had 112 households according to *temettu'at* register, and 110 households according to the population census from the same year, likewise in Meydan neighborhood 215 households were recorded in the *temettu'at* register and 206 in the population census.

¹³⁰ NFS.d 1394 (1247 H / 1831 CE) and NFS.d 1398 (1258 H / 1843 CE).

¹³¹ Ahmed Dai, Çoban Bey, Hoşkadem, Mısırlı Hasan Bey, Molla Gürani, Sariabdullah, Suzen-i Kefen, Timurtaş, Veled-i Kazzaz.

¹³² Azabbey, Bilecik, Cami-i Kebir, Suzen-i Kefen, Veled-i Hırat, Veled-i Nalband.

¹³³ NFS.d 1619 (1250 H / 1835 CE), NFS.d 1620 (1258 H / 1843 CE) and NFS.d 1621 (1260 H / 1844 CE).

¹³⁴ Ahi Evren, Ahi İzzeddin and Kale-i Bâlâ.

¹³⁵ NFS.d 1621.

The population census from the year 1835¹³⁶ is very significant and it's a particular source for many studies since it recorded the numbers of deaths in every neighborhood in the preceding 4 years.

In terms of the non-Muslim neighborhoods of Kütahya, I studied one population census from the year 1253 H / 1838 CE,¹³⁷ where every single neighborhood in the *temettu'at* registers from Kütahya were matched in this population census with a very strong level of correspondence. The comparison of two contemporaneous sources controls first of all, the accuracy and representation degree of the *temettu'at* as a source for demographics since by its nature it is a tax survey and did not intend to contain all the inhabitants of a precise territory, and also this feature enables the researchers to track the changes of population in different time periods.¹³⁸

As a demonstration of comparison between *temettu'at* registers and population censuses, I want to include here a micro leveled comparative portrait of Kütahya's Pirlar neighborhood.¹³⁹ This Pirlar neighborhood was amongst the earliest settlements in extramuros Kütahya and the name of the neighborhood appeared in the earliest *tahrirs* from 1520, 1530, 1571 CE, and also in the colossal work of Evliya Çelebi concerning the 17th century, and this neighborhood still exists in Kütahya today.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ NFS.d 1619

¹³⁷ NFS.d 1623.

¹³⁸ The changes of the population of each neighborhood in Bursa and Kütahya were not taken into the scope of my study, yet the population tables in the appendix can be used to interpret this phenomenon.

¹³⁹ This comparison consists of Pirlar neighborhood *temettu'at* registers (ML.VRD.TMT 8736) from the year 1260 H and the neighborhood's population census from the year 1258 H (NFS.d 1620, 30-34).

¹⁴⁰ Mehmet Bayartan, "Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Kütahya Şehrinin Yapı Taşları: Mahalleler", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Coğrafya Bölümü, Coğrafya Dergisi*, 18, 2009, 59-63.

Table 3. Comparison between Kütahya's Pirlar Neighborhood's Temettu'at Registers and Population Records

Nüfus House hold	Populati on Number	Temettuat Household	Temettuat Number	Name	Age	Physiognomy	Populat ion Occupa tion	Temettuat occupation	Temettuat Occupational Income	Temettuat Total Income	Income Tax	Tithe & Other Taxes	Information 1	Information 2
1	1	1	1	Hafız Ömer Efendi ibn-i Ömer	57	Orta boylu kır sakallı		mahalle-i mezburun imamı	0	0	0		Merkumun hiçbir şeyi olmadığını idare ettiği	
1	2	NA	NA	Oğlu Mehmed bin Hafız Ömer	10									
2	3	NA	NA	Es-Seyyid El-Hac Abdurrahman Efendi	72	Orta boylu ak sakallı								
2	4		2	oğlu es-Seyyid İbrahim Edhem Efendi ibn-i Es-seyyid el-hac Abdurrahman Efendi	37	Orta boylu kumral sakallı	Kapucu başı		6653	6653	300		23 dekâkîn icar-ı senevî 1400, Akkilise karyesinde 1 asiya icar-ı senevî 300, Ova karyesinde 1 asiya icar-ı senevî 100, Tavşanlı nahiyesinde 1 asiya icar-ı senevî 300, Demlişar karyesinde 3 dönüm bağçe, Demlişar karyesinde 9 dönüm tarla hasılat 92,5, karye-yi mezburlu Arif oğlu Mustafa'nın ziraatinden 18 dönüm mezru tarla hasılat 100, keza karye-yi mezburlu Köse oğlu Mehmed ziraatinden 10 dönüm mezru tarla hasılat 100, Bölücek karyeli arabacı İbrahim ziraatinden 5 dönüm tarla hasılat 55, karye-yi mezburlu Kara Ali oğlu Mustafa ziraatinden 6 dönüm tarla hasılat 68, karye-yi mezburlu Molla Arif ziraatinden 5 dönüm tarla hasılat 48, Endez karyeli Dikici oğlu Ahmed ziraatinden 6 dönüm tarla hasılat 80, Baylobaba karyesinde Mustafa'nın ziraatinden 10 dönüm tarla hasılat 100, Arslanapa karyesinde Çil Hasan oğlu İbrahim ziraatinden 5 dönüm tarla hasılat 100, karye-yi mezburlu Cürekl oğlu Mehmed ziraatinden 15 dönüm tarla hasılat 100, karye-yi mezburlu Berber Mustafa oğlu ziraatinden 16 dönüm tarla hasılat 100, karye-yi mezburlu Çengelli Osman'ın müştereken ziraat eylediği 25 dönüm tarla hasılat 100, Arslanapa'da hayvanat: 5 tay kısarak hasılat 100, 30 dilsüz kısarak, 3 erkek tay, 3 inek, 3 manda 300 sağman ağnam hasılat 2400, 100 sağnam keçi hasılat 750, 200 boz ağnam hasılat 200, 120 boz keçi hasılat 60, 100 kuzu, 50 oğlak.	Mumaileyhin ber-mucib-i balâ hayvanât-ı mezburların çobanları: Pirlî karyeli Bekâr Ahmed (bir senede 380), karye-yi mezburlu Poyraz oğlu Halil (bir senede 350), keza karye-yi mezburlu Buatce oğlu Ali (bir senede 340),), keza karye-yi mezburlu Yörtük oğlu Süleyman (bir senede 330),), keza karye-yi mezburlu Çoban Abdülkadir (bir senede 330).
2	5	NA	NA	Gulamı Hurşid bin Abdullah	29	orta boylu ter biyıklı								
NA	NA		2	Mumaileyhin halisesi hanım									3 dekâkîn icar-ı senev-i 480	
NA	NA		2	Mumaileyhin validesi Hanım									şehir civarında 2 dönüm sebze bağçesi 100, 3,5 kta dekâkîn 380	
3	6	NA	NA	Defter Kethüdasızade Ahmed bin Hacı Mehmed	25	Orta boylu ter biyıklı								

Nüfus House hold	Populati on Number	Temettuat Household	Temettuat Number	Name	Age	Physiognomy	Populat ion Occupa tion	Temettuat occupation	Temettuat Occupational Income	Temettuat Total Income	Income Tax	Tithe & Other Taxes	Information 1	Information 2
4	7	3	7	Debbağ oğlu Ahmed bin Mustafa	47	orta boylu kır sakallı		bağcıvan	529,5	529,5	50	40	Viran karyesinde 30 dönüm tarla 254,5, şehir civarında sebze bahçesi 4 dönüm 200, 1 sağman inek 60, 1 merkeb 15	
NA	NA	3	8	Merkumun damadı Tımarlı süvarilerinden Arpacı oğlu Mehmed				umur-ı zabtiyelikde istihdam ettiği	0	0	0		Kütahya sancağında Uşak nahiyesinde Çiftlik-i Umur nam karyede ve gayride 15522 akçe yazılı timara mutasarrıf olduğu	merkumun emlak ve arazi ve hayvanat ve sairesi olmayıp zabtiyelik hizmetinde mukim olduğu
5	8	4	10	Kirli oğlu Mustafa bin Ali	35	Uzun boylu sarı sakallı		erbab-ı ziraatten olduğu	495	495	60	64	Karaağaç karyesinde 30 dönüm mezru tarla 475, 4 öküz, 1 sağman inek 20	
5	9	NA	NA	Oğlu İbrahim bin Mustafa	10									
6	10	5	13	Kirli oğlu Alişan bin Ali	27	Uzun boylu sarı b		tebadan	200	200	25		Karaağaç karyesinde 20 dönüm mezru tarla 98	
6	11	NA	NA	oğlu Abdülkadir Ali	6									
6	12	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Mehmed bin Ali	5									
7	13	6	18	Çalık Kavvas oğlu Hüseyin bin Mehmed	25	Orta boylu ter bıyıklı		tebaa makulesinden olduğu	150	150	24			
7	14	NA	NA	Karındaşı Ahmed bin Mehmed	27									
8	15	7	19	Dellak oğlu Osman bin Memiş	42	Uzun boylu Kumral sakallı		saraç kalfası	150	150	24			
8	16	NA	NA	Oğlu Memiş bin Osman	11									
9	17	8	21	Hamamcı Hacı Mehmed Ağa bin Ebubekir	60	Uzun boylu Kır sakallı			542	542	0		30 dönüm mezru tarla 300, 1 kısır manda, 6 dekâkin 300, Yakub Han Vakf'ından bâ-berât-ı alişan ahz eylediği 1 müd 30	
9	18	NA	NA	Oğlu Seyyid Osman bin Hacı Mehmed	25	Kısa boylu								
9	19	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Ebubekir bin Hacı Mehmed	6									
9	20	NA	NA	Torunu Seyyid Ömer bin Osman	6									

Nüfus House hold	Populati on Number	Temettuat Household	Temettuat Number	Name	Age	Physiognomy	Populat ion Occupation	Temettuat occupation	Temettuat al Income	Temettuat Total Income	Income Tax	Tithe & Other Taxes	Information 1	Information 2
10	21	9	25	Seyyid Ali bin Ebubekir	45	Orta boylu kumral sakallı		rencber	731	731	70		30 dönüm mezru tarla 200, şehir civarında 3 dönüm sebze bağçesi 150, 6 dekâkin 160, Yakub Han Vakf'ından bâ-berât-ı alışan ahz eylediği 1 müd 30	
10	22	NA	NA	Oğlu Ebubekir bin Ali	10									
10	23	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Seyyid Süleyman bin Ali	10									
10	24	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Seyyid Ahmed bin Ali	1									
11	25	10	29	Kocagöz oğlu Hüseyin bin Ahmed	43	Orta boylu kır sakallı		pir-i fâni	0	0	0		merkumun emlak ve arazi ve sairesi olmayıp hizmetkârlığa dahi kudreti olmadığından iane ile geçinmekte olduğu	oğlu Mustafa bir senede temettuatı 100
11	26	NA	NA	Oğlu Seyyid Ahmed bin Hüseyin	17									
11	27	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Seyyid Mustafa bin Hüseyin	15									
12	28	NA	NA	Karabekir Ağa bin Ahmed	77	Ak sakallı								
13	29	11	32	Koca Mustafa oğlu Seyyid İsmail bin Süleyman	27									
13	30	NA	NA	oğlu Seyyid Mustafa bin İsmail	2									
13	31	NA	NA	Halis oğlu Süleyman bin Arif	33									
14	32	12	36	Nakibzade Seyyid Ahmed bin Esad Ahmed	57	orta boylu sarı sakallı		rencber	1907	1907	160		şehir civarında Lala Hüseyin mahallesinden Çmkaş oğlu Ahmed ziraatinden 13 dönüm mezru tarla 113,5, Çayca karyeli Hüseyin ziraatinden 7 dönüm mezru tarla 46, Sekar kayeli Hüseyin oğlu ziraatinden 10 dönüm mezru tarla 54, Ortanca karyesinde 1 asişâb 200, Seboy karyeli Hacı Mehmed oğlu Alim yesinde asişâb, 2 dekâkin 627,5, şehir civarından 10 dönüm sebze bağçesi 500, Yakub Han vakfından bâ-berât-ı âli ahz eylediği 6 müd 180, İshak Fakih vakfından bâ-berât-ı âli ahz eylediği 3 müd 90	
14	33	NA	NA	oğlu Seyyid Ahmed bin Esad	25									
14	34	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Mustafa bin Esad	14									
14	35	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Abdullah bin Esad	11									
14	36	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Mehmed İzzet bin Esad	3									
14	37	NA	NA	Torunu Ömer bin Ahmed	5								Validesiyle Şehreküstü Mahallesinde	

Nüfus House hold	Populati on Number	Temettuat Household	Temettuat Number	Name	Age	Physiognomy	Populat ion Occupation	Temettuat occupation	Temettuat Occupational Income	Temettuat Total Income	Income Tax	Tithe & Other Taxes	Information 1	Information 2
15	38	13	40	Musa oğlu Mustafa bin Osman	27	Uzun boylu Kumral sakallı		berber esnafından	250	250	30		1 sağman inek 60, 1 kısır manda, 1 merkeb	
15	39	NA	NA	oğlu Ebubekir bin Mustafa	1									
16	40	NA	NA	Karacazade el-hac Hafız Mustafa Efendi bin el-hac Mehmed	50	Uzun boylu Kır sakallı								
16	41	14	42	Oğlu Hafız İsmail bin El-hac Mustafa	20			imam	300	300	0		bâ-berât-ı âli câmi-i kebir imamı olduğu	sülüs hisse inâmiye hizmetinden vazife-i muayyene mütevellisi
16	42	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Hafız Mehmed bin el-hac Mustafa	13									
17	43	15	44	Saidzade Ahmed Necib Efendi bin Said	30			müderriş	200	200	30		bâ-berât-ı âli medine-yi mezbûrede Rüstem Paşa Hazretleri'nin bina ve ihya buyurdıkları medrese-yi şerifin sülüs hisse vazife-yi muayyene ile müderriş olduğu	Karaöz karyesinde Bayrakdar oğlu İbrahim ziraatından 20 dönüm mezru tarla 100
17	44	NA	NA	oğlu Mehmed Mesud bin Ahmed	6									
18	45	16	46	Bolad oğlu Ahmed bin Mehmed	80	Orta boylu kır sakallı			0	0	0		fevt şod	
19	46	17	47	Şerif oğlu Seyyid Ali bin Mehmed	52			dikici	150	150	10			
19	47	NA	NA	oğlu Mehmed Ali bin Ali	6									
19	48	NA	NA	diğer oğlu Şerif Mehmed bin Ali	4									
20	49	18	49	Akşarzade kâtib el-hac Abdullah Efendi ibn-i Ebubekir	54	Uzun boylu kır sakallı		aza-yı meclis	1473	1473	120		Şehir civarında 4 dönüm sebze bağçesi 200, Ova karyesinde 4 dönüm meyve bağçesi 60, nsf kasab dükkâmı 30, Yakaca karyesinde 1 asiyâb 400, Dönce? Karyesinde 1 asiyâb, Yakaca karyesinde şeriki Veli oğlu Derviş yedinde ağnam 318,5	
20	50	NA	NA	oğlu Seyyid Mehmed İzzet bin el-hac Abdullah Efendi	9									
20	51	NA	NA	Damadi Mustafa Efendi ibn-i Ahmed	22									
20	52	NA	NA	Oğlu Ahmed bin Mustafa	3								fevt 259	

Nüfus House hold	Populati on Number	Temettuat Household	Temettuat Number	Name	Age	Physiognomy	Populat ion Occupation	Temettuat occupation	Temettuat Occupational Income	Temettuat Total Income	Income Tax	Tithe & Other Taxes	Information 1	Information 2
21	53	19	53	Defter Kethüdaszade Derviş Ahmed Ağa bin Abdullah	47	Uzun boylu Kumral sakallı			1537	1537	160		Kemec nahiyesine tâbi Gulam karyesinde 40 dönüm tarla 370, Virankaryeli Hacı oğlu Ali ziraatinde 3 dönüm mezru tarla 26, Viran karyeli Kethüda oğlu Mehmed ziraatinde 8 dönüm mezru tarla 115, Viran karyeli Çavuş oğlu Halil ziraatinde 10 dönüm mezru tarla 110, Viran karyeli Haydar oğlu Mehmed ziraatinden 15 dönüm mezru tarla 240, Viran karyeli Veys oğlu Ahmed ziraatinden 14 dönüm mezru tarla 228, keزالık karye-yi mezburlu Cevad oğlu Halil ziraatinden 19 dönüm mezru tarla 248, keزالık karye-yi mezburlu Hüseyin ziraatinden 5 dönüm mezru tarla 40, 1 dükkân 60, 1 asişâb 60, 1 kısır manda, 1 davar, 1 merkeb	
21	54	NA	NA	Oğlu Seyyid Ali bin Ahmed	27									
21	55	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Mehmed bin Ahmed	20									
22	56	20	56	Cubuh oğlu Mehmed bin Mustafa	37			duhancı	150	150	30		1 sağman manda 60, İkizöyük karyeli Süleyman yedinde ağnam 35	
22	57	20	57	Cubuh oğlu kaynı Ömer bin Ömer	21	Uzun boylu ter bıyıklı		dikici	200	200	0			
23	58	21	58	Abdullah oğlu Ahmed bin İbrahim	57	Orta boylu kumral sakallı			0	0	0		merkumun emlak ve arazi ve hayvanatı olmayıp başka hizmetkârlığa dahi muktendir olmayıp iane ile geçinmekte olduğu	
23	59	NA	NA	oğlu Ali bin Ahmed	24		redif						nakl be mahalle-i Hacı İbrahim fi 7 Muharrem sene 1259	
23	60	NA	NA	diğer oğlu İbrahim bin Ahmed	11									
23	61	NA	NA	Torunu Mehmed bin Ali	5									
24	62	22	59	İngiliz oğlu Seyyid Ali bin İbrahim	11				0	0	0		merkumun emlak ve arazi ve hayvanatı olmayıp validesi ianesiyle geçinmekte olduğu	
25	63	23	60	Güdük Ömer oğlu Ahmed bin Mustafa	35		tımarlı süvari	tımarlı süvarilerinde n	356	356	40		Kütahya sancağında Uşak nahiyesinde Kulüs nam karye ve gayriden 12600 akçe yazılı timara mutasarrıf olduğu	Altıntaş nahiyesinde nisf asişâb 180, İkizöyük karyeli Hacı Süleyman yedinde ağnam 116, 1 sağman inek 60, 1 esb
26	64	24	61	Kadık İbrahim Bey oğlu Hasan bin İbrahim	13			tımarlı süvarilerinde n	0	0	0		Kütahya sancağında Simav nahiyesinde Çöküler nam karye ve gayriden 30369 akçe yazılı timara mutasarrıf olduğu	1 kısır manda, İzöyük karyeli Hacı Süleyman yedinde ağnam, 2 esb
26	65	24	0	Karındaşı Osman bin İbrahim	12			tımarlı süvarilerinde n	0	0	0		Kütahya sancağında Simav nahiyesinde Çöküler nam karye ve gayriden 30369 akçe yazılı timara mutasarrıf olduğu	1 kısır manda, İzöyük karyeli Hacı Süleyman yedinde ağnam, 2 esb

Nüfus House hold	Populati on Number	Temettuat Household	Temettuat Number	Name	Age	Physiognomy	Populat ion Occupation	Temettuat occupation	Temettuat Occupational Income	Temettuat Total Income	Income Tax	Tithe & Other Taxes	Information 1	Information 2
27	66	25	63	Aydınlı oğlu Seyyid Hüseyin bin Hasan	52	Orta boylu Kumral sakallı								
27	67	25	0	Oğlu Seyyid Abdülkadir bin Hüseyin	21			natır	0	0	0		emlak ve arazi ve sairesi olmayıp şunun bunun ianesinde olduğu	
27	68	25	0	diğer oğlu Hasan bin Hüseyin	19			demirci	100					
27	69	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Seyyid Hasan bin Hüseyin	17		redif	demirci	100					
27	70	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Seyyid Mehmed bin Hüseyin	15									
28	71	26	69	Musec oğlu Es-seyyid İbrahim Ağa bin Mustafa	65	uzun boylu ak sakallı		tımarlı süvarilerinde n	200	200	40		Kütahya sancağında Uşak nahyesinde Balık nam karye ve gayriden 8620 akçe yazılı tımara mutasarrıf olduğu	Lala Hüseyin Paşa mahallesinden Haydar oğlu Mustafa'nın müşterek ziraat eylediği 5 dönüm mezru tarla 200
NA	NA	26	0	Merkumun zevcesi hatun					80				1 dükkân 80, evladiyye ve meşrûtiyye üzere 1 vakf-ı dükkân	
29	72	NA	NA	oğlu Halil bin İbrahim	31	uzun boylu kara bıyıklı								
29	73	NA	NA	Üvey oğlu Halil bin Hamza	13									
30	74	27	72	Torunzade el-hac İsmail Efendi ibn-i Osman	40	Uzun boylu kumral sakallı		rencber	824	824	50		Çalica karyeli Mehmed ziraatinden 22 dönüm mezru tarla 135, İne karyeli Halil oğlu Mehmed ziraatinden 6 dönüm mezru tarla 99,5, bâ-berât-ı Âli Yakub Han evkafından ahz eylediği 2 müd 60, vakf-ı mezbur dekâkîn hizmetinden ahz eylediği maktu 180, İne karyeli Halil yedinde ağnam 350, 1 dilsiz kısraki 1 tay	
NA	NA	27	0	mumaileyhin zevcesi hatun									İne karyeli Halil oğlu Mehmed ziraatinden 40 dönüm mezru tarla 400, 1 dükkân 40	
31	75	28	73	Keleş el-hac Mehmed ağa ibn-i İbrahim	62				250	250	20			
31	76	NA	NA	oğlu Mustafa bin Mehmed	37	kısa boylu kara sakallı							nakl be mahalle-i Meydan fi 20 ?? sene 1259	
31	77	NA	NA	torunu Seyyid İbrahim bin Mustafa	5									
31	78	NA	NA	Damadı Kök Ömer oğlu Ahmed bin Mustafa	33								nakl be mahalle-i Dükkâncık fi gur-re-i C sene 1259	

Nüfus House hold	Populati on Number	Temettuat Household	Temettuat Number	Name	Age	Physiognomy	Populat ion Occupation	Temettuat occupation	Temettuat Occupational Income	Temettuat Total Income	Income Tax	Tithe & Other Taxes	Information 1	Information 2
32	79	29	74	Sarıbaba oğlu el-hac Ali Efendi ibn-i İsmail	55	orta boylu sarı sakallı		muallim-i sıbyan	200	200	0		Kırsak karyesinde 2 asiyâb 200	
32	80	NA	NA	oğlu Seyyid İbrahim bin el-hac Ali	18									
33	81	30	76	Emir Ömer oğlu Seyyid Ebubekir Osman	52	Orta boylu kumral sakallı		rencber	260	260	20		Viran karyeli Abdullah ziraatinden müşterek 20 dönüm mezru tarla 260	
33	82	NA	NA	oğlu Seyyid Osman bin Ebubekir Efendi	17									
33	83	NA	NA	diğer oğlu Seyyid Mehmed bin Ebubekir	9									
34	84	31	79	Tatarzade Kâtib Mustafa Efendi ibn-i Mehmed	53			ketebeden	1050	1050	50	65	Sultanbağrında 4 dönüm meyve bağçesi 130, Soku karyesinde 4 dönüm meyve bağçesi 200, şehir civarında 8 dönüm meyve bağçesi 500, 4 dükkân 220, 1 kısır manda	
35	85	32	81	Üzekçi oğlu Aşçı İbrahim bin Abdullah	30	Uzun boylu Kır sakallı		aşçı	200	200	20			
NA	NA	32	0	merkumun zevcesi hatun						38			4 sağman ađnam 32, 6 boz ađnam 6, 4 kuzu	
35	86	NA	NA	Üvey oğlu Osman bin Hüseyin	5									
35	87	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Seyyid Ahmed bin Hüseyin	9									
36	88	33	85	Vezer oğlu Seyyid İsmail bin Hüseyin	50	Uzun boylu Kır sakallı			muhtab	200	200	34	Çalca karyeli Hacı Mehmed ziraatinden 8 dönüm mezru tarla 21,5	
36	89	NA	NA	Oğlu Seyyid Hüseyin ibn-i İsmail	9									
37	90	34	87	Vezer oğlu Ali bin Hüseyin	41	uzun boylu kır sakallı			0	0	0		merkumun emlak ve arazi ve hayvanat ve sairesi olmadığından başka hizmetkârlığa dahi kudreti olmayıp komşuların ianesinde olduğu	
37	91	NA	NA	oğlu Seyyid Hüseyin bin Ali	9									
38	92	35	91	Kıbtâ? Oğlu Abdurrahman bin Feyzullah	11				0	0	0		merkumun emlak ve arazi ve sairesi olmayıp şunun bunun ianesiyle geçinmekte olduğu	
38	93	NA	NA	Karındaşı Ahmed bin Feyzullah	5									
38	94	NA	NA	Memiş oğlu Mehmed bin Yusuf	27									

Nüfus House hold	Populati on Number	Temettuat Household	Temettuat Number	Name	Age	Physiognomy	Populat ion Occupa tion	Temettuat occupation	Temettuat Occupational Income	Temettuat Total Income	Income Tax	Tithe & Other Taxes	Information 1	Information 2
39	95	36	94	Çelebi oğlu Ali bin Mustafa	47	uzun boylu sarı sakallı		bahçıvan	1000	1000	65	100	Viranhisar karyesinde 4 dönüm meyve bağçesi 600, Komari karyesinde 8 dönüm meyve bağçesi 400	
NA	NA	36	95	Merkumun hanesinde damadı Mustafa					160	160	20		evladiyye ve meşrutıyye üzere bâ-berât-ı âli Yenice karyesi hasılatından tabiye olarak yedi buçuk sehmden bir sehm hisseye mutasarrıf olduğu	
40	96	NA	NA	Alivedak oğlu Hafız Mustafa bin Ömer	37	Uzun boylu Kır sakallı								
41	97	37	97	Çukadar oğlu Mustafa bin Osman	34	orta boylu sarı sakallı		dağcı	100	100	15		1 dükkân 50, 2 öküz, 1 kısır manda	
41	98	37	99	Karındaşı Mehmed bin Osman	31			dikici kalfası	100	100	15		çolak idüğü	
41	99	NA	NA	oğlu Osman bin Mustafa	1									
42	100	38	102	Etmekçi oğlu Hacı Hüseyin bin İsmail	52	uzun boylu sarı sakallı		Çanakçı	200	200	30			
43	101	39	103	Şişman oğlu Hacı Mehmed bin İsmail	40	uzun boylu Kumral sakallı		hizmetkâr	100	100	20		oğlu Ali 25 M 1259	oğlu Halil 25 Muharrem 1259
43	102	NA	NA	oğlu İsmail bin Hacı Mehmed	6									
44	103	NA	NA	Şişman oğlu Seyyid Ali bin İsmail	52	Uzun boylu Kır sakallı							fevt 1259	
44	104	40	106	oğlu Ahmed bin Ali	8			talebe	0	0	0			
44	105	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Veli bin Ali	5									
45	106	41	108	Hacı Mustafa oğlu Mustafa bin Mustafa	24	Uzun boylu ter bıyıklı		dağcı	272	272	30		Pirli karyeli Akkuş oğlu Ali'nin müşterek zira eylediği 16 dönüm mezru tarla 212,5, validesinin dükkânı 60, 1 kısır inek, 2 merkeb	
46	107	42	108	İmam oğlu Seyyid Ahmed bin İsmail	77	uzun boylu kır sakallı		bakkal	120	120	20		pir-i fâni	2 dükkân 60, 1 sağman inek 60, 1 kısır manda, 3 manda dögesi
46	108	42	0	Oğlu Seyyid İsmail bin Ahmed	37			şerbetçi	100					
46	109	42	0	diğer oğlu Seyyid Ali bin Ahmed	29			tebaadan	150					
46	110	42	0	Diğer oğlu sey yid Mehmed bin Ahmed	24			bahçıvan	200	200	20		1 kısır manda, 1 merkeb	
46	111	NA	NA	Torunu Bekir bin Mehmed	2									
47	112	43	116	Meydanımazade Seyyid Mehmed Efendi İbn el-hac Ömer	23	Orta boylu sarı bıyıklı			619	619	80		Viran karyesinde ağnam, Sütüküm? Karyesinde mezruat 147, karye-yi mezburda ağnam 160, bâ-berât-ı âli Şeyh Bayezid evkafından 112, 1 sağman manda 60, 2 kısır manda, evladiyye ve meşrutıyye olarak mutasarrıf olduğu 3 dükkân 160	
47	113	43	0	Karındaşı Abdullah bin el-hac Ömer	15								Viran karyesinde ağnam, Sütüküm? Karyesinde mezruat, karye-yi mezburda ağnam, bâ-berât-ı âli Şeyh Bayezid evkafından, 1 sağman manda, 2 kısır manda, evladiyye ve meşrutıyye olarak mutasarrıf olduğu 3 dükkân	
NA	NA	43	0	hanelerinde sakine valideleri hatun						70		7	Sufi karyesinde 1 dönüm meyve bağçesi 70	

Nüfus House hold	Populati on Number	Temettuat Household	Temettuat Number	Name	Age	Physiognomy	Populat ion Occupation	Temettuat occupation	Temettuat Occupational Income	Temettuat Total Income	Income Tax	Tithe & Other Taxes	Information 1	Information 2
48	114	44	118	Köçeci oğlu Hacı İbrahim bin Hasan	52	orta boylu köse sakallı		tebadan	180	180	30		Ova karyeli Hızır oğlu Hüseyin ziraatinden 3 dönüm mezru tarla 28	
48	115	NA	NA	Oğlu Ali bin İbrahim	5									
48	116	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Yusuf bin İbrahim	11									
48	117	NA	NA	Karındaşı Hacı Hüseyin bin Hasan	55	kısa boylu kır sakallı								
48	118	NA	NA	Oğlu Süleyman bin Hacı Hüseyin	1									
49	119	45	123	Meydanımazade Mustafa Efendi	43			müderriş	767	767	140		bâ-berât-ı âli İshak Fakih Medresesi'nde müderriş olduğu	Piremşah karyeli Aşkçı oğlu ziraatinden 15 dönüm mezru tarla h: 149, Pirli karyeli Şaki oğlu ziraatinden mezru tarla 4 dönüm h: 21, kezalık Piremşah karyeli Hasan ziraatinden 10 dönüm mezru tarla h: 119,5, şehir civarında Ahırorta mahallesinden Yazıcı oğlu ziraatinden 8 dönüm mezru tarla h: 108,5, Avdan karyesinde 1 asiyaib icarı: 150, Kürsiri karyeli İmam oğlu Hüseyin yedinde ağnam h: 48, İshak Fakih evkafından ahz eylediği 3 müd senevi: 111, Yakub Han evkafından ahz eylediği 1 müd senevi:30, 2 sağman inek 30, cami-i kebirin imamiyye ve hitabiyye hizmetinden vazifesi 200
NA	NA	45	0	merkumun zevcesi Hatun					138				Cemaleddin mahallesinde vâki 2 dönüm meyve bağçesi h:36, 2 dükkân icarı 102	
49	120	NA	NA	Oğlu Seyyid İsmail bin Mustafa Efendi	3									
50	121	46	125	Darendeli Osman Ağa bin Mustafa	57	orta boylu kır sakallı			318	318	50		Siri karyeli Parmaksız oğlu ziraatinden 16 dönüm mezru tarla h: 151,5, 1 sağman inek 60, 2 kısır inek, 1 kısırak 30, 9 sağman ağnam 72, 5 kısır ağnam 5, 8 kuzu	
NA	NA	46	0	merkumun zevcesi Hatun					50				Sultanbağında vâki 1 dönüm bağçe 50	
50	122	NA	NA	Oğlu Ebubekir bin Osman	11									
NA	NA	46	127	Merkumun hanesinde sakin damadı Mehmed Ağa					250	250	0		1 sağman inek 60, 1 esb	sermayesinden 250

Nüfus House hold	Populati on Number	Temettuat Household	Temettuat Number	Name	Age	Physiognomy	Populati on Occupation	Temettuat occupation	Temettuat Occupational Income	Temettuat Total Income	Income Tax	Tithe & Other Taxes	Information 1	Information 2
51	123	47	128	Karancı oğlu Osman bin Salih	52	Uzun boylu Kumral sakallı		zabtiyelik hizmetinde idüğü	60	60	50		merkumun pederi bundan üç sene mukaddem merhum olup tmarı oğlu merkum üzerine tevcih olmuş ise de yine hizmet-i zabtiyelikte mukim olduğu	1 sağman manda 60, 1 esb
51	124	NA	NA	Oğlu Seyyid Mustafa bin Osman	17									
52	125	48	129	Bakkal oğlu Berber Mehmed bin Ali	30	orta boylu kır sakallı		berber	250	250	30			
53	126	49	130	Kocabekir oğlu Mehmed bin Ebubekir	42	Orta boylu kır sakallı		debbağ	250	250	30			
54	127	NA	NA	Bekli oğlu Hasan Efendi ibn-i Mehmed	47	Orta boylu kır sakallı								
55	128	50	131	İne Köylü oğlu Seyyid Mustafa bin Abdullah	19	mecnun			58	58	20		İne karyeli Bölücek oğlu Mehmed ziraatinden 5 dönüm mezru tarla 58	
56	129	51	132	Katırcı Bekir bin Mehmed	52	Orta boylu kır sakallı		duhancı	170	170	50		İne karyeli Osman oğlu ziraatinden 16 dönüm mezru tarla 170, kısır manda, 1 esb, 2 katır	
56	130	NA	NA	Oğlu Mehmed bin Ebubekir	11									
56	131	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Ahmed bin Ebubekir	6									
56	132	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Hüseyin bin Ebubekir	2									
57	133	52	135	Noktacı oğlu Hüseyin Efendi bin Mehmed	60	uzun boylu sarı sakallı		dikici	0	0	0		pir-i fâni	
57	134	NA	NA	Oğlu Seyyid İbrahim bin Hüseyin	18									
57	135	NA	NA	Diğer oğlu Seyyid İsmail bin Hüseyin	9									
58	136	53	140	Halil Efendi bin Mehmed	27	orta boylu köse sakallı			0	0	0	30	mariz idüğü	merkumun emlak ve arazi ve sariesi olmayıp biraderi ianesinde olduğu
58	137	53	141	Karındaşı Abdurrahman bin Mehmed	17			dikici	100					
58	138	53	0	Üvey babası Hacı Abdurrahim bin Abdullah	67								merkumun ianesiyle idare olduğu	
58	139	NA	NA	oğlu Abdurrahim bin Abdurrahim	2									

Nüfus House hold	Populati on Number	Temettuat Household	Temettuat Number	Name	Age	Physiognomy	Populati on Occupation	Temettuat occupation	Temettuat Occupational Income	Temettuat Total Income	Income Tax	Tithe & Other Taxes	Information 1	Information 2
59	140	54	144	Şanizade Mehmed Efendi ibn-i Mustafa	41	Orta boylu kumral sakallı			520	520		10		2 dükkân 130, 1 fevkanî kahve dükkânı icarı 200, 4 dönüm meyve bağçesi 100, Cemalettin mahallesinde 1 dönüm bağçe 50, 1 sağman inek 60, 1 kısır manda
59	141	NA	NA	oğlu Mustafa bin Mehmed	1									
60	142	55	148	Güntüköylü Sipahi Hacı Hasan bin İbrahim	51	orta boylu kır sakallı		umur-ı zabtiyelikde olduğu	200	200	80		Kütahya sancağında Gödös nahiyesinde Görkük nam karye ve gayride 6694 akçe yazılı tımara mutasarrif olduğu	
60	143	NA	NA	oğlu Mehmed bin el-hac Hasan	24									
61	144	56	150	Deli İbrahim bin Ömer	35	Orta boylu kumral sakallı		yağcı	300	300	40	20	Sufi karyesinde 5 dönüm meyve bağçesi 200, 1 merkeb, 1 kısır manda	
62	145	57	151	Mahmud oğlu Debbağ Molla İbrahim bin Süleyman	30			debbağ	200	200	40	20	İne karyeli Mankal oğlu ziraatinden 3 dönüm mezru tarla 40, Sufi karyesinde 2 dönüm bağçe 200	
62	146	NA	NA	Oğlu Ali bin İbrahim	5									
63	147	NA	NA	Arpacı oğlu Hacı Hasan bin Ali	45	orta boylu kır sakallı							nakl be mahalle-i meydan 1259	
63	148	NA	NA	oğlu Ali bin el-hac Hasan	6									
64	149	58	153	Tantarlı oğlu Hüseyin bin Mustafa	55			baltacı	200	200	30			
64	150	NA	NA	oğlu Ahmed bin Hüseyin	1									
65	151	NA	NA	Hafız Hasan Şevki Efendi ibn-i İbrahi	35	uzun boylu kır sakallı								
66	152	59	154	Sekerkaryeli Molla Ali oğlu Süleyman bin Ali	55	kısa boylu köse sakallı			240	240	30		Türkmen oğlu Mustafa ziraatinden 20 dönüm mezru tarla 240, 1 merkeb	
NA	NA	59	158	Merkumun Hanesinde Üvey oğlu Monla Ahmed				talebe	75,5	75,5	0		Bekir karyeli Kara Hüseyin oğlu ziraatinden 10 dönüm tarla 75,5	
66	153	NA	NA	oğlu Mustafa bin Süleyman	25	ter bıyıklı								nakl be mahalle-i Gönan
67	154	NA	NA	Hancızade Osman Ağa ibn-i Yusuf	38									
67	155	NA	NA	oğlu Yusuf bin Osman	2,5									

Nüfus House hold	Populati on Number	Temettuat Household	Temettuat Number	Name	Age	Physiognomy	Populati on Occupation	Temettuat occupation	Temettuat Occupational Income	Temettuat Total Income	Income Tax	Tithe & Other Taxes	Information 1	Information 2
68	156	NA	NA	Tatar Yasin Ağa bin Abdullah	30	Uzun boylu Kara bıyıklı			34					
NA	NA	60	156	Saka Ağazade Osman Ağa				tebadan	200	200	20			
NA	NA	61	161	Safranbolulu İbrahim				ayak taciri	300	300	50		2 kısır inek, 1 esb, 2 döge, 1 sağman inek hasılat:20	
NA	NA	62	163	Sefer oğlu Ahmed				tebadan	300	300	30			
NA	NA	63	164	Madenli Mustafa				ayak taciri	250	250	40		1 esb, 2 kısır inek	
NA	NA	64	165	Halil				basmacı kalfası	200	200	20			
NA	NA	65	166	Musli oğlu Osman				yolucu	200	200	30			
NA	NA	66	167	Semerci oğlu Ömer				mesleksiz	0	0	0		mariz	
NA	NA	67	168	Oruç oğlu Ahmed				berber	150	150	0			
NA	NA	0	169	Mahalle-i mezbur sakinlerinden Meydanımızzade Süleyman Efendi Zevcesi Hatun						200	20		Bölücek karyesindeki meyve bağçesinden	

In this comparison between *temettu'at* and population registers (Table 3), we can see that the numbers of the households, their heads and their inhabitants were recorded almost in the same order in both registers. In *temettu'at* registers only the heads of the households were recorded in addition to the male and female members of the households who generated different kinds of income, yet in population records all the male subjects including the very young and elder family members were registered. In this matter, population registers contains the age of the male individuals as an important information for a measure of occupational activity and military service as well as the physiognomic information and the religious or geographic titles concerning these male inhabitants. Yet, the occupational information in population census is very limited according to *temettu'at* registers and we can barely confront any occupation other than the military status of individuals. Since it was a very broad income survey, we can figure out that the occupation of individuals as well as the different properties such as lands, animals, shops, mills, joint agricultural activities and participation in pious foundations (*vakfs*) can be deducted from *temettu'at* registers. Also can be seen the different levels of taxes paid by the individuals such as special tax based on the income in money and also tithe both in money and in kind in *temettu'at* registers.

Since every male member of the households were recorded in population censuses, we can see that in the second household for instance, the slave of the house (Hurşid bin Abdullah) was also recorded. Another particular point concerning this household (number 2) is that in population census the oldest member of the house es-Seyyid el-Hac Abdurrahman Efendi who was 72 was registered as the head of the household; however, two years later in *temettu'at* register his son Es-Seyyid İbrahim Edhem Efendi who was 37 was indicated as the head of the household since he was practicing an occupation and generating an income.¹⁴¹

As I pointed above, in *temettu'at* registers, we encounter the female members of the households such as the wives, sisters, and the mothers of the heads of the households who possessed mainly incomes from the lands they owned.

At the end of the registers, we observe some households who moved to different neighborhoods, therefore were not recorded in *temettu'at* registers and also 8 households that moved to the neighborhood of Pirlar after the realization of the population census in 1258 H.

As a summary (*icmâl*) of neighborhoods income survey, we notice that at the end of the *temettu'at* registers, it was noted that, the total number of households was 67, total number of

¹⁴¹ There is also the possibility that es-Seyyid el-Hac Abdurrahman Efendi died before the realization of *temettu'at* survey.

population was 169, total amount of income was 23725,5; the total amount of income tax was 2807 kuruş and the amount of tithe was 316 kuruş.¹⁴²

Concerning the realization of the population census and the income survey I strongly doubt that both of the survey were conducted and recorded by the same agents in presence of the *imams* and *muhtars* but there exists no information concerning this assumption (At the bottom of the Pirlar neighborhood's *temettu'at* register, there exist the seals of the first and second *muhtars* and the *imam* of the neighborhood, as well as the agricultural director of the city.)¹⁴³

Using the age data provided by the census registers, I tried to decipher the age when the male individuals of the Pirlar neighborhood got married using the age of the head of the household and his oldest son, a coefficient which was called by Cem Behar as Singulate Mean Age at Marriage (SMAM).¹⁴⁴ Behar calculated this age as 30.4 for men in Kasap İlyas neighborhood of Istanbul in 1885; according to my calculation for the Pirlar neighborhood of Kütahya in 1844, this Singulate Mean Age at Marriage is 33.2, yet one should keep in mind that in the households whose heads were relatively old, there was a strong possibility that the oldest male son left the house for founding his own family thus the number 33.2 calculated in accordance to the values from the population census can reflect a higher rate.

I also checked the variation of occupation related to the age but this postulate did not prove any significant result at least for this neighborhood.

As a last postulate, I wanted to check the correlation between the age and the income, but this postulate also provided a very weak rate of correlation (0.024) indicating an absence of relation between the age of the individuals and their income; although we can observe a slight increase in income with the age until the ages of mid-50's in the scatter plot graphic.

¹⁴² ML.VRD.TMT 8736, 26.

¹⁴³ ML.VRD.TMT 8736, 26.

¹⁴⁴ Cem Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul, Fruit Vendors and Civils Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 2003, 138.

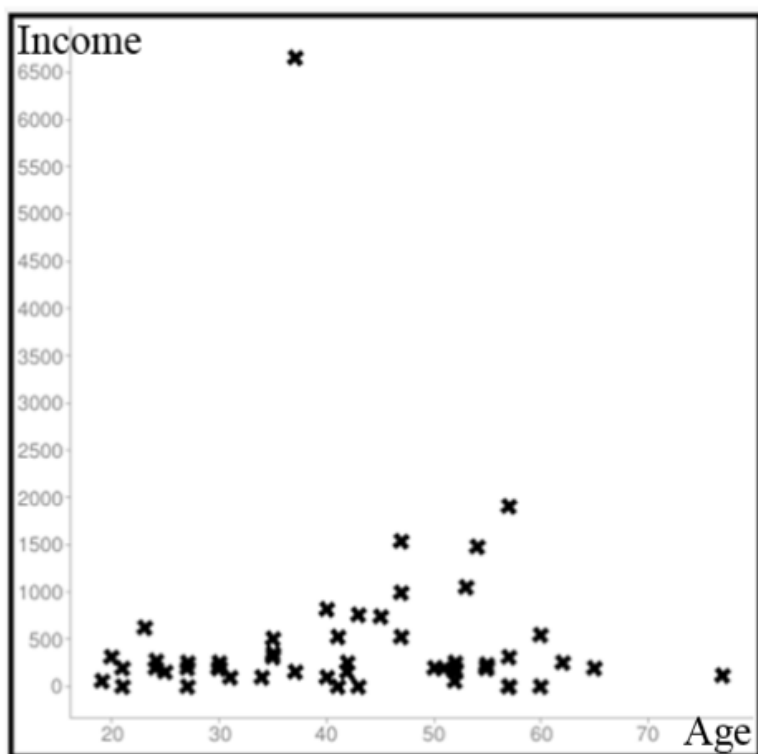


Figure 5. Scatter Plot Graphic of Age and Income in the Pirlar Neighborhood according to Temettu‘at and Population Censuses

Before concluding my inquiry in this section of demographics I want take into account the summary of the general population census of the whole Ottoman Empire in the year 1885 CE.¹⁴⁵ In this survey either, Vranje were not recorded since this time Serbia was no longer a part of the Ottoman Empire. This population census is very particular because it is the first document where the female population of the Ottoman Empire was recorded and henceforth the females were included in the population censuses, yet there were very strong underestimations in some regions concerning the females and children younger than the age 10, and in some provinces the females were not taken into the scope of the census at all.¹⁴⁶ Every person that was listed in the census was given a certificate that he/she had to use during the official transactions and this development can be interpreted as the introduction of the identity card for the subjects of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁷

According to this census, in 1885, 60694 males and 60896 females lived in the city of Bursa, among which 89663 were Muslims, 21286 were Orthodox Greeks, 5826 were Armenians, 650

¹⁴⁵ NFS.d 7450.

¹⁴⁶ Cem Behar, “Sources Pour La Démographie Historique de L’empire Ottoman: Les Tahrirs (dénombrements) de 1885 et 1907.” *Population* (French Edition), 1998, 164.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

were Roman Catholics, 2584 were Jews, 296 were Protestants, and 1251 were non-Ottoman foreigners.

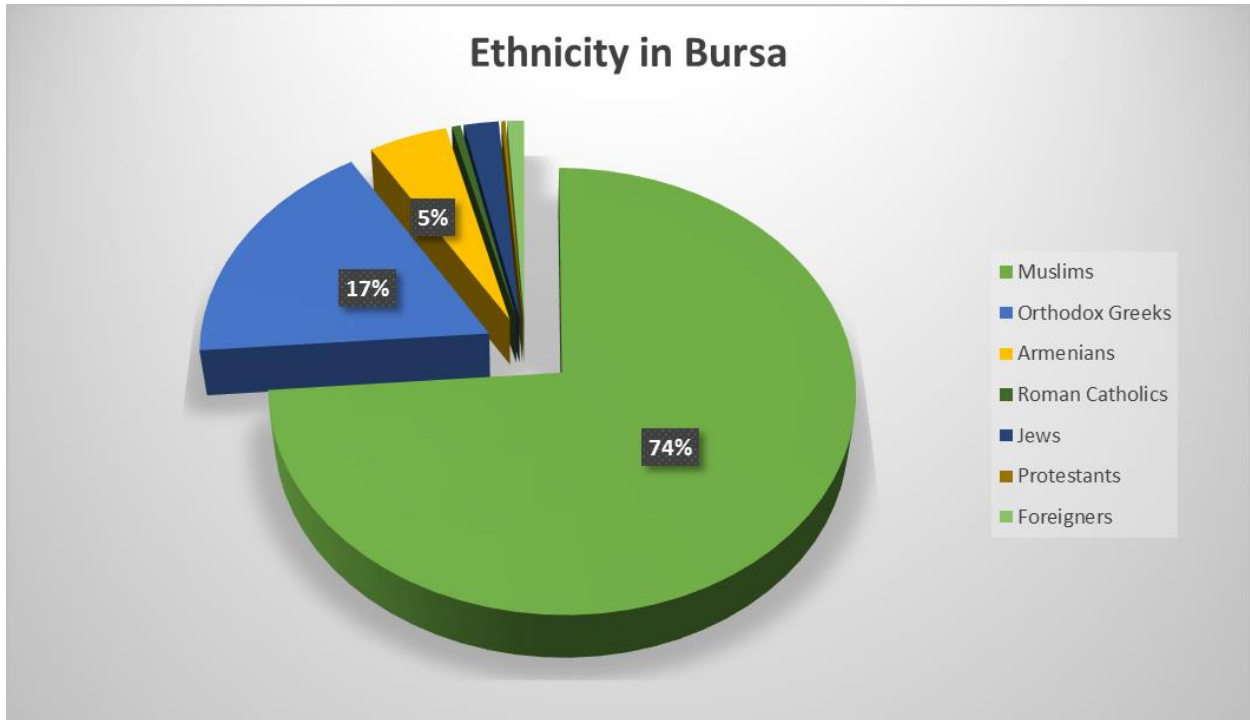


Figure 6. The Ethnic Distribution of Bursa According to the Population Census of 1885 NFS.d 7450.

In this matter, 123368 people lived in Kütahya; among which 60395 were males and 62973 were females. The Muslims were 115385 people, Orthodox Greeks were 4402, Armenians were 2808, and Roman Catholics were counted as 773 people. Not a single Jew was recorded in Kütahya in 1885 CE.¹⁴⁸ It is easy to observe that the ethnic distribution in Kütahya was not very diverse and the Muslims were a dominant majority, although the communities of Orthodox Greeks and Armenians were not imperceptible.

¹⁴⁸ This information fulfills the prophecy of Evliya Çelebi concerning the Jews, mentioned in the introduction of this study.

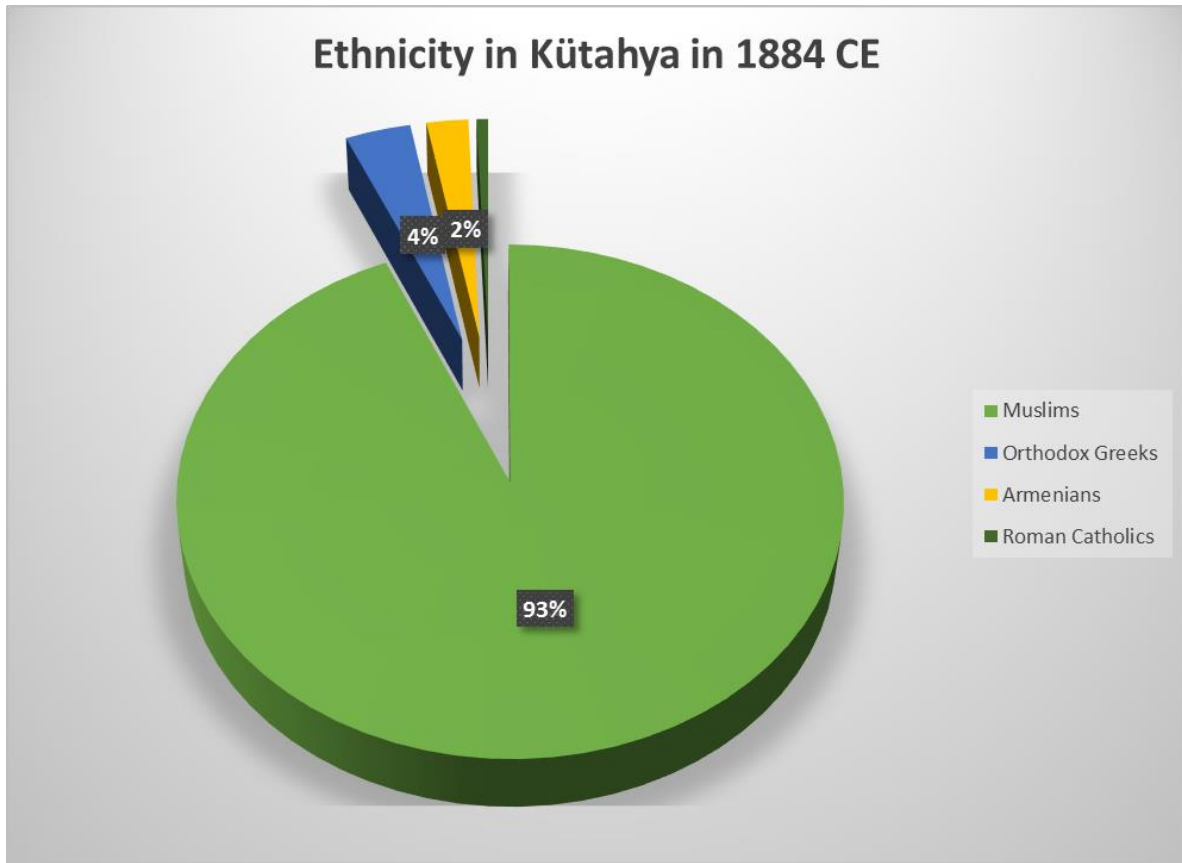


Figure 7. The Ethnic Distribution of Kütahya According to the Population Census of 1885 NFS.d 7450.

According to the *temettu'at* survey from the mid-19th century for the center of Bursa, 61% of the individuals listed in were Muslims, 21% were Armenians, 12% were Orthodox, 5% were Jews and 1% were Catholics; the ratios of the whole population in Bursa, including every member of the households as well as the women in 1885 were 74% Muslims, 18% Orthodox, 5% Armenians, 1% Catholics, 2% Jews and 1% foreigners; and concerning Kütahya, in *temettu'at* registers 70% were Muslims, 14% were Orthodox, 11% were Armenians, and 6% were Catholics.

The non-Muslim population was often disproportionately represented in the *temettu'at* registers since the collection of the poll tax involved not the family as a whole unit but every male members of the families who were capable of paying the taxes, this can explain the under representation of Muslim in *temettu'at* registers. Raif Kaplanoğlu, who worked on the rates of births and deaths in Bursa for the mid-19th century argued that non-Muslim children had a higher death rate especially concerning the Jews of the city, and Muslim children had a higher

survival rate presumably due to the activities of the hospital (*darü 'ş-şifa*).¹⁴⁹ Muslims living in the Balkans, Crimean Muslims and Circassians immigrated to the Anatolian cities as a result of nationalist's activities and wars; hence the ethnic structure of the cities altered in the second half of the 19th century.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Raif Kaplanoğlu, "İlk Nüfus Defterlerine Göre (1830-1843) Bursa'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı Hayat" 39.

¹⁵⁰ Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, 60-77.

Chapter 2: Occupations and a Tentative Study of Ethnic Division of Labor in Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje in the mid-19th Century

Dünyâ talebiyle kimisi halkun emekde

Kimi oturup zevk ile dünyâyı yemekte

Rûhî-i Bağdâdî

Historians of the economic life and labor characteristics of Ottoman Empire used many different sources for presenting various occupations and craftsmanship practiced in the cities and rural areas of the Ottoman Empire. Tax registers / *tahrirs* were exhaustive lists since they contained many different occupations especially related to agriculture of the individuals listed in the surveys; however, in this matter court records are also extensive sources since occasionally the occupations and titles of the petitioners and defendants were noted. But there were particular sources which were written to set out the rules and obligations of every single craftsmen had to obey which was called *fütüvvet-names*.¹⁵¹ Another source that describes the different craftsmen were *Şehrengiz*, a very special genre written in verse to illustrate the young and beautiful artisan in the market of a city. In this perspective, Lami'î Çelebi's *Şehrengiz* of Bursa for the visit Sultan Suleiman's visit of Bursa is very rich and very elaborate.¹⁵² It illustrated 24 different occupations available in the market of Bursa,¹⁵³ and it offers a very vivid portrait of the city in the mid-16th century. Another very elaborate source used by historians for the research of occupations and economic activity is the gargantuan travelogue of Evliya Çelebi,¹⁵⁴ in which the author from the 17th century described the shops, markets and the activity of shopkeepers and craftsmen in the cities he visited in addition the craftsmen parades he encountered during his travels.

¹⁵¹ Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, "İslâm ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilâtı ve Kaynakları", *Istanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XI (1949–50): 3-354.

¹⁵² Nuran Tezcan, "Güzele Bir Şehrengizden Bakış," *Türkoloji Dergisi* 14, no. 1 (2001): 162–194.

¹⁵³ Nuran Tezcan, *op. cit.* 69-70.

Nüve-furüş, 'attâr, berber, nakkaş (2), kazancı, nalband (2), kasap, tarakçı, mekûk-ger, bezzaz, kazzâz (2), boyacı (2), terzi, kaftancı, futacı, pâreci (cloth seller), pâ-y-berekci; as well as imâm, kayyum, şeyh, hafız, mizan emini, beytü'l-mâl emini.

¹⁵⁴ Evliya Çelebi, *op. cit.*

However *temettu'at* registers from the mid-19th century provides the researchers a much more vast information about the abundance of different occupations in Ottoman cities and in the rural territories of the Ottoman Empire. The studies concerning the lists of different occupations based on *tahrirs* or court records in Ottoman cities gather more or less 200 different occupation titles, yet in our study that we focused mainly on the diversity of the occupations, we encountered circa 1100 occupation titles. These occupations were practiced by Muslim, Orthodox Christian, Catholic, Armenian, Jewish and in some cases *Kıpti* subjects as well as the foreigners were categorized using the PST system I mentioned in the introduction. During this process we used various encyclopedias and dictionaries.¹⁵⁵

In this matter I came up with the result of 493 different occupation titles in Bursa identified in the *temettu'at* registers, 276 occupation titles in Kütahya and 77 occupation titles in Vranje.

The particularity of Vranje does not come only from the paucity of the different occupations performed in the city and in its vicinity, i.e. the economic diversity but I also observed a linguistic deviation (as a matter of fact a linguistic distortion) during the registry of the common occupations such as *bahçevan* or *muytab* as *bağçevancı* or *muytabcı*.

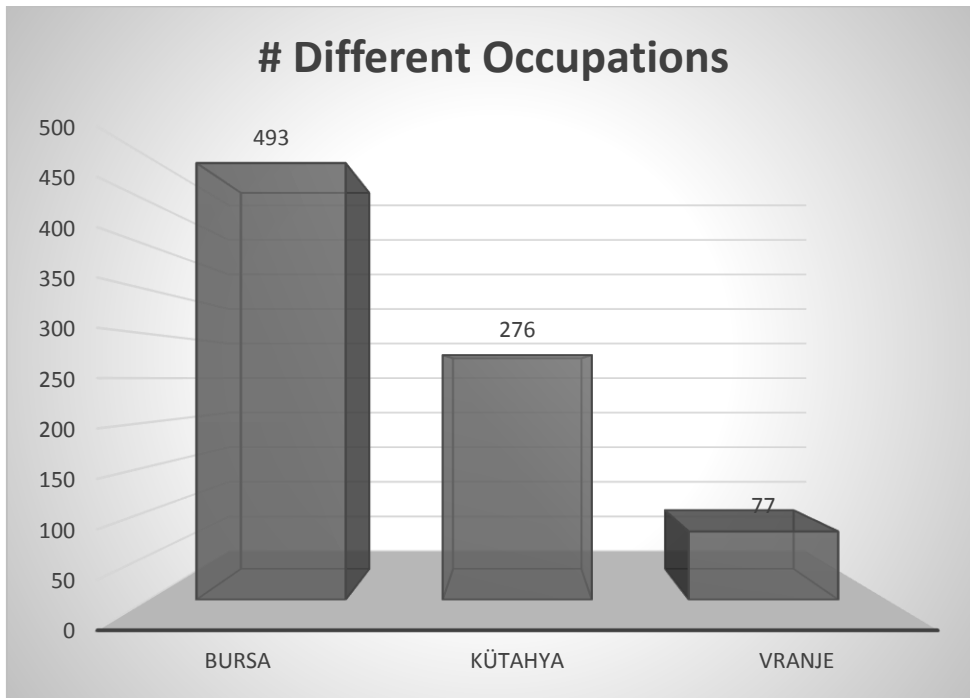


Figure 8. Number of Different Occupations in Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje according to *temettu'at* registers.

¹⁵⁵ Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* I-III, MEB Yayınları, İstanbul, 1946; Şemseddin Sâmî, *Çamus-ı Türkî*, İkdâm Matbaası, İstanbul 1317 H; Sir James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, İstanbul.

These different occupations were carried out by the 84 % of individuals represented in the registers in Bursa, 78 % of individuals in Kütahya, and 98 % of individuals resided in Vranje. Yet these ratios must be taken with a great precaution and one must be aware that they don't reflect the economic capacity or the unemployment rates of these cities.

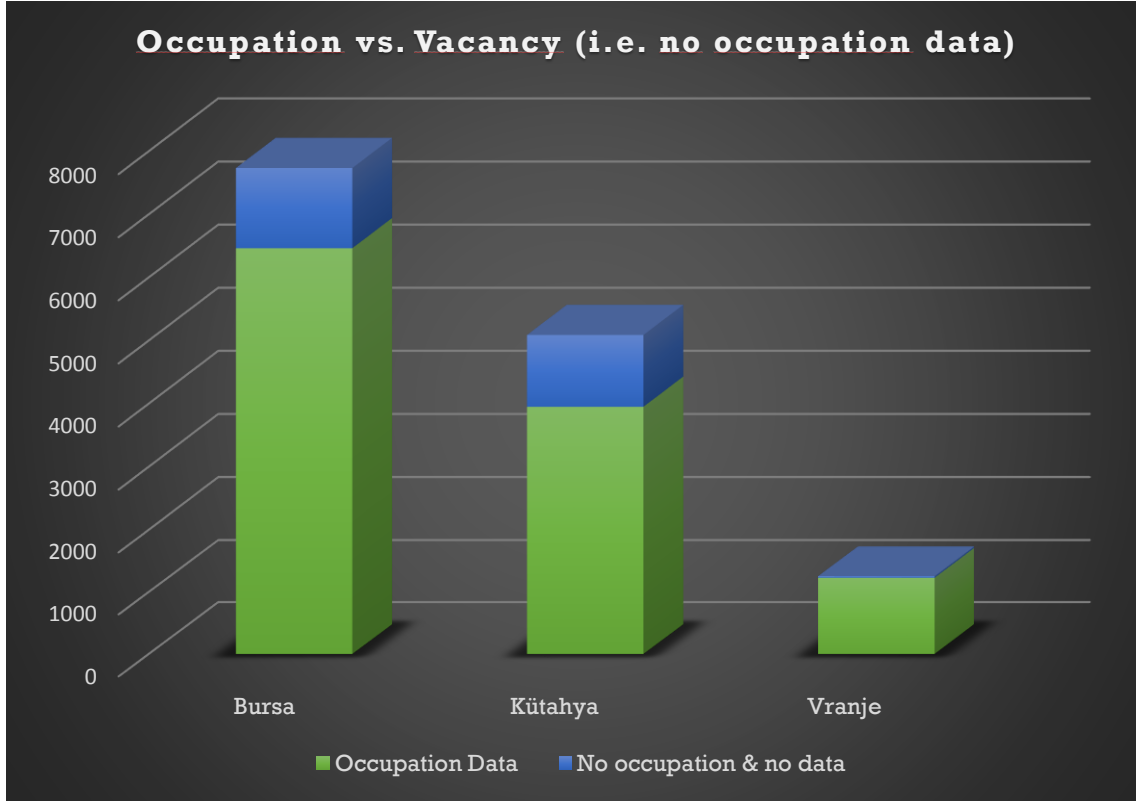


Figure 9. Occupation vs. Vacancy (no occupation data or not practicing any occupation) in Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje according to temettu'at registers.

According to the graphs in this figure (Figure 9), we can observe the quantity of entries in all three cities and the ratio of occupation data and the data of the inhabitants recorded in the registers who were not practicing any occupation. As I stated in the preceding paragraph, although the amount of those who were not practicing any occupation gives us slight hints about the economic activity capacities of these cities, it must be kept in mind that the rates of the vacants were also strongly related with the record keeping practices and cannot be interpreted as the rate of unemployment.

Using the PST system, we observe that in the urban Bursa 50 % of the individuals registered in our data were occupied in the manufacture and industry, 22 % of the individuals were performing public duties or they were in the "service" sector, 12 % were in the agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry or mining sector, 13 % were dealers, sellers or merchants and 3 % of the individuals represented in the tax register were in transport and communication.

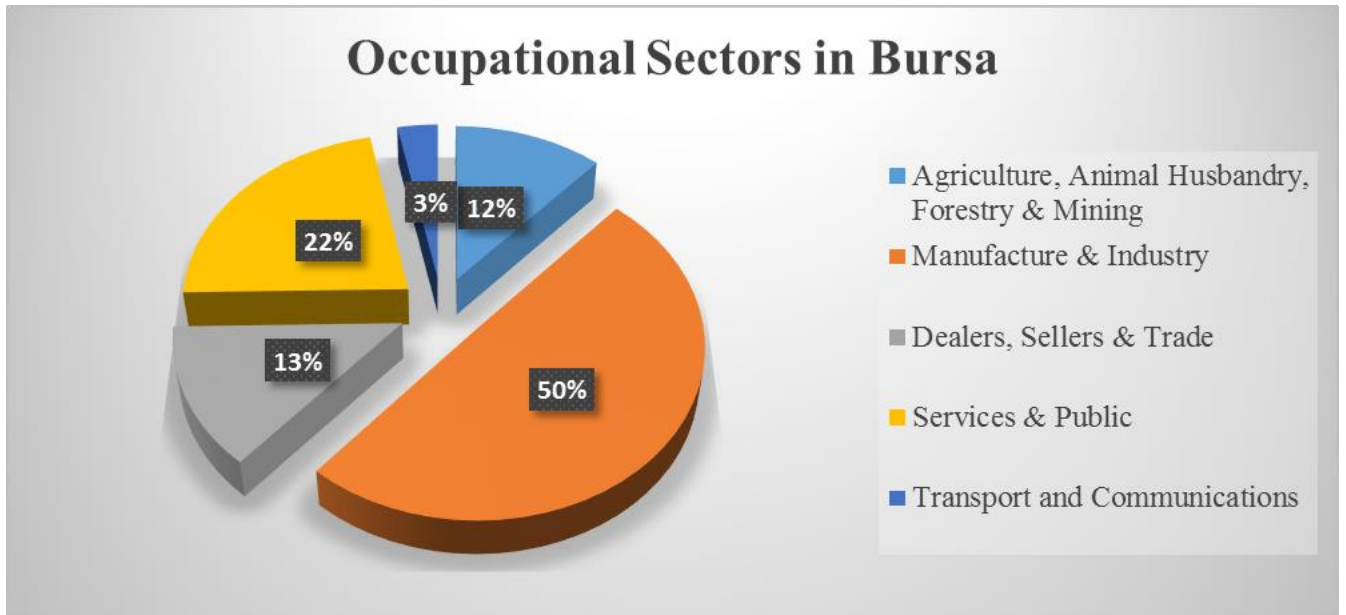


Figure 10. Occupational Sectors in Bursa according to temettu‘at registers.

In Kütahya, we encounter a very similar picture like Bursa. 48 % of the individuals recorded in according to *temettu‘at* registers were in manufacture and industry, 25 % were in the public sector or they were carrying out various services, 12 % were dealers and sellers in the market or shops of Kütahya or they were street vendors, 11 % were farmers, shepherds, herdsmen, wood cutters or miners and 4 % were in the sector of transport and communication.

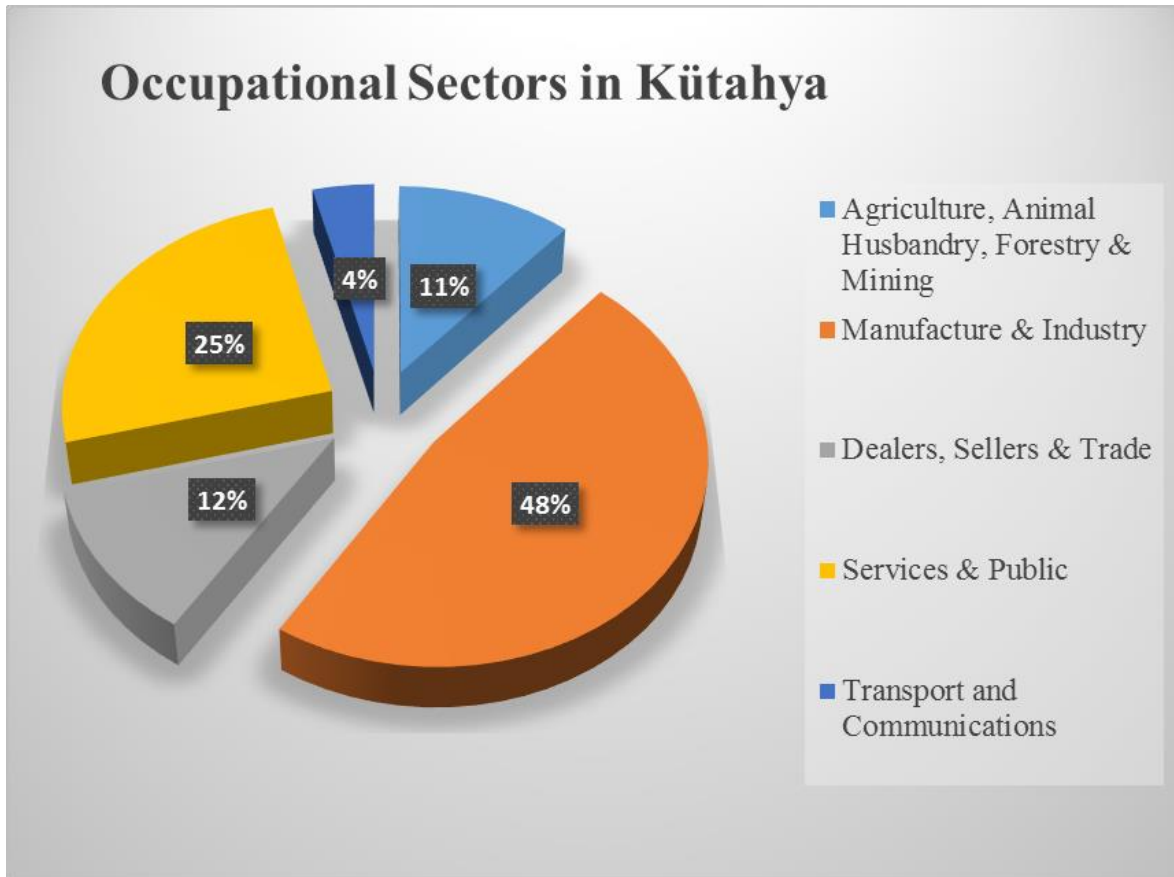


Figure 11. Occupational Sectors in Kütahya according to temettu'at registers.

When we observe the data provided from the registers of Vranje, we encounter a slightly different image according to our two Anatolian cities. The ratio of primary sector, i.e. agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry and mining; and dealers, sellers; and traders and transport and communication are more or less similar yet it is easy to decipher that the manufacture has a smaller weight in the urban and rural Vranje and this portion is swallowed by the high quantity of non-public servants mostly employed in the mansions and farms.

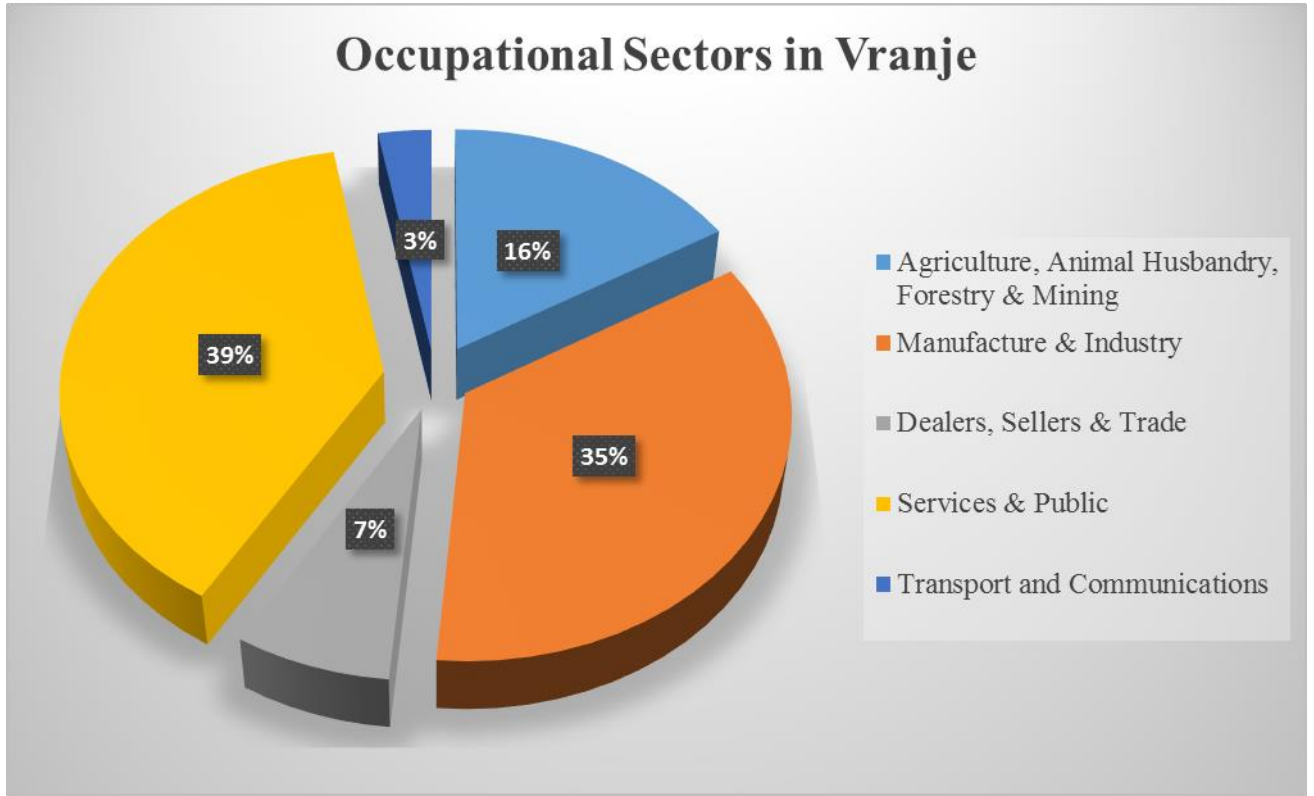


Figure 12. Occupational Sectors in Vranje according to temettu‘at registers.

The occupations in the primary sector, i.e. agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry or mining in Bursa and their frequency are:

<i>rencber</i>	407
<i>oduncu</i>	126
<i>belci</i>	61
<i>çapacı</i>	40
<i>bahçıvan</i>	31
<i>çoban</i>	33
<i>erbab-ı ziraat</i>	14
<i>balıkçı</i>	8
<i>bağçeci</i>	5
<i>çakılcı</i>	5
<i>sahib-i ziraat</i>	4
<i>ağaççı</i>	2
<i>sığırtmaç</i>	2
<i>çıracı</i>	1
<i>ferikacı</i>	1
<i>hatabcı</i>	1
<i>kavakçı</i>	1
<i>korucu</i>	1
<i>kuşbaz</i>	1
<i>samancı</i>	1
<i>tavukçu</i>	1
<i>yoncacı</i>	1

The occupation concerning manufacture and industry in Bursa are:

<i>dolapçı</i>	270	<i>kebabcı</i>	17	<i>takkeci</i>	5	<i>çakmakçı</i>	1
<i>dikici</i>	253	<i>testereci</i>	17	<i>çorapçı</i>	4	<i>çarıkçı</i>	1
<i>terzi</i>	251	<i>iplikçi</i>	15	<i>güllaççı</i>	4	<i>çırçırıcı</i>	1
				<i>kahve</i>			
<i>sandalcı</i>	187	<i>ekmekçi</i>	14	<i>değirmencisi</i>	4	<i>çivici</i>	1
<i>dülger</i>	116	<i>fermeneci</i>	14	<i>kazılcı</i>	4	<i>eğeci</i>	1
<i>doğramacı</i>							
<i>ı</i>	95	<i>fesçi</i>	14	<i>kınnabçı</i>	4	<i>enfiyeci</i>	1
<i>kazzaz</i>	86	<i>şerbetçi</i>	14	<i>şekerci</i>	4	<i>fes boyacısı</i>	1
<i>kasap</i>	75	<i>urgancı</i>	14	<i>tuzcu</i>	4	<i>frenk terzisi</i>	1
						<i>harir</i>	
<i>nalband</i>	74	<i>helvacı</i>	13	<i>yağcı</i>	4	<i>bağlayıcısı</i>	1
<i>basmacı</i>	70	<i>saatçi</i>	12	<i>barutçu</i>	3	<i>hizarcı</i>	1
		<i>sipahi pazarı</i>					
<i>debbağ</i>	68	<i>esnafı</i>	12	<i>camcı</i>	3	<i>kalafatçı</i>	1
<i>çilingir</i>	65	<i>çıkırıkçı</i>	11	<i>kıyıcı</i>	3	<i>kalpakçı</i>	1
<i>demirci</i>	63	<i>duhan kıyııcısı</i>	11	<i>semer ağaççısı</i>	3	<i>kavcı</i>	1
<i>kuyumcu</i>	58	<i>hamurkar</i>	11	<i>tabak</i>	3	<i>kemerci</i>	1
<i>havlucu</i>	56	<i>kundakçı</i>	11	<i>bıçkıcı</i>	2	<i>kılabdancı</i>	1
<i>semerci</i>	52	<i>muhallebici</i>	10	<i>bozacı</i>	2	<i>kılıççı</i>	1
						<i>kirpas</i>	
<i>haffaf</i>	50	<i>nalıncı</i>	10	<i>dolamacı</i>	2	<i>dokuyucusu</i>	1
<i>duhancı</i>	47	<i>köfteci</i>	9	<i>dökmeci</i>	2	<i>kovacı</i>	1
				<i>hayvan</i>			
<i>kalaycı</i>	46	<i>leblebici</i>	9	<i>boğazlayıcı</i>	2	<i>lüleci</i>	1
<i>peştemalci</i>	45	<i>taşçı</i>	9	<i>horasancı</i>	2	<i>nakkaş</i>	1
<i>beledici</i>	39	<i>papuççu</i>	8	<i>kadayıfçı</i>	2	<i>nalcı</i>	1
<i>boyacı</i>	39	<i>tabancacı</i>	8	<i>kazancı</i>	2	<i>nişastacı</i>	1
<i>bükücü</i>	37	<i>bıçakçı</i>	7	<i>kebabcı çırağı</i>	2	<i>paçacı</i>	1
<i>kalburcu</i>	36	<i>çubukçu</i>	7	<i>kiremitçi</i>	2	<i>perdah</i>	1
<i>kumaşçı</i>	33	<i>francalacı</i>	7	<i>kirişçi</i>	2	<i>pişirici</i>	1
<i>simitçi</i>	32	<i>hallaç</i>	7	<i>kolancı</i>	2	<i>püskülcü</i>	1
<i>futacı</i>	29	<i>keçeci</i>	7	<i>kunduracı</i>	2	<i>serpuşçu</i>	1
<i>muytab</i>	26	<i>keresteci</i>	7	<i>küföncü</i>	2	<i>sırmacı</i>	1
<i>bakırcı</i>	25	<i>bozmacı</i>	6	<i>macuncu</i>	2	<i>şemsiyeci</i>	1
<i>çeşmeci</i>	25	<i>çanakçı</i>	6	<i>marpuççu</i>	2	<i>şeritçi</i>	1
<i>kutnucu</i>	25	<i>kaldırımıcı</i>	6	<i>mestçi</i>	2	<i>tarakçı</i>	1
<i>kutucu</i>	25	<i>libadeci</i>	6	<i>mumcu</i>	2	<i>yağlıkçı</i>	1
<i>değirmenci</i>	24	<i>libadeci</i>	6	<i>palancı</i>	2	<i>civacı</i>	1
<i>uncu</i>	24	<i>mücellid</i>	6	<i>sandıkçı</i>	2		
<i>arakıyeci</i>	23	<i>buzcu</i>	5	<i>suyolcu</i>	2		
<i>yorgancı</i>	23	<i>çancı</i>	5	<i>süpürgeci</i>	2		
<i>çamurcu</i>	22	<i>çuhacı</i>	5	<i>tülbentçi</i>	2		
<i>külahçı</i>	22	<i>esnaf</i>	5	<i>aynacı</i>	1		
<i>abacı</i>	21	<i>kurşuncu</i>	5	<i>bakır tamircisi</i>	1		
<i>saraç</i>	20	<i>nalbur</i>	5	<i>balık ağı örücü</i>	1		
<i>sıvacı</i>	19	<i>nalçacı</i>	5	<i>bezirci</i>	1		

tenekeci 19 *simkeş* 5 *cehreci* 1
The occupations in the sector of selling, dealing and trade and their quantity in Bursa are:

<i>bezzaz</i>	136	<i>sütçü</i>	4
<i>eskici</i>	108	<i>esirci</i>	3
<i>kapamacı</i>	59	<i>harir dellalı</i>	3
<i>çerçi</i>	52	<i>kuyumcu dellalı</i>	3
<i>pazarıcı</i>	52	<i>ganem tüccarı</i>	2
<i>bakkal</i>	48	<i>harir ticareti</i>	2
<i>manav</i>	48	<i>kahve tüccarı</i>	2
<i>sahaf</i>	25	<i>oturakçı</i>	2
<i>yaymacı</i>	23	<i>tuhafiyeci</i>	2
<i>tüccar</i>	22	<i>ağnam tüccarı</i>	1
<i>bad pazarı esnafı</i>	19	<i>bedestan tüccarı</i>	1
<i>hurdacı</i>	17	<i>beygir dellalı</i>	1
<i>arpacı</i>	15	<i>bezirgan tahsildarı</i>	1
<i>erbab-ı ticaret</i>	15	<i>bezzazan kethüdası</i>	1
<i>harir tüccarı</i>	12	<i>bostan dellalı</i>	1
<i>ayak tüccarı</i>	9	<i>bostan tüccarı</i>	1
<i>canbaz</i>	8	<i>celeb tüccarı</i>	1
<i>simitçi tablakarı</i>	8	<i>değirmen ticareti</i>	1
<i>limoncu</i>	7	<i>duhan tüccarı</i>	1
<i>bedestan dellalı</i>	6	<i>esirci kethüdası</i>	1
<i>bezirgan</i>	6	<i>harir akçılığı tüccarı</i>	1
<i>bohçacı</i>	6	<i>kömürcü</i>	1
<i>koltukçu</i>	6	<i>şekerci tablakarı</i>	1
<i>avrupa tüccarı</i>	4		

The occupations in the public sector and in the service sector in Bursa and their quantity are:

<i>tebaa</i>	197	<i>muhzır</i>	7	<i>millet papazı</i>	2	<i>ispençiyar</i>	1
<i>berber</i>	185	<i>kiseçi</i>	6	<i>muallim</i>	2	<i>kadı</i>	1
<i>hizmetkar</i>	100	<i>millet kahyası</i>	6	<i>mültezim</i>	2	<i>kaplıca hancısı</i>	1
<i>imam</i>	84	<i>baytar</i>	5	<i>münadi</i>	2	<i>kaplıcacı</i>	1
<i>muhtar</i>	82	<i>imaret mahkeme</i>	5	<i>neyzen</i>	2	<i>kaza müdürü</i>	1
<i>kahveci</i>	60	<i>muhzır</i>	5	<i>pasban</i>	2	<i>kınacı</i>	1
<i>attar</i>	49	<i>seridar</i>	5	<i>pazvand</i>	2	<i>kır serdarı</i>	1
<i>katip</i>	39	<i>şeyh</i>	5	<i>rakkas</i>	2	<i>kilise zangoçu</i>	1
<i>dellal</i>	28	<i>ütücü</i>	5	<i>tabib</i>	2	<i>koltuk dellalı</i>	1
<i>müderris mektep</i>	28	<i>zabıta</i>	5	<i>tahrirci</i>	2	<i>komisyoncu</i>	1
<i>hocası</i>	22	<i>kantarçı</i>	4	<i>timar sahibi vakıf</i>	2	<i>kökçü kükürtlü</i>	1
<i>kazzaz</i>	20	<i>kayyum</i>	4	<i>mütevellisi</i>	2	<i>hamamcısı</i>	1
<i>dellalı</i>	20	<i>mahkeme katibi</i>	4	<i>zangoç</i>	2	<i>külhancı mahalle</i>	1
<i>papaz</i>	18	<i>tanburacı</i>	4	<i>zaviye şeyhi</i>	2	<i>mütevellisi</i>	1

<i>hamam</i>	18	<i>türbedar</i>	4	<i>alay katipi</i> <i>araba</i>	1	<i>mezarıcı</i>	1
<i>dellak</i>	17	<i>asker</i>	3	<i>kiracısı</i>	1	<i>mizan</i> <i>mizan</i>	1
<i>simsar</i>	16	<i>aza-yı meclis</i> <i>bedesten</i>	3	<i>asker katibi</i> <i>askeri</i>	1	<i>veznedarı</i>	1
<i>emanetçi</i>	14	<i>münadisi</i>	3	<i>başkatip</i> <i>bedestan</i>	1	<i>mukayyid</i>	1
<i>hancı</i>	14	<i>bekçi</i>	3	<i>münadisi</i> <i>bedestan</i>	1	<i>muvakkit</i>	1
<i>postnişin</i>	14	<i>evkaf katibi</i>	3	<i>mütevellisi</i> <i>bostan</i>	1	<i>müdür</i>	1
<i>müezzin</i>	13	<i>hattat</i>	3	<i>bekçisi</i> <i>bostan</i>	1	<i>mülazim</i>	1
<i>aşçı</i>	12	<i>hekim</i>	3	<i>münadisi</i>	1	<i>naib</i> <i>nakşibendiye</i>	1
<i>ders-i am</i>	12	<i>mubayaacı</i>	3	<i>cabi</i>	1	<i>postnişini</i>	1
<i>hademe</i>	12	<i>mütevelli</i>	3	<i>cerrah</i> <i>çarşı</i>	1	<i>nüfus katibi</i>	1
<i>hamamcı</i>	11	<i>natır</i>	3	<i>miyancısı</i>	1	<i>nüfus nazırı</i>	1
<i>temizleyici</i>	11	<i>sarraf</i>	3	<i>gümrükçü</i> <i>haffafhane</i>	1	<i>odabaşı</i>	1
<i>yazıcı</i>	10	<i>zaim</i>	3	<i>münadisi</i>	1	<i>paşa</i>	1
<i>zabtiye</i>	10	<i>camkos</i>	2	<i>haham</i>	1	<i>sülükçü</i>	1
<i>çalgıcı</i>	9	<i>çavuş</i> <i>dergah-ı ali</i>	2	<i>hakkak</i> <i>hamam</i>	1	<i>sünnetçi</i>	1
<i>tulumbacı</i>	9	<i>kapıcıbaşı</i>	2	<i>dellakı</i> <i>hamam</i>	1	<i>süvari katibi</i>	1
<i>gececi</i>	8	<i>hamam natırı</i> <i>iltizam geliri</i>	2	<i>müsteciri</i>	1	<i>süvari timarlısı</i>	1
<i>meykedeci</i> <i>muallim-i</i>	8	<i>sahibi</i>	2	<i>han odacısı</i>	1	<i>süvari zabtiye</i> <i>ustura</i>	1
<i>sıbyan</i>	8	<i>kavas</i>	2	<i>harir katibi</i>	1	<i>bileyicisi</i>	1
<i>tabi</i>	8	<i>kilise</i>	2	<i>hatib</i>	1	<i>vakıf kayyumu</i>	1
<i>ayvaz</i>	7	<i>mektep</i>	2	<i>ihtisab</i>	1	<i>zaviyedar</i>	1
<i>derviş</i>	7	<i>meyhaneci</i>	2	<i>imaret aşçısı</i>	1		

And finally the occupations in the transport and commerce in Bursa are:

<i>hamal</i>	69
<i>kiracı</i>	21
<i>beygirci</i>	20
<i>katırcı</i>	19
<i>deveci</i>	13
<i>koçucu</i>	12
<i>arabacı</i>	10
<i>küfeci</i>	10
<i>beygir kiracısı</i>	7
<i>tahıl hamalı</i>	6
<i>kalyoncu</i>	2
<i>sai</i>	2

<i>seyis</i>	2
<i>beygir hamalı</i>	1
<i>fodula hamalı</i>	1
<i>katır hizmetçisi</i>	1
<i>koçkeş</i>	2
<i>postahane sürücüsü</i>	1
<i>saki</i>	1

In this matter, the occupations in the primary sector and their quantity in Kütahya are:

<i>ziraatçı</i>	185
<i>bahçıvan</i>	73
<i>hatabkeş</i>	66
<i>dağcı</i>	57
<i>çoban</i>	41
<i>rencber</i>	21
<i>bağcı</i>	11
<i>sebzeci</i>	8
<i>baltacı</i>	7
<i>çiftçi</i>	6
<i>balıkçı</i>	5
<i>çıracı</i>	2
<i>haşhaş bağcısı</i>	2
<i>balık avcısı</i>	1
<i>meyveci</i>	1
<i>ondalıkçı</i>	1

The occupation concerning manufacture and industry in Kütahya are:

<i>tebaa</i>	186	<i>müezzin</i>	3	<i>mahalle kahyası</i>	1
<i>berber</i>	106	<i>sarraf</i>	3	<i>mahkeme katibi</i>	1
<i>imam</i>	67	<i>aza-yı meclis</i>	2	<i>mektef hocası</i>	1
<i>kahveci</i>	58	<i>bekçi</i>	2	<i>mimar</i>	1
<i>ırgat</i>	52	<i>eczacı</i>	2	<i>muvakkit</i>	1
<i>zabtiye</i>	44	<i>ferraş</i>	2	<i>müftü</i>	1
<i>asker</i>	38	<i>han odabaşısı</i>	2	<i>mültezim</i>	1
<i>attar</i>	38	<i>hattat</i>	2	<i>naib</i>	1
<i>timarlı zabtiye</i>	33	<i>hekim</i>	2	<i>nakibüleşref</i>	1
<i>timarlı süvari</i>	32	<i>kavas</i>	2	<i>kaymakamı</i>	1
<i>hizmetkar</i>	23	<i>mahkeme muhızı</i>	2	<i>odabaşı</i>	1
<i>tarla sahibi</i>	21	<i>nahiye naibi</i>	2	<i>paşa</i>	1
<i>muallim-i sıbyan</i>	20	<i>natır</i>	2	<i>saray kalfası</i>	1
<i>çiftlik sahibi</i>	15	<i>postnişin</i>	2	<i>saraydar</i>	1
<i>hamamcı</i>	15	<i>süvari zabtiye</i>	2	<i>sazcı</i>	1
			2	<i>sipahi</i>	1

<i>katip</i>	15	<i>tekye mütevellisi</i>	2	<i>sipahi zabtiyesi</i>	1
<i>derviş</i>	12	<i>timarlı cebelü</i>	2	<i>timar sahibi</i>	1
<i>müderris</i>	11	<i>topçu</i>	2	<i>zaim</i>	1
<i>dellak</i>	10	<i>ütücü</i>	2		
<i>şeyh</i>	9	<i>arzıhalci</i>	1		
<i>gececi</i>	8	<i>bacacı</i>	1		
<i>papaz</i>	8	<i>bostan bekçisi</i>	1		
<i>zabit</i>	7	<i>çalgıcı</i>	1		
<i>aşçı</i>	6	<i>çarşı bekçisi</i>	1		
<i>ders-i am</i>	6	<i>dikici dellalı</i>	1		
<i>muhtar</i>	6	<i>dökücü</i>	1		
<i>ölçekçi</i>	6	<i>hace-i divan</i>	1		
<i>vakıf mütevellisi</i>	6	<i>hafız</i>	1		
<i>hatib</i>	5	<i>hamam kafesdarı</i>	1		
<i>hancı</i>	4	<i>hane odabaşısı</i>	1		

The names of occupations and their quantity categorized as sellers, dealers and traders in Kütahya are:

<i>bakkal</i>	102	<i>bakkal hurdacısı</i>	3
<i>eskici</i>	70	<i>canbaz</i>	2
<i>bezirgân</i>	50	<i>esp dellalı</i>	2
<i>çerçi</i>	42	<i>oturakçı</i>	2
<i>ayak taciri</i>	32	<i>tüfekçi dellalı</i>	2
<i>tüccar</i>	32	<i>manifaturacı</i>	2
<i>bezzaz</i>	21	<i>sütçü</i>	2
<i>koltukçu</i>	19	<i>ahz u ita ile meluf</i>	1
<i>ayak tüccarı</i>	17	<i>bulgurcu</i>	1
<i>simitçi tablakarı</i>	6	<i>celeb</i>	1
<i>arasta dellalı</i>	5	<i>helvacı tablakarı</i>	1
<i>arpacı</i>	5	<i>nan-ı aziz tablakarı</i>	1
<i>hurdacı</i>	5	<i>sermayeli tüccar</i>	1
<i>tablakar</i>	5	<i>bakkal odalıkçısı</i>	1
<i>kömürcü</i>	4	<i>bohçacı</i>	1
<i>terzi eskicisi</i>	4	<i>börekçi tablakarı</i>	1
<i>ekmekçi tablakarı</i>	3		

The occupations in the public sector and occupations involving service in Kütahya are:

<i>tebaa</i>	186	<i>müezzin</i>	3	<i>mahalle kahyası</i>	1
<i>berber</i>	106	<i>sarraf</i>	3	<i>mahkeme katibi</i>	1
<i>imam</i>	67	<i>aza-yı meclis</i>	2	<i>mektepe hocası</i>	1
<i>kahveci</i>	58	<i>bekçi</i>	2	<i>mimar</i>	1
<i>ırgat</i>	52	<i>eczacı</i>	2	<i>muvakkit</i>	1
<i>zabtiye</i>	44	<i>ferraş</i>	2	<i>müftü</i>	1

<i>asker</i>	38	<i>han odabaşısı</i>	2	<i>mültezim</i>	1
<i>attar</i>	38	<i>hattat</i>	2	<i>naib</i>	1
<i>timarlı zabtiye</i>	33	<i>hekim</i>	2	<i>nakibüleşref kaymakamı</i>	1
<i>timarlı süvari</i>	32	<i>kavas</i>	2	<i>odabaşı</i>	1
<i>hizmetkar</i>	23	<i>mahkeme muhızı</i>	2	<i>paşa</i>	1
<i>tarla sahibi</i>	21	<i>nahiye naibi</i>	2	<i>saray kalfası</i>	1
<i>muallim-i sıbyan</i>	20	<i>natır</i>	2	<i>saraydar</i>	1
<i>çiftlik sahibi</i>	15	<i>postnişin</i>	2	<i>sazcı</i>	1
<i>hamamcı</i>	15	<i>süvari zabtiye</i>	2	<i>sipahi</i>	1
<i>katip</i>	15	<i>tekye mütevellisi</i>	2	<i>sipahi zabtiyesi</i>	1
<i>derviş</i>	12	<i>timarlı cebelü</i>	2	<i>timar sahibi</i>	1
<i>müderris</i>	11	<i>topçu</i>	2	<i>zaim</i>	1
<i>dellak</i>	10	<i>ütücü</i>	2		
<i>şeyh</i>	9	<i>arzıhalcı</i>	1		
<i>gececi</i>	8	<i>bacacı</i>	1		
<i>papaz</i>	8	<i>bostan bekçisi</i>	1		
<i>zabit</i>	7	<i>çalıcı</i>	1		
<i>aşçı</i>	6	<i>çarşı bekçisi</i>	1		
<i>ders-i am</i>	6	<i>dikici dellalı</i>	1		
<i>muhtar</i>	6	<i>dökücü</i>	1		
<i>ölçekçi</i>	6	<i>hace-i divan</i>	1		
<i>vakıf mütevellisi</i>	6	<i>hafız</i>	1		
<i>hatib</i>	5	<i>hamam kafesdarı</i>	1		
<i>hancı</i>	4	<i>hane odabaşısı</i>	1		
<i>camkos</i>	3	<i>kantarıcı</i>	1		
<i>dergah-ı ali gediklisi</i>	3	<i>kayyum</i>	1		
<i>muhzır</i>	3	<i>koltukçu dellalı</i>	1		
<i>mukataa sahibi</i>	3	<i>külhancı</i>	1		

The occupations concerning transport and communication in Kütahya are:

<i>hamuleci</i>	28
<i>hamal</i>	17
<i>kiracı</i>	10
<i>arabacı</i>	7
<i>sai</i>	5
<i>seyis</i>	4
<i>gemici</i>	3
<i>katırcı</i>	3
<i>sürücü</i>	3
<i>akkam</i>	1
<i>mektupçu</i>	1

In the case of Vranje, the occupations in the primary sector and their quantity are:

<i>ziraatçı</i>	158
<i>bahçıvan</i>	22
<i>oduncu</i>	8
<i>bağban</i>	5
<i>çoban</i>	4

The occupations concerning with manufacture and industry in Vranje are:

<i>urgancı</i>	119
<i>terzi</i>	84
<i>nalband</i>	42
<i>mutaf</i>	35
<i>körükçü</i>	33
<i>debbağ</i>	20
<i>semerci</i>	11
<i>değirmenci</i>	10
<i>papuççu</i>	8
<i>boyacı</i>	7
<i>yemenici</i>	7
<i>dülger</i>	6
<i>asiyabgir</i>	4
<i>duhancı</i>	4
<i>fıçıcı</i>	4
<i>saraç</i>	4
<i>tüfekçi</i>	4
<i>doğramacı</i>	3
<i>nanvan</i>	3
<i>çömlekçi</i>	2
<i>çubukçu</i>	2
<i>kuyumcu</i>	2
<i>sanna-i nalın</i>	2
<i>enfiyeci</i>	1
<i>fistancı</i>	1
<i>haffaf</i>	1
<i>kasap</i>	1
<i>kazgancı</i>	1
<i>takkeci</i>	1

The occupations concerned with selling, dealing and trade in Vranje are:

<i>bakkal</i>	54
<i>tüccar</i>	22
<i>sütçü</i>	5
<i>çerçi</i>	3
<i>eskici</i>	2

The occupations in the public sector and in associated with services in Vranje are:

<i>hizmetkar</i>	211 ¹⁵⁶
<i>timarlı süvari</i>	94
<i>meyhaneci</i>	32
<i>çiftlik sahibi</i>	27
<i>berber</i>	20
<i>timarlı zabtiye</i>	20
<i>ırgat</i>	13
<i>muhtar</i>	8
<i>imam</i>	6
<i>papaz</i>	6
<i>sekbân</i>	5
<i>hamamcı</i>	4
<i>kahveci</i>	4
<i>kavas</i>	4
<i>müezzin</i>	4
<i>aşçı</i>	3
<i>dellak</i>	3
<i>ruhban</i>	3
<i>attar</i>	1
<i>günlükçü</i>	1
<i>hancı</i>	1
<i>hekim</i>	1
<i>kantaracı</i>	1
<i>muallim-i sıbyan</i>	1
<i>natır</i>	1

And the occupations concerned with transport in Vranje are:

<i>arabacı</i>	28
<i>kiracı</i>	6
<i>hatabkeş</i>	1

¹⁵⁶ Although the classification of occupations PST let us categorize *hizmetkâr* / servants in the tertiary service sector, we are aware that they were working in the account of wealthy inhabitants and employed mainly in the agricultural activities in addition to the domestic services and industrial activities. (Tevfik Güran argued that *hizmetkâr*s from *temettu'at* registers were working in the agriculture. See Güran, "Osmanlı Tarım Ekonomisi 1840-1910", *Türk İktisat Tarihi Yıllığı 1987*, İstanbul, 1987, 225-303, 252. Hence the weight of the service in the Figure 11. Occupational Sectors in Vranje has to be taken into account with a shared distribution with the primary sector.

One important theme to be pointed out is the high number of *timarlı* soldiers and the *timar* owners especially in Kütahya and Vranje. Recent literature indicates that Ottoman state substituted *timar* lands with tax farming in the 17th and most particularly in the 18th century and the *timar* system was completely abolished by Mahmud II in 1831.¹⁵⁷ But other sources indicate also that the abolishment period of *timar* system which started with the decree of Mahmud II in 1831 and although the system was ended *de jure*, the traces of this institution remained until the Land Law of 1858 and in many places until the early 20th century.¹⁵⁸ In this matter, we can see in virtue of *temettu'at* registers that *timar* was quite common in Kütahya and Vranje with a proportionally high levels of income and presumably low duties to be supplied to the State in return of the lands granted. This is also an instance where we can repose the question of the center and the periphery and assert that Kütahya and Vranje were a peripheries due to the high presence of bureaucracy and *timar* holders.

When we want to use these exhaustive lists of occupations for pointing out the occupations performed primarily by certain ethnicities, we find out that in Bursa, Muslims were practicing more dominantly occupations such as:¹⁵⁹ *rençber* (laborer) [258 out of 407 were Muslims, 102 individuals were Orthodox Christians and 47 were Armenians], *dolapçı* (textile manufacture) [266 out of 270 were Muslims], *dikici* (sewers, shoes) [174 out of 253 were Muslims, 37 were Orthodox Christians 25 were Armenians, and 17 were Catholic Armenians] *berber* [123 out of 185 were Muslims and 54 were Armenians], *oduncu* (wood cutter) [125 out of 126 were Muslims], *eskici* (seller of old clothes) [86 out of 108 were Muslims and 16 were Armenians], *kasap* (butcher) [54 out of 75 were Muslims and 18 were Jews], *nalband* (farrier) [74 out of 74 were Muslims], *debbağ* (tanner) [68 out of 68 were Muslims] *demirci* (blacksmith) [59 out of 63 were Muslims]; Armenians were carrying out dominantly the following professions: *Terzi* (tailor) [162 out of 251 were Armenians, 33 were Jews and Orthodox Christians, and 19 were Armenian Catholics], *bezzaz* (textile merchant) [114 out of 136 were Armenians, and 13 were Muslims], *doğramacı* (carpenter) [82 out of 95 were Armenians, and 9 were Muslims], *basmacı* (textile) [54 out of 70 were Armenians, and 13 were Muslims], *çilingir* (locksmith) [65 out of

¹⁵⁷ Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Historical Dictionary of the Ottoman Empire*, The Scarecrow Press, Lanham, Maryland and Oxford, 2003, 299.

¹⁵⁸ H. Veli Aydın, “Tımar Sisteminin Kaldırılması Süreci ve Bazı Değerlendirmeler”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, 12, Ankara, 2001.

¹⁵⁹ For the list of different occupation titles and the weight of ethnicities practicing them, see appendice of this study.

65 were Armenians], *kapamacı* (ready-made clothes) [57 out of 59 were Armenians], *kuyumcu* (goldsmith) [38 out of 58 were Armenians, 9 were Catholic Armenians, and 11 were Orthodox Christians]; Orthodox Christians were practicing the occupations of *sandalcı* (silk manufacturer) [148 out of 187 were Orthodox Christians, 34 were Armenians, and 5 were Muslims], *dülger* (joiner) [91 out of 116 were Orthodox Christians, 18 were Armenians, and 5 were Muslims], *bakkal* (grocer) [37 out of 48 were Orthodox Christians, 7 were Armenian Catholics, and 4 were Muslims]; and Jews were mainly *kazzaz* (silk manufacturer) [50 out of 86 were Jews, and 36 were Muslims], *çerçi* (peddler) [43 out of 52 were Jews, and 7 were Armenians].

In Kütahya, the occupations practiced by Muslims were *dikici* (sewers, shoes) [228 out of 246 were Muslims, and 14 were Armenians], *berber* [95 out of 106 were Muslims, and 8 were Catholic Armenians], *bakkal* (grocer) [95 out of 102 were Muslims, 4 were Armenian Catholics, and 3 were Armenians], *ziraatçi* (agriculturist) [184 out of 185 were Muslims], *debbağ* (tanner) [92 out of 92 were Muslims], *demirci* (blacksmith) [88 out of 89 were Muslims], *bahçıvan* (gardener) [72 out of 73 were Muslims], *hatabkeş* (wood cutter) [66 out of 66 were Muslims], *kahveci* (coffee maker) [58 out of 58 were Muslims], *dağcı* (wood cutter in mountains) [57 out of 57 were Muslims], *nalband* (farrier) [51 out of 51 were Muslims]; Armenians were practicing mainly following occupations: *Terzi* (tailor) [137 out of 288 were Armenians, 96 were Orthodox Christians, and 53 were Catholic Armenians] *kuyumcu* (goldsmith) [38 out of 56 were Armenians, and 18 were Catholic Armenians]; and Orthodox Christians were predominantly *yapıcı* (builder) [139 out of 178 were Orthodox Christians, 14 were Muslims, 13 were Catholic Armenians, and 12 were Armenians], *bakırcı* (coppersmith) [52 out of 52 were Orthodox Christians], *bezirgân* (merchant) [40 out of 50 were Orthodox Christians].

If we have a look at the ethnic portrait of occupation in Vranje, we observe that Muslims were practicing occupations of *ziraatçi* (agriculturist) [106 out of 158 were Muslims, and 52 were Orthodox Christians], *nalband* (farrier) [42 out of 42 were Muslims], *berber* [20 out of 20 were Muslims], *debbağ* (tanner) [20 out of 20 were Muslims]; and Orthodox Christians on the other hand were dominant in the following occupations: *Urgancı* (rope maker) [119 out of 119 were Orthodox Christians], *muytab* (goat wollen cloth maker) [35 out of 35 were Orthodox Christians], *meyhaneci* (tavern keeper) [32 out of 32 were Orthodox Christians], *bahçıvan* (gardener) [22 out of 22 were Orthodox Christians].

Ethnic division of labor has always been an ongoing debate concerning the Ottoman Empire's labor market. The postulates proposed that certain occupations had been performed chiefly by certain ethnicities. The pioneering scholar of Ottoman labor history Donald Quataert argued in

his article about the textile workers in the Ottoman Empire that this was a stereotypical reaction of the writers and he noted: “While certain ethnic or religious groups did dominate certain forms of labor in particular regions, they did not do so for any industry in the empire as a whole.”¹⁶⁰ However, at least we can mention a partial ethnic division of labor using our data from *temettu’at* for certain occupations: For the Muslims of three cities: Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje, we observe that *rencbers* / *ziraatçis* (agriculturists), *nalbands* (farriers), and *debbağs* (tanners) were mainly Muslims, and for Bursa and Kütahya we can mention an ethnic division of labor in terms of the strong majority of Muslims among *dikici*¹⁶¹ (sewers -mainly shoes-) and *oduncus* / *hatabkeşs* (wood cutters).

Bursa	Kütahya	Vranje
Rencber (258/407)	Ziraatçi (184/185)	Ziraatçi (106/158)
Nalband (74/74)	Nalband (51/51)	Nalband (42/42)
Debbağ (68/68)	Debbağ (92/92)	Debbağ (20/20)
Dikici (174/253)	Dikici (228/246)	
Oduncu (125/126)	Hatabkeş (66/66)	
Demirci (59/63)	Demirci (88/89)	

Figure 13. Ethnic Division of Labor of Muslims in Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje, and the Rate of These Occupation Titles.

In this manner, concerning the Armenians of Bursa and Kütahya, one can observe a dominance among the occupations of *terzis* (tailors), *kuyumcu* (goldsmiths).

Bursa	Kütahya
Terzi (162/251)	Terzi (137/288)
Kuyumcu (38/58)	Kuyumcu (38/56)

Figure 14. Ethnic Division of Labor of Armenians in Bursa and Kütahya, and the Rate of These Occupation Titles.

¹⁶⁰ Donald Quataert, “Textile Workers in the Ottoman Empire, 1650–1922” (paper presented at the conference on “A Global History of Textile Workers 1650–2000”, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 11–13 November 2004), 11.

¹⁶¹ In this matter I was proposing a linguistic differentiation between *dikici* (mainly Muslims) and *terzi* (mainly Armenians), yet Suraiya Faroqhi corrected my generalization for good reason and pointed out that *dikicis* were mainly shoe sewers.

These findings do not demonstrate an absolute ethnic division of labor, yet at least we can state for 3 cities that agriculture was a Muslim activity, likewise manufacturers such as farriers, tanners were Muslims and in the scope of two cities, Bursa and Kütahya, we observe that shoe sewers, woodcutters and blacksmiths were Muslims. I interpret this ethnical specialization as a result of the guild organizations that had very early roots named *ahis*¹⁶² most particularly concerning the tanners, farriers and blacksmiths; yet, one cannot deduct a criterion of an ethnic division of labor for the whole Ottoman Empire with a dataset of a particular time period and a concerning a particular territory.

The case of the female bread winners of the Ottoman Empire is a growing topic and for instance Haim Gerber pointed out using the court records of Bursa from the 17th century that contrary to the popular belief, women were quite active in the economic life in terms of at less the personal properties.¹⁶³

Unfortunately *temettu 'at* registers do not provide considerable information about women living in the territories where the tax survey was performed because the survey was conducted on the basis of the head of the households were males except for some cases such as the death of the male head of the household or that the female inhabitant of the house possessed certain income or properties.

In Vranje, not a single woman was recorded in the *temettu 'at* registers. In Bursa 457 women were recorded who were widowers, or possessing some incomes. Among these I encountered 2 women who according to the records practiced occupations. The first one was an Armenian from the Kayganzade neighborhood named “Kirkor zevcesi Ana (Ana the wife of Kirkor)” and she was a *balıkçı* (fisher)¹⁶⁴ and the second was also an Armenian from the same neighborhood

¹⁶² “İslâm ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilâtı ve Kaynakları”, *Istanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XI (1949–50): 3-354.

¹⁶³ Haim Gerber, “Social and Economic Position of Women in an Ottoman City, Bursa, 1600-1700” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 12, 3 (Nov., 1980), pp. 231-244. There have been significant contributions to the literature concerning the women workers of the Ottoman Empire such as:

Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, “The Role of Women in the Urban Economy of Istanbul, 1700–1850”, *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 60 (2001), pp. 141–152; and Gülhan Balsoy, “Gendering Ottoman Labor History: The Cibali Régie Factory in the Early Twentieth Century”, *IRSH* 54 (2009), Supplement, pp. 45–68.

¹⁶⁴ ML. VRD. TMT. 7503.

named “Acıkurşun zevcesi Meryem (Meryem the wife of Acıkurşun)”¹⁶⁵ again who was a *kirpas dokuyucu* (weaver) and both of these women claimed zero for the preceding year and either of the both claimed any property.

In Kütahya 26 women were recorded in the *temettu‘at* registers. There were two among these who had claimed professions: The first one is a Muslim woman from the neighborhood of Bölücek,¹⁶⁶ she was the sister of a Hasan, and she was a *bohçacı* (peddler of cloths) and she claimed a yearly income of 300 kuruş; the second one was an Armenian from the Büyük Orta neighborhood,¹⁶⁷ who we encounter only the name of his husband Gonca Karna (Gonca Karna Zevcesi), and who was an *ırgat* / agricultural laborer, who had the yearly income of 200 kuruş. Neither of these women had any properties or incomes other than those that they generated from their occupations.

In the preceding chapter, we observed that the earlier population censuses had not mentioned the female inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire and the State had started to record them as late as the last decades of the 19th century. *Temettu‘at* registers provide information about women at least living in Bursa and Kütahya, in the case when they were acquiring any income. Yet this underrepresentation was demonstrated as the means of the family and marital bounds women formed with males and in many cases the names of these women were not mentioned and they were mentioned as the wife, daughter or sometimes although rarely as mothers of certain male individuals. This representation is way too far from adequate for commenting and analyzing the demographic weight of females and their participation in the labor markets and they remain as a legal and marital subjects represented in the court registers in the earlier centuries.¹⁶⁸

Before starting the new chapter, I want to investigate the particular case of the *muhtars* who were called as abovementioned “non-Weberian civil servant” by Elise Massicard.¹⁶⁹ Although they were even part of the performance of *temettu‘at* survey and last page of every registers were sealed by two *muhtars* in the neighborhoods in addition to the imams (religious leaders in non-Muslim neighborhoods), administrative role of these individuals were not time consuming; a proposition which can be attested with the availability of secondary occupations. Among the

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ ML. VRD. TMT. 8738.

¹⁶⁷ ML. VRD. TMT. 8749.

¹⁶⁸ Başak Tuğ, “Ottoman Women as Legal and Marital Subjects”, in *The Ottoman World*, edited by Christine Woodhead, London and New York: Routledge (2012).

¹⁶⁹ Elise Massicard, “The Incomplete Civil Servant?”

9 *muhtars* in Vranje the only non-Muslim resided in the Saka Çelebi neighborhood and he was a *kürekçi* (digger). In Kütahya I identified 13 *muhtars*, all of them were Muslims; and 7 of these had secondary economic activities such as farming, gardening, bath and inn keeping, cobbling, and felt making.

In Bursa there resided 162 *muhtars*, among which 109 were Muslims, and 53 were non-Muslims. 156 *muhtars* in Bursa had secondary occupations or it's rather more proper to claim that being a *muhtar* was there secondary assignment. They were chosen among the employees of the textile and more precisely silk industry, and most of them had high incomes. Others were barbers, carpenters, cobblers, saddlers, farmers, grocers, goldsmiths, locksmiths, tailors, or tavern keepers for instance. These *muhtars* were registered as the first and second entries in the *defters* yet apparently their social identity as laborers were stronger than their superimposed administrative identity at least in the case of Bursa during the mid-19th century.

Chapter 3: Taxes, Income, and Distribution of Income, and Some Notable Individuals in Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje According to *Temettu‘at* Registers

*Bizüm il bâzîrgânî hîç assı gözetmedi
Çün assı bizüm degül ziyânî yağmâya virdük*
Yunûs Emre

In this chapter, I will focus on the *vergi-yi mahsûsa* (the special tax), because it is a tax calculated according to the estimated yearly income and the value of properties and assets of an individual. The aim of creating this new tax was to abolish the system of collecting assigned taxes and collecting taxes from every individual according to the properties they possessed and the income and profits they generated, hence according to the economic capacities of every tax payers.¹⁷⁰

Yet it is a quite difficult matter to decipher the individuals who had exemption from paying taxes. Before 1840’s CE, Muslim and non-Muslim religious functionaries were left out of the scope of taxes. However, during the surveys of post-Tanzimat these individuals were also assigned taxes;¹⁷¹ those also who had were not paying taxes according to the official warrants they had but for instance a tax collector from Ermenek, el-Hac Mehmed Sadık Bey sent a petition to the capital, demanding to collect taxes from these people.¹⁷² When we study the registers we observe that some of them paid taxes and some of them were not assigned any tax. Those who were exempt from the tax were orphans, elder people, blinds, disables, or mentally disabled (*mecnûn*), and these individuals were recorded to sustain with the support of others.¹⁷³ At the same time, it is not easy to decompound those who were exempt from taxes or the tax ratios, since although it was around the 10 % of the annual income estimated by the tax collectors, this ratio was not fixed and there are many cases that two individuals with the same ethnicities and from the same places, performing same occupations, with the total same yearly incomes and possessing equivalent (or not any) properties paying different amount of income

¹⁷⁰ “[H]erkesin mutasarrıf olduğu emlak ve arazi-i mevcûdesinin menâfîi ve temettuat-ı hasılasına ve kâr ve ticaret ve iktidarına ve ‘l-hâsıl hâl ve tahammüllerinin derecesine göre virgü namıyla” Süleyman Sudi, *Defter-i Muktesid*, I, Istanbul, 1307, 78. Quoted in Nuri Adıyeke, “Temettuat Sayımları ve Bu Sayımları Düzenleyen Nizamname Örnekleri” 771.

¹⁷¹ Nuri Adıyeke, *op. cit.*, 775.

¹⁷² B.O.A. Cevdet Dahiliye, 1497, (August 29, 1840 CE). Quoted by Adıyeke, *ibid.*

¹⁷³ “Şunun bunun ianesiyle geçinirler” Nuri Adıyeke, *op. cit.*, 782.

tax. Another point is that, the amount of the tax was not always positively correlated with the income. It is again easy to detect that the highest tax payers were Muslim and non-Muslim merchants and land owners but there exist cases when individuals with high incomes were assigned low level of taxes or when an individual had to pay a very high proportion of tax; for instance an Orthodox Christian residing in the neighborhood of Kayabaşı in Bursa, Toma veled Tanaş who was a *kumaşçı* (cloth merchant) had an annual income of 6000 kuruş from his trade and 80 kuruş of an annual revenue from his garden but he apparently paid an income tax of 1210 kuruş which was almost 20 % of his total income.¹⁷⁴

The annual revenue estimated by the tax collectors taking into account the tax payer's annual revenue from his occupation and the revenue from his assets such as the lands and gardens he cultivated or rented, or animals he possessed or shops he rented, is a very dubious number and it has to be evaluated with a very high level of precaution. Ertan Gökmen pointed out the monthly income of the 64 tax collectors employed in the *Sancağ* of Saruhan during the realization of the survey of *temettu'at*, were scattered between 80 kuruş and 400 kuruş, and most of them earned between 100 and 250 kuruş.¹⁷⁵ Although it is acceptable that a tax collector had an income more than higher revenue, if we compare the average income in our three cities with the annual average revenue of a tax collector pointed out by Ertan Gökmen, which is roughly 4000 kuruş, we will encounter either a strong sign of an under payment or an under declaration of revenue, since the average annual revenue that I calculated for Bursa was 611 kuruş, for Kütahya 321 kuruş, and for Vranje it was 613 kuruş. Yet still, I must admit that these numbers are very slippery and they have to be handled with precaution.

When we deconstruct this average yearly revenue into average revenues according to ethnicity, we observe that the Muslims in each city earned very close to the total average revenue. In Bursa Jews had an average revenue lower than the general average revenue, Armenians had

¹⁷⁴ ML. VRD. TMT. 7523, 15.

¹⁷⁵ Ertan Gökmen, "Saruhan Sancağında Temettuat Tahriri", *Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 45, 2008; 73-90, 77. He used an expenditure register from Prime Minister's Ottoman Archive from the year 1264 H / 1848 CE, (ML. MSF. 8222).

revenues very similar to the average revenue and Catholics¹⁷⁶ and Orthodox Christians had higher revenues than the average.¹⁷⁷

Armenians	600
Catholics	990
Jews	526
Orthodox Christians	758
Muslims	610

Figure 15. Average Annual Revenues according to Ethnicity in Bursa

In Kütahya Armenians and Catholics had revenues lower than the average and Orthodox Christians earned slightly above the average.

Armenians	266
Catholics	245
Orthodox Christians	335
Muslims	332

Figure 16. Average Annual Revenues according to Ethnicity in Kütahya

In Vranje Orthodox Christians earned below the average and Muslims earned above the average.

Orthodox Christians	571
Muslims	657

Figure 17. Average Annual Revenues according to Ethnicity in Kütahya

¹⁷⁶ As demonstrated before, Catholics formed a very small population in Bursa and they were presumably Armenians.

¹⁷⁷ Dilek Akyalçın Kaya demonstrated in her recent study, the distribution of capital and the levels of poverty in Salonica among the Jewish and Orthodox Christian inhabitants of the city using the three categories of *cizye* / polltax. See: Akyalçın Kaya, “Les Conditions Economiques et les Caractéristiques démographiques des Juifs Saloniciens au Milieu du XIX^e Siècle” in *Salonique, ville juive, ville ottomane, ville grecque*, (ed.) Esther Benbassa, Paris: CNRS Editions, 2014, p. 19-48.

Since these average annual revenue numbers are not significantly representative, I also created 6 different income clusters to observe the distribution of income levels in three cities:

Income Clusters	Bursa	Kütahya	Vranje
0	803	1639	28
1-50	242	38	9
50-300	1278	1773	156
301-750	3868	1220	847
751-1500	1081	319	172
1500-	487	101	45
Total population	7759	5090	1257

The individuals with “0” income were mainly those who did not have any occupation because they were too old or too young, or they had sickness or incapacities to practice any occupation, yet the high number of individuals with “0” income in Kütahya is also related with the that the inhabitants of non-Muslims neighborhoods were recorded according to categories of the *cizye* / poll tax they paid and thus these non-Muslim males most often claimed that they were *çırak-kalfa* (apprentice or assistants) to their parents yet they did not generate any annual personal income.

We can use these 6 different clusters according to the amount of income to determine the under payment or an existence of a possible middle revenue holders.

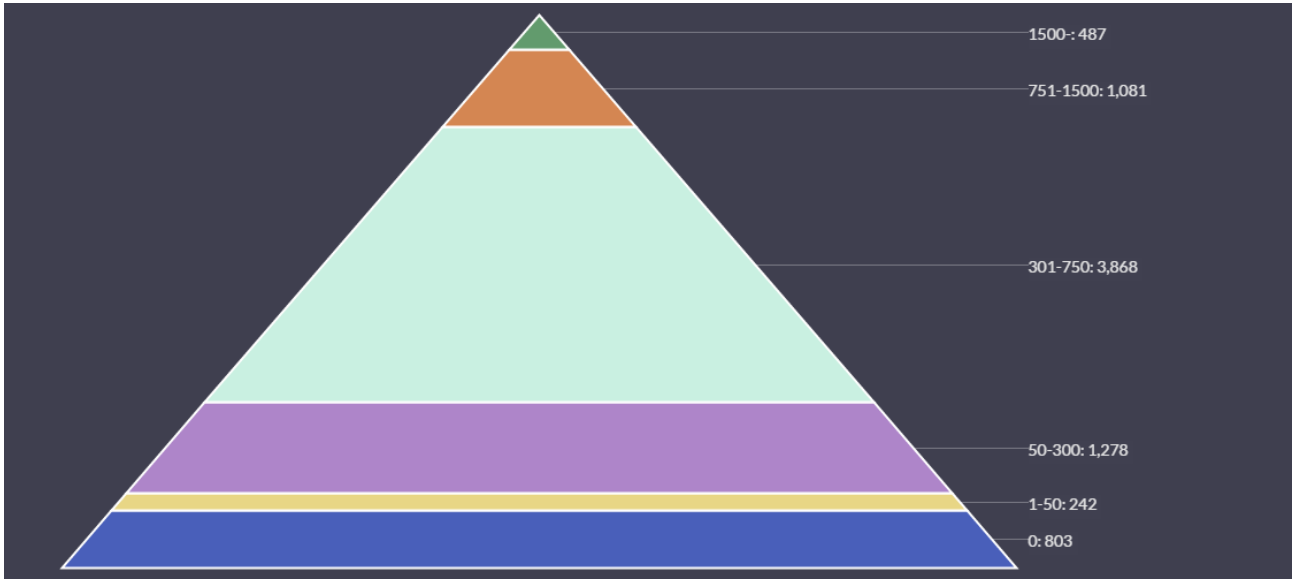


Figure 18. Income Clusters of Bursa

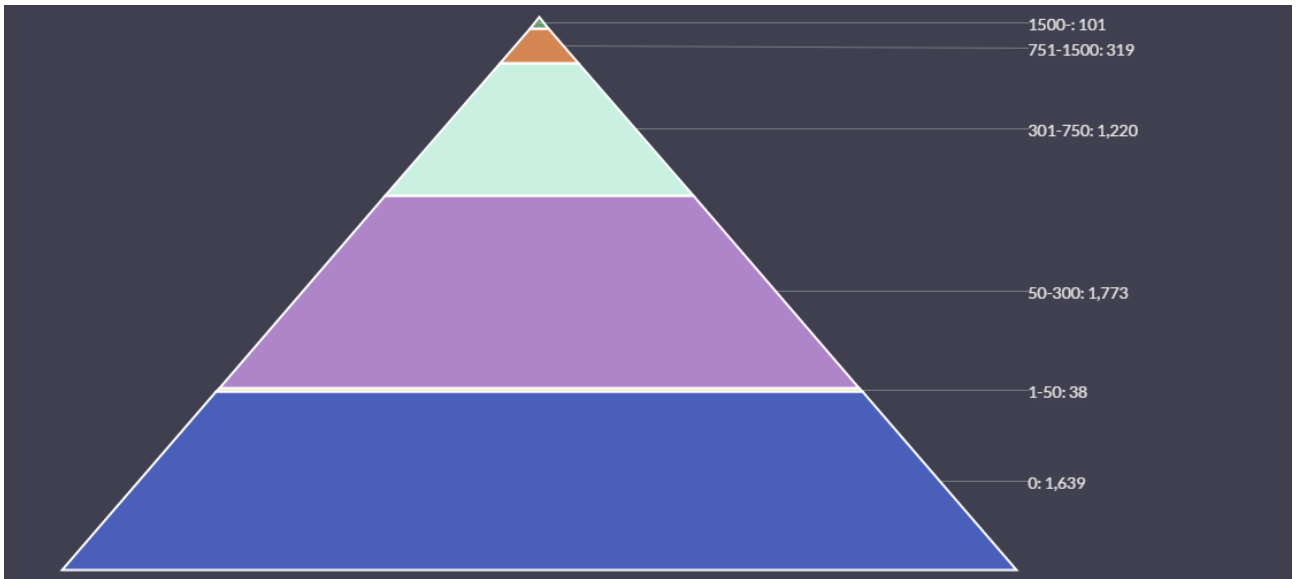


Figure 19. Income Clusters of Kütahya

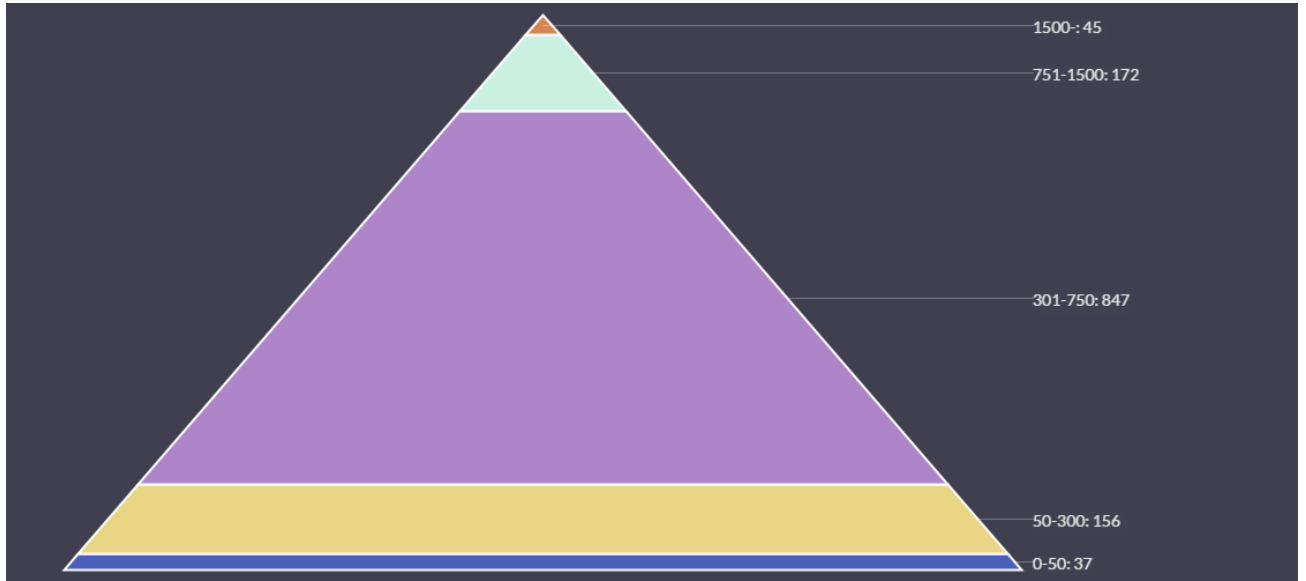


Figure 20. Income Clusters of Vranje

We can perceive from the income clusters and clusters pyramids that in Bursa the majority of the population recorded in the *temettu'at* registers were in the purple zone which indicates a relatively upper-middle income; in the case of Kütahya we observe a concentration in the lowest and lower-middle income clusters, and in Vranje there is a distinguishable weight in the relatively upper-middle income zone.

In terms of the wealth distribution and income inequality, there exists many methods such as the Gini coefficient created using Lorenz Curve;¹⁷⁸ in this matter I calculated the rate of total income control by the top 1 % wealthiest individuals in every city. Lower ratios indicate a more egalitarian distribution of income. The results are 13 % for Bursa, 16 % for Kütahya and 9,5 % for Vranje.

When we decipher the occupations with the highest annual incomes, we observe that in Bursa, the highest income holders were the *aza-yı meclis* / member of the local council, *Avrupa tüccarı* / overseas trader, *sarraı* / money lender, and other merchants of textile and silk. *Postnişins* / sufi order leaders were also among highest income earners; in the case of Kütahya, the highest income was generated by the sufi order leaders, *sarraı* / money lenders, *timar* holders, *çiftlik sahibi* / farm owners, *bezirgân* / merchants, *vakıf mütevellisi* / pious foundation administrator and *perdahçı* / burnisher; for Vranje *tüccar* / merchants were the ones with the highest income, *çiftlik sahibi* / farm owners, *meyhaneci* / tavern keepers, *hamamcı* / bath keepers, and *çerçi* /

¹⁷⁸ Hülya Canbakal uses Gini coefficient to determine the inequality in Bursa using the probate inventories, see:

Hülya Canbakal, "Wealth and Inequality in Ottoman Bursa, 1500-1840."

peddlers were also the highest earners in the city. *Attars* / herbalists were among the highest earners of all three cities.

Bursa		Kütahya		Vranje	
aza-yı meclis	12713	postnişin	3193	tüccar	1283
avrupa tüccarı	6405	sarraf	2900	çiftlik sahibi	929
sarraf	5983	tımar sahibi	1864	meyhaneci	851
harir tüccarı	5903	şeyh	1648	attar	740
postnişin	2835	çiftlik sahibi	1473	hamamcı	700
kumaşçı	2406	bezirgân	1206	çerçi	650
urgancı	1932	vakıf mütevellisi	1145	bakkal	639
attar	1264	bezzaz	683	tımar sahibi	579
bakkal	1263	perdahçı	623	urgancı	538
abacı	1245	attar	547	debbağ	511

Figure 21. Occupations with the highest annual incomes in Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje.

In terms of the individuals with the highest annual incomes, in Bursa Ispartalı İbrahim Paşa living in the neighborhood named after him, had the highest income of 90000 kuruş with his salary from the ministry of finance (*Mâliye Hazîne-i Celilesinden maaş*). The second one is Seviye veled-i Kirkor a member of the Catholic community of Bursa, and he had an annual income of 31855 kuruş commissioning (*mubaya'acı*), then comes İplikçi oğlu Aleko veled-i Benako, who resided in the neighborhood of Balıkçık and who declared an annual revenue of 15700 kuruş he made as a foreign trader (*Avrupa tüccarı*), the fourth one was a silk trader (*harir tüccarı*). Es-Seyyid Abdurrahman Efendi, who declared an annual revenue of 15000 kuruş.

In Kütahya, the individual with the highest income was a tax farmer (mültezim), who lived in the Şehreküstü neighborhood and who declared an annual income of 10701 kuruş. The second one was Yemişçizâde Sâlih Ağa, from Cemaleddin neighborhood and who was a cobbler (*haffaf*), yet he declared his annual revenue of 8351 kuruş from his tax farm (*malikâne*). Third one was a land owner from Pirlar neighborhood, Müftüzade es-Seyyid İbrahim Edhem Bey, who declared an annual revenue of 6653 kuruş; and the last one was a merchant named Karabet oğlu Karabet, who lived in the Şehreküstü neighborhood and who made an annual revenue of 6451 kuruş. For instance the members of the Germiyan family who were always active in the social life of Kütahya after the Ottomanization of the city, but who never became the primary power in the territory,¹⁷⁹ were four in the *temettu'at* registers: Germiyanzade Mehmed Ağa who

¹⁷⁹ Murat Dağlı, *Kutahya in the Eighteenth Century*, 201-222.

lived in the Meydan neighborhood and who was a *vakıf mütevellisi* (pious foundation administrator) and who had an annual income of 1570 kuruş; Germiyanzade Ali Ağa, who lived in the İshak Fakih neighborhood, who was an *aza-yı meclis-i memleket* (member of the city council), and who had an annual income of 1937,5, Germiyanzade Mustafa Ağa who also lived in the same neighborhood and who was a *vakıf mütevellisi* (pious foundation administrator) and who had an annual income of 2044 kuruş; and Germiyanzade Yakub Ağa who as well lived in the neighborhood of İshak Fakih, who was an *ulufedar* (salary holder) with his annual *ulufe* of 1200 kuruş.

In Vranje highest income holders were the three sons of the governor Hüseyin Paşa, who allegedly tyrannized the non-Muslim locals;¹⁸⁰ all three lived in the Durmuş Bey neighborhood and they were all *ashâb-ı zirâ'at* (agriculturist – land owner); Süleyman Bey bin Hüseyin Paşa had an annual income of 22509 kuruş, his brother Atâullah Bey had an annual income of 14353 kuruş, and the other brother Hurşid Bey had an income of 7178. The highest non-Muslim annual income holder was Şoli veled-i Yorgi, with an annual income of 2734 kuruş, who was a *meyhaneci* (tavern keeper).

Şeyhs, Müderris, Writers and Bureaucrats

Although the highest income holders in Ottoman cities were merchants or high leveled bureaucrats, *temettu'at* registers provide us vast amount of information concerning the presence of Muslim scholars and *şeyhs*. We know that both in Bursa and Kütahya, there existed many *medreses* and dervish lodges and *temettu'at* is a good source for determining their members and locations. Unfortunately for Vranje, our registers give us information about Muslim and non-Muslim religious functionaries such as *imams* and priests yet we don't have any information about the presence of *medreses* or dervish lodges.

For instance in the neighborhood of İstabl-ı Bayezid Paşa (ML.VRD.TMT. 7519), in the *hane* number 40 lived eş-Şeyh Seyyid Mehmed Efendi ibn-i Ahmed, who was the *postnişîn* of Seyyid Usûl Zaviye which was a *Celvetiye* lodge,¹⁸¹ he had an annual salary of 6000 kuruş for the expenses of his lodge and also a salary of 600 kuruş from the Treasury of Ministry of Pious Foundations (*Evkaf-ı Humâyûn Hazinesi*), in return he did not pay any tax. We also see that his

¹⁸⁰ Cengiz Kırılı, "Tyranny Illustrated - From Petition to Rebellion in Ottoman Vranje"

¹⁸¹ Mustafa Kara, "Bursa Tekkeleri ve Tasavvufî Hayat Üzerine Genel Bir Değerlendirme", *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 2, 2, 88.

wife Fatıma Hatun was also recorded because she had a vineyard (*bağ*) with an annual income of 40, she paid her tithe as 4 kuruş but she didn't either pay income tax. We learn that Şeyh Mehmed Efendi died in Istanbul in the Ramazan of 1260 H and he was buried in Nakkaştepe in Istanbul.¹⁸²

In the neighborhood of Veziri (ML.VRD.TMT. 7556) lived es-Seyyid el-Hac Mehmed Efendi ibn-i Abdülkadir in the 4th *hane* who was the *postnişîn* of Astâne-I Feyzi Aşbânî (?), he had a yearly salary of 6240 kuruş from the Financial Treasury (*Maliye Hazine-i Celilesinden*) for the expenses of his dervishes and a salary of 276 kuruş also from the Bursa treasury (*Bursa Mizan Hazinesi*), he either did not pay any tax.

In the neighborhood of Abdurrezak (ML.VRD.TMT. 7364) lived in the first *hane*, who was the *zaviyedâr* of Hazret-i Yunus Emrem dervish lodge.¹⁸³ He had incomes of 254 kuruş from his duties as *imam* and preacher and he had also a garden of 2 decares which brought him 45 kuruş a year. He didn't pay any income tax, yet he paid 4,5 kuruş as tithe.

In the neighborhood of Enarlı (ML.VRD.TMT. 7367), in the *hane* 4, lived es-Seyyid Şeyh Mehmed Fahreddin Efendi ibn-i Ahmed Şerefeddin Efendi who was the *postnişîn* of Enarlı Halvetiyye lodge.¹⁸⁴ He had an annual income of 2400 kuruş from financial treasury, 120 kuruş from Bursa treasury, and 600 kuruş from Ministry of Pious Foundations, he didn't pay any tax either.

In the Sariabdullah neighborhood (ML.VRD.TMT. 7373), lived in the *hane* 4, the *şeyh* of Sarı Abdullah *Zaviye*, es-Seyyid Mehmed Hafız Sadık Efendi ibn-I Hacı Mehmed. He received 5400 kuruş for the expenses of his dervishes from the financial treasure, 600 kuruş from the Ministry of Pious Foundations and 360 kuruş from the Bursa treasury. He also received 80 kuruş for his *imamlık* duty and also 100 kuruş from his mill, he paid no tax either.

In the neighborhood of İncirlice (ML.VRD.TMT. 7429), lived in the first *hane*, el-Hac Mehmed Nafiz Efendi, who was the *postnişîn* Eşrefzâde *Dergâh* which was a Kadirî lodge.¹⁸⁵ He received 7275 kuruş for his *vakfs*, 733 kuruş for his *imamet* duty, 500 kuruş from his mulberry gardens, 30 kuruş from his vineyard, and 2000 kuruş from his two sided *hamam*. He didn't pay

¹⁸² Hasan Basri Öcalan, "Seyyid Usûl Dergâhı ve Meşâyıha Ait Mezar Taşları" *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 18, 2, 2009, 270.

¹⁸³ Mustafa Kara, *op. cit.* 88. The name of this lodge appears as Yunus Emre in Kara's list.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

any income tax and he paid 50 kuruş tithe for silk and 3 kuruş for grape. This information shows also that he was participating in the silk production.

In the neighborhood of Ali Paşa (ML.VRD.TMT. 7441), in the *hane* 7 lived Hacı İbrahim Edhem Efendi ibn-i Hasan, who was the *şeyh* of Çarşamba *Zaviye*, which was Halvetî neighborhood having the gathering day on Wednesdays.¹⁸⁶ İbrahim Edhem Efendi did not claim any income and did not pay any tax.

In the neighborhood Baba Zâkir (ML.VRD.TMT. 7443), lived Mehmed Abdüllatif ibn-i Hafiyüddin Efendi in the *hane* 7, who was the *postnişîn* of Selâmî *Dergâh*, which was a Celvetî lodge. He had a yearly salary of 739 kuruş and interestingly it was noted that he was a kid and under the protection of his grandfather who also lived in the same house.

In the neighborhood of Maksem (ML.VRD.TMT. 7467), lived eş-Şeyh Abdülğani ibn-i Mehmed Efendi in the first *hane*, who was the *postnişîn* of Rûfâ'î *Dergâh*. We learn that the name of this lodge is Abdülmümin from Mustafa Kara.¹⁸⁷ Şeyh Abdülğani had an income of 100 kuruş from the treasury and also 250 kuruş of income from his mulberry gardens. We also observe that he paid a tithe of 25 kuruş for his mulberries.

In the neighborhood of Tekkemescid (ML.VRD.TMT. 7484) lived Hikmetî Efendi in the 4 *hane*, who was the *postnişîn* of Hazret-i İsmail Hakkı *Dergâh*. He had an income of 1800 kuruş from treasury for his lodge, also 400 kuruş from the treasury of Bursa, he had a personal income of 240 kuruş from his vineyard and he paid 24 kuruş for tithe of the grapes.

In the neighborhood of Hazret-i Üftade (ML.VRD.TMT. 7505), in the *hane* 4 lived es-Seyyid el-Hac Burhaneddin Efendi ibn-i Mehmed Efendi, who was the *postnişîn* of Hazret-i Üftade *Dergâh*, which was Celvetî lodge. Burhaneddin Efendi did not have any income and he did not pay any tax.

In the 30th *hane* of Şükrühoca neighborhood (ML.VRD.TMT. 7554) lived Zanif Efendi who was the *şeyh* of Mısrî *Dergâh* which was a Halvetî lodge. He didn't claim any income and he didn't pay any tax.

In the neighborhood of Bab-ı Zemin (ML.VRD.TMT. 17608) lived es-Seyyid Mustafa Haydar Efendi ibn-i Mehmed Said Efendi in the 19th *hane* who was the *şeyh* of Sa'dî *Zaviye*. He had an income of 135 from his *vakf* and he didn't pay any tax.

In terms of the *sufî* leaders of Kütahya, in the neighborhood of Börekçiler (ML.VRD.TMT. 8760) the *Mevlevîhane* was situated and the members of this lodge were recorded in this

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

register. For instance, Abdurrahman Dede in the *hane* 36, Mustafa Dede in *hane* 41, and İsmail Dede in *hane* 42 were among the *Mevlevîs* of Kütahya.

In the neighborhood of Balıklı (ML.VRD.TMT. 8770), in the first *hane* lived the *şeyh* of the Halvetî *Tekye* Bahşîzade eş-Şeyh İsmail Efendi, who generated an annual income of 1301,5 kuruş from his lands, and gardens and he did not pay any tax.

In the Ahi Mustafa neighborhood (ML.VRD.TMT. 8747) lived Hacı Kadir Efendi who was the *postnişîn* of the Kütahya *Mevlevîhane*,¹⁸⁸ he had several lands and he had an annual income of 5707 kuruş, he didn't pay any income tax or tithe.

In the Çukur neighborhood (ML.VRD.TMT. 8768) lived Şeyh es-Seyyid Hüseyin Efendi in the 10th *hane*, who was the *postnişîn* of the Kadirî Bekir Paşa *Tekye*, he received an annual income of 6000 kuruş for the expenses of the dervishes, and he paid no tax.

In the neighborhood of İshak Fakih (ML.VRD.TMT. 8772), lived Mahmud Efendi in the *hane* 13, who was the *şeyh* of Nakşîbendiyye. He received an annual income of 3110 from the Kütahya Administration of Treasury (*Mal Sandığı*) for the expenses of the dervishes, and he was also exempted from the tax.

We have seen that in both cities, Kütahya and Bursa lived *sufî* leaders who possessed high income from the state, from the properties of their lodges or from their personal properties. Some of them are also actively involved in the economic activities. Most of them lived in their lodges but a few of them lived in other neighborhoods, and we are also unable to locate some of these lodges.

When I search for entries which can match with *temettu'at* registers in Sicill-i Osmânî,¹⁸⁹ in the first volume we meet Abdülaziz Mehmed Efendi (Feyzîzade), who was a resident of Elvanbey neighborhood (ML.VRD.TMT. 7451). Mehmed Süreyya noted that he was a *müderriş*, who became the *Molla* of Maraş in 1282 H / 1866 CE.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Betül Sayan, "Mustafa Sâkîb Dede'nin Gözünden Kütahya Mevlevîhânesi ve Celâleddin Ergün Çelebi" *Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 5 (2014), 87.

We learn from this article that the head of the Kütahya *Mevlevîhane* in 1844 CE was Abdürrahim Atâ Çelebi oğlu Abdülkadir Çelebi (d.1272/1855).

¹⁸⁹ Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmânî*, prepared by Nuri Akbayar and Seyit Ali Kahraman, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 6 volumes, İstanbul, 1996.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, v. 1, 100.

In the third volume, we read about Hüseyin Paşa, governor of Vranje, who was an Albanian *Bey*, and who was sent as the guard (*muhafız*) of Nis against Tepedelenli Ali Paşa. Sicil noted that he died in Zilhicce 1244 (June 1829).¹⁹¹

In the fifth volume, there is an entry about Vâsıf Paşa from Bursa, who lived in the Veled-i Veziri neighborhood (ML.VRD.TMT. 7444), he became a tax collector (*muhassıl*) and the governor (*mutasarrıf*) of Ankara in 1260 H.¹⁹²

Another source for biographies of Ottoman scholar is *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, written by Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir Efendi.¹⁹³ In the first volume of this study, we can trace Evliyazade İsmail Hakkı Efendi, who resided in Paşam neighborhood (ML.VRD.TMT. 8765), in the *hane* 46. In *temettu'at* entry, we learn that he was the *müderri*s of Germiyan *Medrese*, he had a fruit garden of 4 decares which generated him 200 kuruş a year and he received a salary of 600 kuruş from the Germiyan *vakf*. Mehmed Raif noted in his book that Evliyazade İsmail Hakkı Efendi was a Nakşibendî şeyh and he died in Kayseri in 1282 H / 1865 CE. We also learn that he had written a detailed *tefsir* of Suret el-Fatiha named “*Miftâhü'l-Tefâsir*”.¹⁹⁴

I believe this pursuit of discovering entries from *temettu'at* register with documents and registers from the archives as well as the other published and unpublished contemporary monographies would result in very interesting and inspiring outcomes and I am sure many fruitful research can be realized in this matter, but I only had the opportunity to include *Sicil* and *Osmanlı Müellifleri* due to the scope of my study.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*, v. 3, 716.

¹⁹² *Ibid*, v. 5, 1653.

¹⁹³ Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, prepared by A. Fikri Yavuz and İsmail Özen, in 3 volumes, Meral Yayınları, İstanbul, 1972.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, v. 1, 89.

Conclusion

Edward Gibbon, who is known for his work about the decline of the Roman Empire,¹⁹⁵ stated that “the end of history is truth ... the end of poetry is pleasure.”¹⁹⁶ However, there is no absolute truth in history and the poetry does not always bring pleasure. Yet there exist historical studies with a very “high level” of accuracy that also contain strong elements of poetry, hence pleasure. In this humble study, I tried to pursue and understand the social and economic life in three Ottoman cities, two from the western Ottoman Anatolia and which are in western Turkey today, Bursa and Kütahya; and one from the western frontier of the empire, Vranje, a city located today in the south of Serbia, using tax registers and population censuses from the mid-19th century.

Major social changes occurred in the sphere of Ottoman Empire during the turn of the 19th century as well as the early years of the 19th century that triggered many changes and reforms in different administrative and social domains of the Empire. The military system of the Empire shifted significantly and there have been important changes in the administration of the state corpus. Yet the major changes were realized in the fiscal structure of the Empire to finance the new changes with broader sources. The abolition of the “classical” army of the Empire the Janissary Corps and the aim to assign taxes to the individuals according to their work force and economic capacities brought a very detailed population survey, which began to be conducted in 1831 CE and continued to be practiced occasionally during the 19th century; as well as a very particular income, land and property survey which was in brief, named *temettu* ‘at and which provided a huge collection of information about the subjects of the Ottoman Empire, living in the different parts of the Empire where the *Tanzimat* reforms were put into practice. However, this substantial source was only available for one occasion, the mid-19th century, more precisely the years 1844-1845 CE and never again had it been possible to conduct a survey of this dimension.

¹⁹⁵ Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Strahan & Cadell, London, 1776–89.

¹⁹⁶ Edward Gibbon, *Horace’s Art of Poetry with two dissertations on Drama and Poetic Imitation*, Cambridge, 1757, quoted in Colin Heywood “Boundless Dreams of the Levant: Paul Wittek, The George-Kreis, and the Writing of Ottoman History” in Colin Heywood, *Writing Ottoman History, Documents and Interpretations*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 2002, V, 32.

Heywood also took this quote from J. A. W. Bennett, *Essays on Gibbon*, Cambridge, 1980, 4; where Bennett quoted Gibbon’s citation without indicating the page number.

For instance, we had the chance to observe the remains of the *timar* system in the *temmettu'at* registers, although it was legally eradicated in 1831, but we have no remains from Janissaries in the tax records and population censuses not more than 20 years after their abolishment.

The global historiography and accordingly the historiography of Ottoman Empire shifted from the major events or lives of “important” individuals, towards the study of lives of workers, children, older groups and women living in the urban and rural territories; in other words, the lives of the ordinary people. In this study named “Socio-Economic Life in Three Ottoman Cities (Bursa, Kütahya and Vranje) in the mid-19th Century through *Temettu'at* & *Nüfus* Registers”, in the first chapter I investigated the population and the demographic outline of these cities using *temettu'at* registers and population censuses conducted in the 19th century. The ethnic structure in these three cities was put into account in terms of the smallest units of the administrative and social corpus of the Ottoman Empire, the neighborhoods; also a comparative study of *temettu'at* and the population census of one representative neighborhood from Kütahya, the Pirlar neighborhood was studied parallel to the neighborhood's *temettu'at* entries for pointing out similarities and differences between these two sources. In the second chapter, the occupations and work force of these cities were analyzed through the categorization of occupations using a particular occupational system developed in the University of Cambridge, the PST system. In this chapter also the ethnic division of labor of different ethnicities who practiced various occupations in these three cities was discussed with respect to the occupational data provided from the *temettu'at* registers. In the third chapter, the three types of taxes collected and recorded in *temettu'at* registers, the *cizye*/poll tax, the *a'şar*/tithe; and the *vergi-yi mahsûsa*/income tax were discussed and a tentative study of income, distribution of wealth and inequality in each three city were analyzed. Also in this chapter, the occupations that provided the highest incomes in three cities were represented and also the highest income holders, namely the wealthiest individuals of each city were treated, as well as some notable members of three cities' represented using biographical sources for the Ottoman writers and bureaucrats.

A source full of information and details like *temettu'at* is/can be used for many different studies such as the financial capacities of various towns, neighborhoods, villages, and individuals in terms of the taxes they paid, in terms of the income they made and in terms of the wealth they possessed. Without doubt, the most significant wealth an individual had was his work force that he used for carrying out his occupation, yet we encountered individuals who generated very high incomes from the salaries appointed to them by the State. Demographics and population studies are very dependent to the sources such as *temettu'at*, namely, the population of the

territories are estimated using those kind of registers; and these sources can be used to trace the ethnicity that had major changes in their population during the course of history. As it was the case for us, *temettu'at* is a very wide source to point out the different occupations both in terms of the socio-economic organizations of the towns, markets, neighborhoods and villages as well as the linguistic changes concerning different occupations according to the geography or time period. We have been mentioning cities, neighborhoods and villages, hence it is easy to use tax registers to create a geographic and administrative survey of these lands, both in terms of their relation within local and cross border territories as well as the old and new names of these lands. Last but not least, tax surveys are very important sources for what might be called micro history; the stories of particular bureaucrats or long lasting families in addition to the common individuals who lived in the surveyed lands. The lives of these individuals can be easily and meticulously traced by the help of *temettu'at* registers and although I did not take it into the scope of my research except for the case of the Muslim governor family in Vranje, and some others from Bursa and Kütahya, individuals who wrote petitions and who were subjects in the religious court records can be studied comparatively with the entries concerning them in the tax and population registers.

I was aware that as argued by Fikret Yılmaz,¹⁹⁷ working with the tax registers and population censuses concerning the Ottoman Empire possessed many setbacks and most of the studies realized in this matter were the repetitions of the earlier studies. Accordingly, I chose to study three cities comparatively and I pointed out many differences and similarity between these three cities I chose for my analysis. Bursa by far was the most complex city where many different people with different ethnic origins lived, and performed very diverse occupations, Kütahya also was an important city from the same region yet the ethnic diversity and occupational depth were less complicated in Kütahya compared to Bursa and Kütahya remained more or less as a local economy; and in Vranje, lived the Orthodox Christians (Serbians and Albanians dominantly) and Muslims, who basically had fewer occupations both in terms of the economic

¹⁹⁷ Fikret Yılmaz, “Barkan’ın Tarihiçiliğinde Fiyat Meselesi ve Süleymaniye İnşaatı” in *Defteroology: Festschrift in Honor of Heath Lowry; Journal of Turkish Studies*, edited by Cemal Kafadar, Gönül A. Tekin Selim S. Kuru and Baki Tezcan as guest editors), Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 2013, 425-448, 431.

diversity and the different names of the occupations according to two other cities from the Western Anatolia.¹⁹⁸

There remain many questions not yet formulized or not yet answered by myself. For instance, the question of how the occupation of a person was associated with his identity is a very significant one, in *temettu'*at the individuals declared the occupations they were performing during the time of the survey; however, we do not have many hints about how often they changed their occupations or how they trained to become the craftsmen they were. During my study, I tried to compare different sources such as population censuses with my main source of tax registers. I think future research such as the comparison of different sources like court records or other contemporary monographies or even the classical court literature would help answering many questions and asking new ones.

In my research, I tried to study some parts of the occupational and demographic history of the Ottoman Empire in the mid-19th century; there remain many further studies concerning these 3 cities and also concerning the extensive sources of income surveys and population censuses.

¹⁹⁸ We have observed and testified using the PST system that identical occupations were represented by different names in the same or different geographies.

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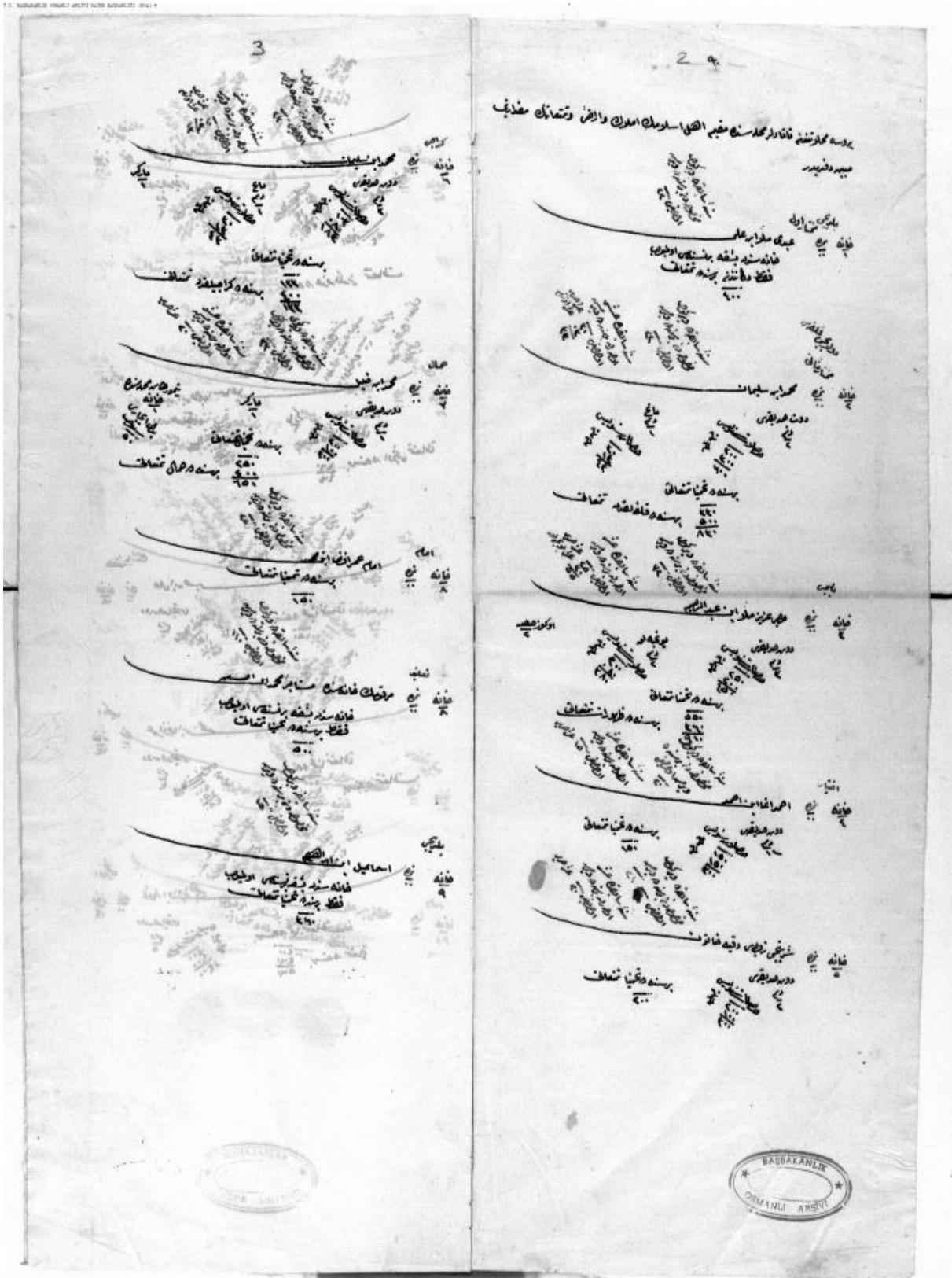
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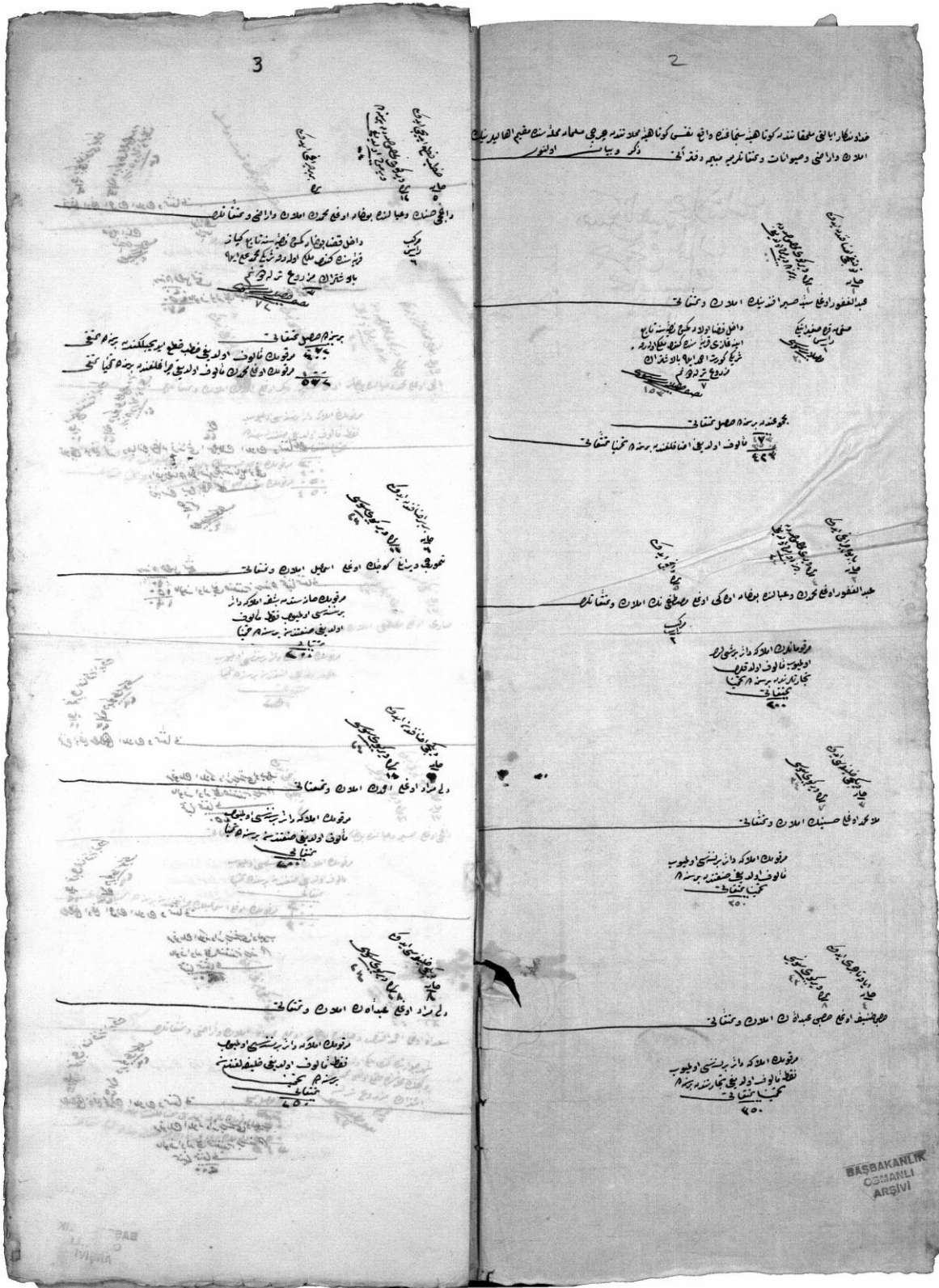
Appendices

Pages from Bursa's temettu'at Registers: ML.VRD.TMT. 3762



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T.C. BAŞBAKANLIK OSMANLI ARŞİVİ DAİRE BAŞKANLIĞI (2004) ©



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قلم اولیٰ حسنک زلمی مائونک الملون وارضی وفتنا فی -
داصلیٰ قضا ۵ اولا شریکین سنایح
وچیز نرسه بیج نچاسی

نامیز ویکور ای طوقری قزینک زلمی
عرب اولیٰ عملی ای بو زمانک زلمی

بزم ملون وارضی

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بلاصه مسطور کلمتزا هالسنج الله وشفاندهی مجرب اولده ده هیج پشوی کتمه اشقا وریکسنه غده
دافندس اولنه ای اوله کولج وده علیه ماملولوه وکولج ماملولوه سانه کلوب تقصیه ماله اینکلوزج کلوت
امور وضا بکونه حال وحرکه و دو سو اولی الیرکدن ویزه کسب ایلمسوا اولیرزده حقله بزیم اقلها ابدیه قالیقه
جلا اهرابولوه اولزه نغیزده سنسور وده قزینک حقی معروضده اولدینن بیجه طرفه ده منبر کلمه



لوا، مزبورک دنلاعه حدیس بو دنه یزده بلوه مسطور دفتر قضا ده عاجزانه ماله ترخیص وخطیر اولدینن
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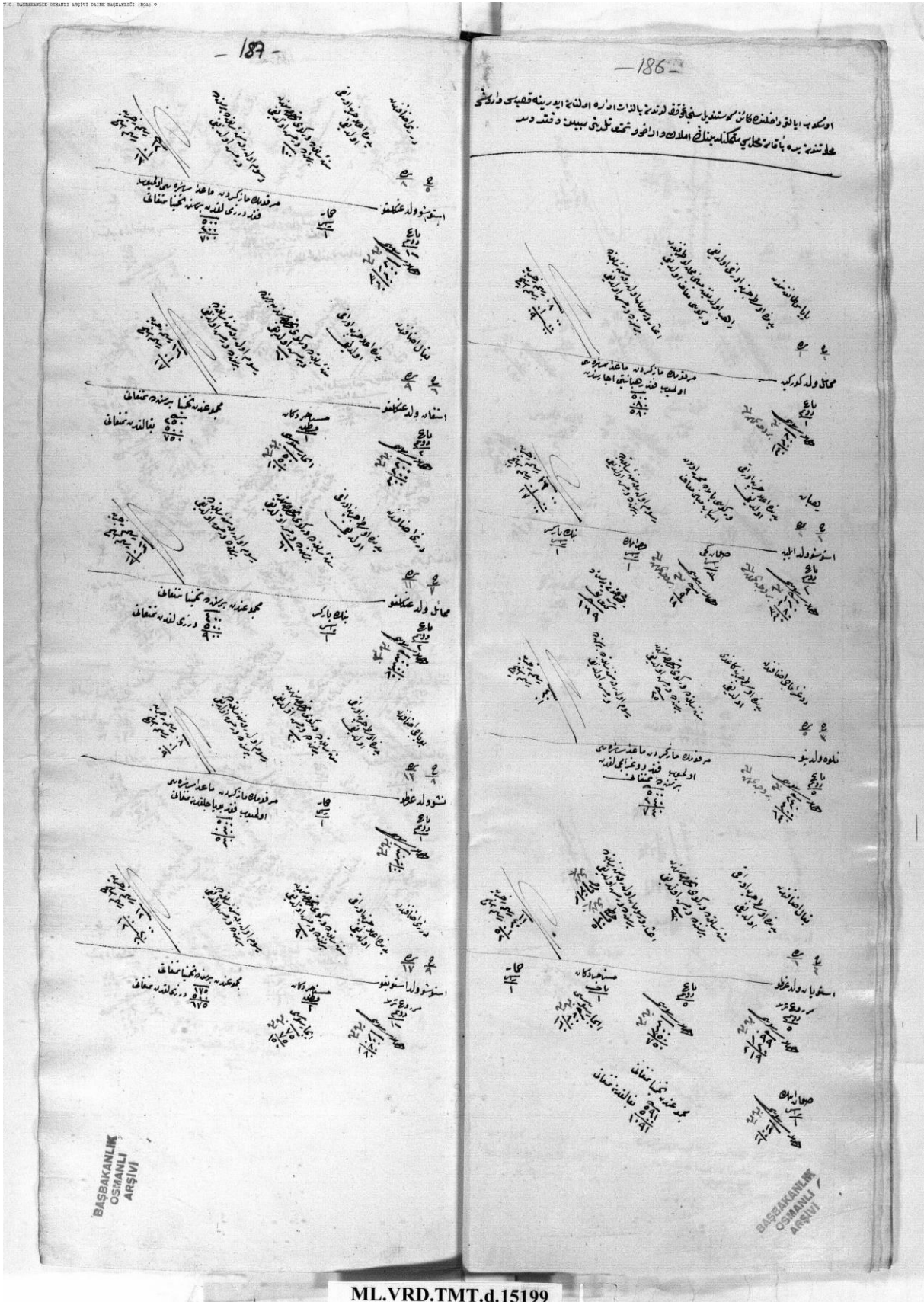
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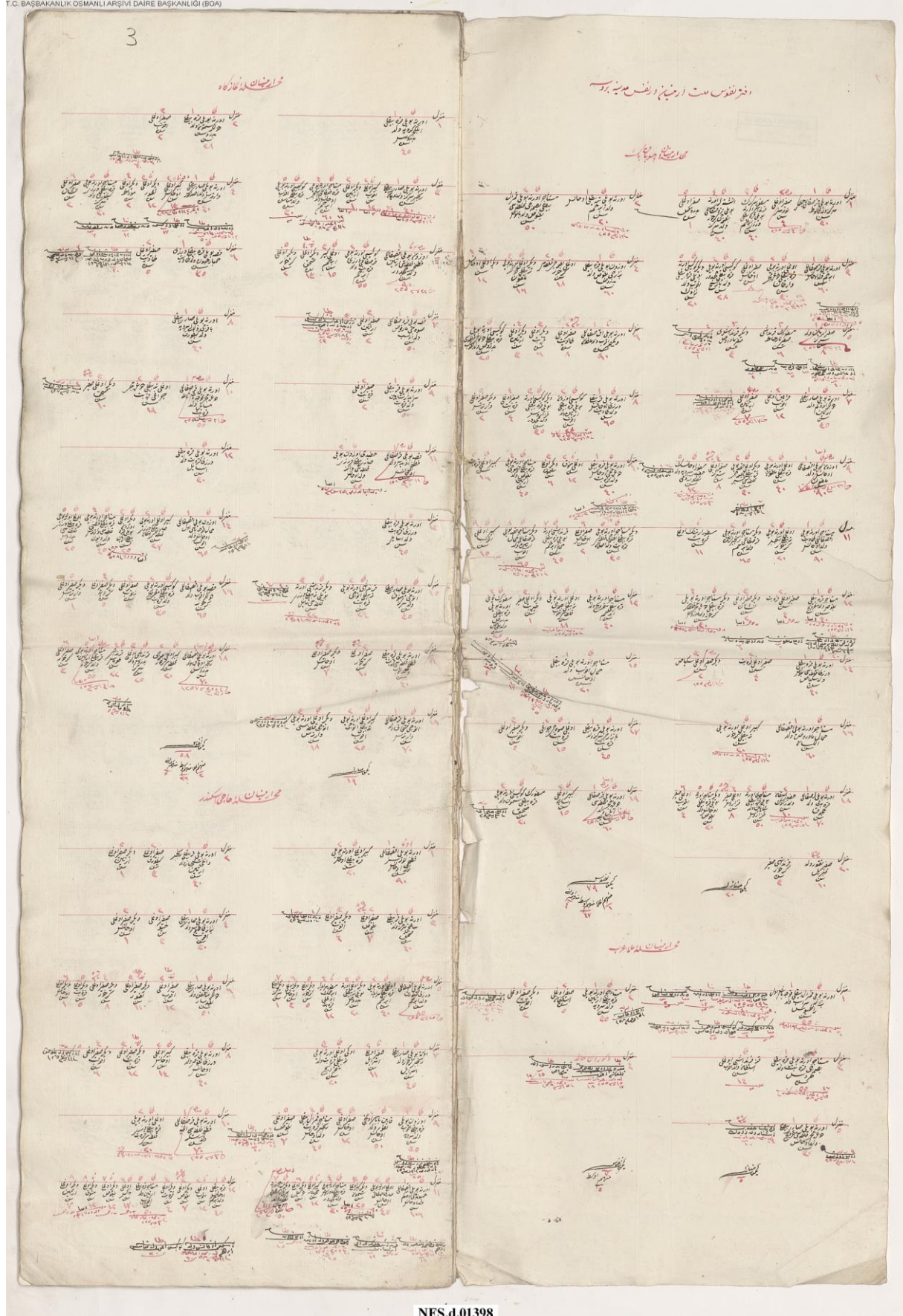
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BASBAKANLIK
OSKARLI
ARŞİVİ



Pages from Bursa's Population Census NFS.d 1398:

T.C. BAŞBAKANLIK OSMANLI ARŞİVİ DAİRE BAŞKANLIĞI (BOA)



NFS.d.01398

Population of Muslim Neighborhoods of Bursa

Neighborhood	Temettu'at M Households	Temettu'at M-Entries	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Households	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Male Population	M-Households 1396	M-Male Population 1396
Abbas Bey Fenari	29	34			22	49
Abdal Mehmed	76	87	78	154	90	143
Abdürrezzak	23	23	27	61	22	41
Ahmed Bey	26	35	26	52	28	49
Ahmed Dai	50	57	55	104	58	93
Ahmed Paşa	23	26				
Ahmedbey Fenari			36	58		
Alaaddin	50	72	48	118	59	117
Alacamescid	62	64				
Alacahırka	21	26	27	67	28	60
Ali Paşa	89	114	89	184	87	173
Altıparmak	35	43	38	84		
Anarlı	35	46	35	69	38	57
Arab Mehmed			32	138	52	110
Arablar	36	43			37	65
Atpazarı (Bazar-ı Esp)			3	9	25	37
Attar Hüsam	12	16	13	29		
Azabbey	26	34	41	88	30	49
Babazakir	36	42	39	78	28	55
Bab-ı Siccin	36	45	30	58	39	54
Bab-ı Zemin	46	49	48	87	52	77
Bahadır Ağa	38	45	45	90	49	75
Bakırhane	16	22				

Neighborhood	Temettu'at M Households	Temettu'at M- Entries	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Households	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Male Population	M-Households 1396	M-Male Population 1396
Başçı İbrahim	27	34	26	45	24	38
Bayezid Paşa	20	21	34	47	22	40
Bazar-ı Mahi			22	54	25	37
Bedreddin	34	37	35	75	42	53
Bezzaz-ı Cedit					22	31
Bilecik	6	6	5	9		
Cami-i Kal'a	40	53	28	73	41	77
Cami-i Kebir	9	13	19	41	6	14
Çardak	19	27	26	59	21	42
Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Han			132	276	126	233
Çırağ Bey	21	25	20	44	20	37
Çukur			23	50	17	27
Darphane	11	15	10	25	12	18
Davud Kadı			6	12	6	13
Daye Hatun	64	79	69	129	80	113
Debbağhane	93	94				
Doğanbey			31	68		
Duhter-i Şerif			32	82	26	70
Ebu İshak			12	31	12	24
Ebu Şahme	25	29	25	53	27	70
Elmalık	39	45	36	68	45	62
Elvanbey	70	84	71	130	88	131

Neighborhood	Temettu'at M Households	Temettu'at M-Entries	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Households	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Male Population	M-Households 1396	M-Male Population 1396
Eşrefiler			19	35	18	42
Fazlullah Paşa	30	31	32	71	29	51
Filibos			31	69	38	68
Hacı Baba	14	15	16	27	14	23
Hacı İlyas			38	76	45	59
Hacı İskender	21	22	27	46	27	54
Hacı Sevinc			13	30	11	29
Hacı Sevindik	39	43	38	80	38	67
Hacı Seyfeddin			24	50	29	56
Hacı Yakub			41	71		
Hacı Yunus			37	62	45	58
Hacılar	37	40			44	78
Hamzabey	71	92	105	206	81	133
Hasan Paşa			19	45	27	40
Hayreddin Paşa	27	30	30	59	31	49
Hazret-i Emir Kuddüse Sırrıhu			111	226	115	219
Hazret-i Üftade	18	26	23	49		
Helvalı	15	18				
Hoca Alizade	28	31	32	86	31	68
Hoca Cafer	9	12	10	20	10	25
Hoca Hasan Efendi			2	4		
Hoca Mehmed Karamani	5	6	7	14	6	13

Neighborhood	Temettu'at M Households	Temettu'at M- Entries	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Households	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Male Population	M-Households 1396	M-Male Population 1396
Hoca Menteş	8	11				
Hoca Taşkın	23	26	68	33	29	53
Hoca Tayyib	17	18	23	46		
Horasanî Aleyhirrahman					91	160
Hoşkadem Makromoy	41	50	40	70		
Hüdavendigâr Gazi Hazretleri	136	136				
Istabl-ı Bayezid Paşa	41	53	36	61		
İbnü'l-Bezzaz					47	86
İbrahim Paşa	41	43	36	94	30	85
İkikapılı Mescid	21	25	20	48	22	37
İmaret-i İsabey	43	63	43	105	56	106
İncirlice	83	92	88	182	76	177
İsa-i Bey-i Fenari			27	45	30	52
İshak Şah	26	29	27	60	26	47
Kademerî	26	38	32	67	31	61
Kala-i Umur Bey	19	23			21	26
Kanberler			43	79	52	69
Karaağaç			8	16	6	12
Karagörlü			52	107		
Karakavi	33	36	35	74	37	61
Karaşeyh			39	87	37	58
Kasap Hüseyin	13	13	15	19	19	25

Neighborhood	Temettu'at M Households	Temettu'at M- Entries	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Households	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Male Population	M-Households 1396	M-Male Population 1396
Kavaklı	37	45	39	123	40	93
Kaygan			31	75		
Kayganzade	27	31			29	52
Kepezler	14	21	16	36	18	33
Kızıyakub	61	73	40	90	40	50
Kiremitçi (zade Sinan Bey)	44	61	68	113		
Kirişçi	20	22	24	51		
Koca Naib	58	85	56	122		
Köseler	11	12	12	29	44	73
Kösreciler	28	33	32	74	32	62
Kurşunlu ma Cami-i Menteş			16	31		
Maksem	76	118	190	97	88	177
Manastır			29	63	34	59
Mantıcı	25	36	24	51	27	45
Mecnun Dede			41	82	39	94
Merkebcı	35	55			40	68
Mesud Makramavi			27	52	29	48
Meydancık	60	63	67	141	58	101
Molla Fenari	23	28	26	45	22	49
Molla Gürani	13	17	18	30	19	35
Murad-ı Sani	76	93	74	139		
Mücellidi			42	105	43	83

Neighborhood	Temettu'at M Households	Temettu'at M- Entries	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Households	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Male Population	M-Households 1396	M-Male Population 1396
Nakkaş Ali	21	32			24	45
Namazgâh	45	46	45	94	44	82
Orhan Gazi					27	54
Reyhan Paşa	55	60			67	109
Said Fakih	31	40	34	60	32	51
Sariabdullah	22	40	26	39		
Saricasungur			14	36		
Selçuk Hatun	32	36	41	91		
Selimzade	28	30	31	59	29	53
Serpınar	37	49	40	77	38	69
Seyyidler			11	24		
Simitçi			22	40		
Simkeş	13	13			57	111
Sivasiler	26	27	27	46	23	53
Suzen-i Kefen	31	35	31	57	38	52
Şahabeddin Paşa	44	51	49	99		
Şhreküstü			51	108		
Şerafeddin Paşa	20	26	20	41	19	27
Şeyh Hamid	35	41	38	61	36	55
Şeyh Konevi	49	59	55	120	52	100

Neighborhood	Temettu'at M Households	Temettu'at M-Entries	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Households	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Male Population	M-Households 1396	M-Male Population 1396
Şeyh Paşa der Hisar			32	70	39	66
Şeyh Şibli	30	32	30	58	30	50
Şeyhpan	30	36				
Şükrü Hoca	51	57	57	133		
Tahtalı Mescid	16	16	13	29	17	28
Tatarlar	23	25	22	42	23	42
Tefrishan			14	35	16	33
Tekke-i Mescid	13	19	18	50	21	46
Temenyeri Kebir			5	11	5	8
Temenyeri Sagir			10	21	8	14
Timurtaş	42	47	51	84	55	76
Umurbey	50	75	61	128	63	127
Üçkozlar	16	23	15	36		
Veled-i Bevvab	24	28	25	62	23	49
Veled-i Cemib					38	89
Veled-i Enbiya	28	37	73	33	29	43
Veled-i Habib			46	89		
Veled-i Hariri	35	40	22	57	36	61
Veled-i Harrat			17	34		

Neighborhood	Temettu'at M Households	Temettu'at M-Entries	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Households	NFS.d 1393 - NFS.d 1391 Male Population	M-Households 1396	M-Male Population 1396
Veled-i Helvani			14	26	12	19
Veled-i Kazzaz			49	98	14	24
Veled-i Kurd			22	39		
Veled-i Mizan	35	45	34	61	23	46
Veled-i Nalband	42	48	48	105	10	
Veled-i Saray	12	15	31	89	35	61
Veled-i Vezir	23	32	26	57	36	90
Veled-i Yaniç	23	26	27	52	22	54
Veli Şemseddin	43	45			30	50
Veziri	17	23	22	53		
Yahşibey	15	21	14	30	19	53
Yenice			6	15	13	27
Yenipazar	19	22	22	53		
Yıldırım Bayezid	9	12	17	29		
Yiğit Cedid	21	22			23	40
Yiğit Köhne			9	12	11	14
Zağferanlık	15	26	19	32	20	29
Zeyniler			30	64	36	67

Neighborhood ¹⁹⁹	Temettu'at A Households	Temettu'at A-Entries	Temettu'at OC Households	Temettu'at OC Entries	NFS.d 1394 A Households	NFS.d 1394 A Male Population	NFS.d 1394 OC Households	NFS.d 1394 OC Male Population	A Households NFS.d 1398	A Male Population NFS.d 1398	OC Households NFS.d 1398	OC Male Population NFS.d 1398
Ahmed Bey			47	65			41	129			43	117
Ahmed Dai					8	23			7			
Ahmed Paşa										19		
Ahmedbey Fenari			13	15			14	23			11	36
Atpazarı (Bazar-ı Esp)												
Attar Hüsam			12	23			12	22			13	32
Azabbey							57	167			63	170
Bahadır Ağa											3	13
Balıkcık			26	36								
Bazar-ı Mahi			40	64			31	101			35	110
Bedreddin	26	46			41	142			37			
Bezzaz-ı Cedid										111		
Bilecik							16	51			20	57
Bucak			25	40			24	79			24	77
Bulgarlar			34	57							24	79
Cami-i Kebir							40	131				
Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Han	34	49			31	86						
Çoban Bey					23	96			20	73		
Demir Kapı							33	120			40	129
Eşrefiler	39	75							33	108		
Hacı Baba	117	209							110	356		

¹⁹⁹ Population of Non-Muslim Neighborhoods of Bursa

Neighborhood	Temettu'at A House holds	Temettu'at A-Entries	Temettu'at OC Households	Temettu'at OC Entries	NFS.d 1394 A Households	NFS.d 1394 A Male Population	NFS.d 1394 OC Households	NFS.d 1394 OC Male Population	A Households NFS.d 1398	A Male Population NFS.d 1398	OC Households NFS.d 1398	OC Male Population NFS.d 1398
Hacı İskender	63	128							57	232		
Hacı Yakub			29	40			22	40			22	54
Hoca Alizade	18	36			26	54			20	53		
Hoca Cafer			49	77			40	139			51	127
Hoca Mehmed Karamani	94	177			84	294			87	286		
Hoca Tayyib	29	62			48	115			32	120		
Hoşkadem					11	26			13	34		
İshak Şah	29	71			34	104			27	94		
Kala-i Umur Bey	83	178										
Karaağaç	104	210			37	106			108	0		
Kayabaşı			149	212			132	385			139	369
Kaygan		46										
Kayganzade	43	69			45	109						
Kırkmerdiban (Cami-i Kebir mahallesine tâbi)			45	79							45	143
Koca Naib			48	77			47	147			49	132
Kuruçeşme								627				
Mehmed Karamani	2	2										
Mesud Makramavi	12	22			17	36						
Mısırlı Hasan Bey					5	11						

Neighborhood	Temettu'at A Households	Temettu'at A-Entries	Temettu'at OC Households	Temettu'at OC Entries	NFS.d 1394 A Households	NFS.d 1394 A Male Population	NFS.d 1394 OC Households	NFS.d 1394 OC Male Population	A Households NFS.d 1398	A Male Population NFS.d 1398	OC Households NFS.d 1398	OC Male Population NFS.d 1398
Molla Arab	4	8							5	7		
Molla Gürani							59	164				
Murad-ı Sani			52	93							59	172
Namazgâh	19	39							19	58		
Said Fakih							6	26				
Sarıabdullah					46	125						
Saricasungur											8	13
Selçuk Hatun	52	70							43	113		
Suzen-i Kefen							21	70				
Şahabeddin Paşa			14	21							13	37
Şangur Şungur			8	14								
Timurtaş					120	370						
Umurbey									61	222		
Veled-i Hariri					59	203						
Veled-i Harrat	26	49										
Veled-i Hırat							35	133	25	72		
Veled-i Kazzaz					33	104					41	122
Veled-i Kurd	39	70							33	115		
Veled-i Nalband							13	39				
Veled-i Saray			14	16							15	42
Yahşibey											38	121

Kütahya Muslims Neighborhoods:

Neighborhood	Temettuat households	Temettuat Entries (1260 H)	Temettuat Average income for neighborhood (1260 H)	NFS.d 1619 Male Population (1250 H)	NFS.d 1619 Deaths in the neighborhood between 1246-1250 H	NFS.d 1620 Male population (1258 H)	NFS.d 1621 Number of Households 1260 H)	NFS.d 1621 Male Population (1260 H)
Ahi Erbasan	72	102	265,7	168	16	172	71	172
Ahi Evren		0	0	281	30	248	101	248
Ahi İzzeddin		0	0	80	3	24	24	55
Ahi Mustafa	94	117	329,6	192	22	199	84	199
Balklı	64	88	466,1	183	17	166	62	166
Bezirciler	62	79	385,3	166	9	154	60	154
Bölücek	436	497	301,82	1050	130	1139	430	1139
Börekçiler	191	241	215,47	477	53	431	196	431
Cedid	97	115	266,58	215	23	N/A	100	222
Cemaleddin	99	114	390,35	290	29	220	109	220
Çerçi Müselman	53	70	225,76	156	20	129	59	129
Çukur	20	28	430,36	49	2	52	17	52
Dibek	22	22	139,45	52	8	43	21	42
Dükkâncık	49	54	282,51	145	10	106	47	106
Efendibola	31	36	275,69	85	4	59	29	54
Gönan	65	86	306,94	166	17	143	61	143
Hacı Ahmed	35	51	370,49	104	12	86	36	87
Hacı İbrahim	62	85	321,48	161	20	131	61	251
Hisaraltı	11	17	171,71	41	2	31	13	31
İshak Fakih	34	36	494,90	96	10	64	31	64
Kadıseyh	29	39	190,41	76	7	66	28	66
Kale-i Bâlâ		0	0,00	347	26	270	127	270

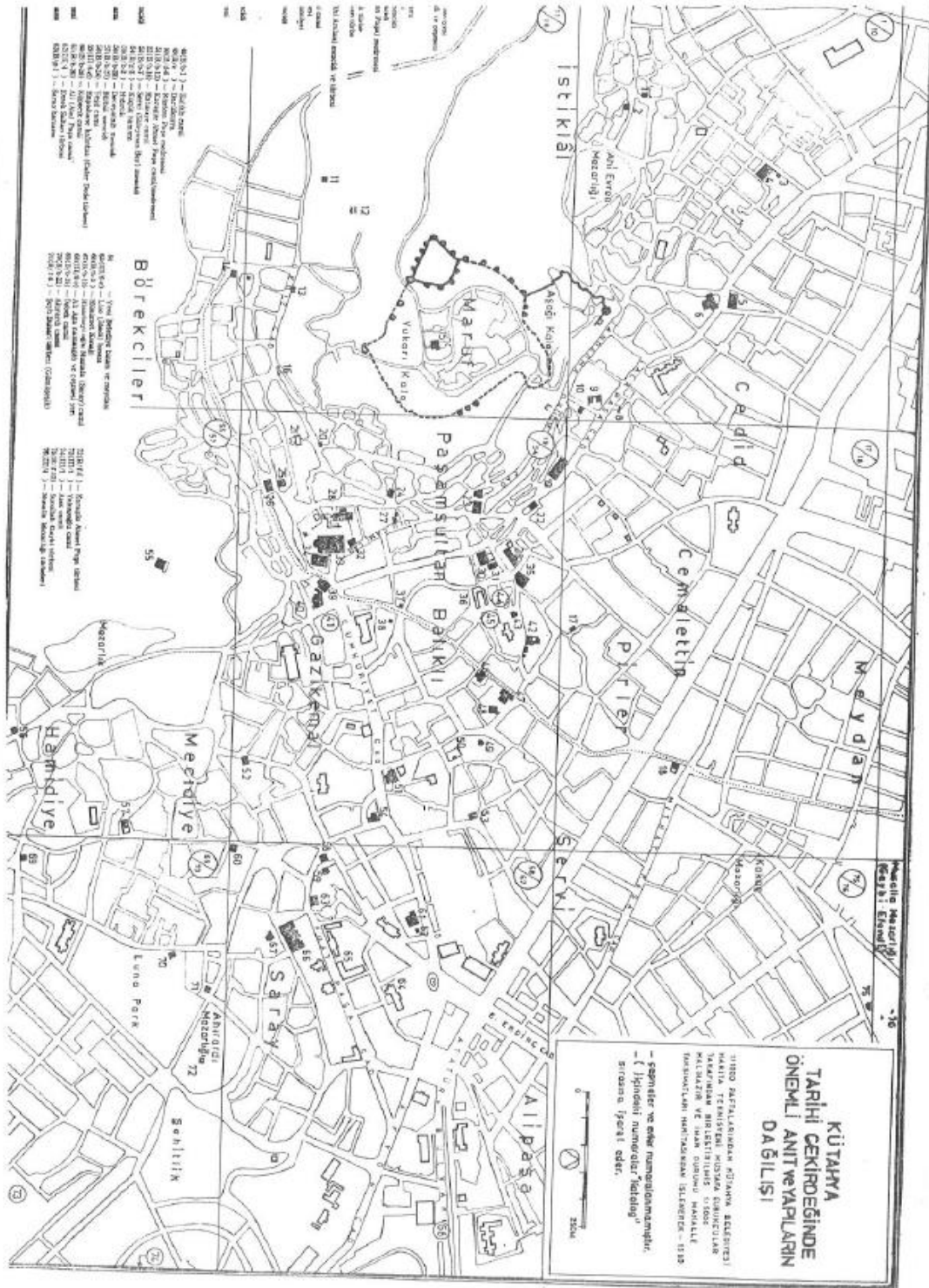
Neighborhood	Temettuat households	Temettuat Entries (1260 H)	Temettuat Average income for neighborhood (1260 H)	NFS.d 1619 Male Population (1250 H)	NFS.d 1619 Deaths in the neighborhood between 1246-1250 H	NFS.d 1620 Male population (1258 H)	NFS.d 1621 Number of Households 1260 H)	NFS.d 1621 Male Population (1260 H)
Kale-i Sagir	60	75	222,49	136	18	124	64	124
Lala Hüseyin Paşa	221	283	300,65	539	57	480	211	480
Maruf	51	64	277,38	138	11	117	51	117
Meydan	215	314	312,31	550	71	493	206	493
Paşam	49	58	327,05	150	8	116	51	116
Pirler	67	75	397,08	209	28	156	68	156
Polad Bey	68	72	406,03	185	35	144	64	144
Saray	242	297	312,70	579	63	556	234	556
Servi	126	171	302,10	274	24	263	123	263
Sultanbağı	81	116	174,30	212	15	181	78	181
Şhreküstü	136	163	942,3	251	49	300	130	300

Kütahya Non-Muslim Neighborhoods.²⁰⁰

Mahalle	temettu'at a	temettu'at c	temettua oc	A Households	A Male Population	C Households	C Male Population	OC Households	OC Male Population
Çerçi Müselman			323					181	523
Çerçi Kefere								122	357
Ahi Evren			108					61	187
Lala Hüseyin Paşa			67					37	122
Büyük Orta	138	54		67	174	40	94		
Lala		179		87	211	10	26		
Hacı Ahmed	54			35	102				
Bölücek	12			14	21				
Balıklı	42	26		23	59	14	32		
Erbasan	61			37	96				
Şehre Küstü	95	30							

²⁰⁰ For the Non-Muslim Population of Kütahya's neighborhoods I used the population survey NFS.d 1623 from the year 1253 H.

Map: Old Kütahya and its Neighborhoods²⁰¹



²⁰¹ Taken from Murat Dağlı, *Kutahya in the Eighteenth Century*, 105.

Occupations According to the Ethno-religion in Bursa:

Occupations	Armenian	Catholic	Jewish	Muslim	Orthodox Christian	Total
rençber	47			<u>258</u>	102	407
dolapçı	3			<u>266</u>	1	270
dikici	25	17		<u>174</u>	37	253
terzi	<u>162</u>	19	33	4	33	251
tebaa	26	5		166		197
sandalcı	34			5	<u>148</u>	187
berber	54	3		<u>123</u>	5	185
bezzaz	<u>114</u>		1	13	8	136
oduncu	1			<u>125</u>		126
dülger	18		2	5	<u>91</u>	116
eskici	16	4	1	<u>86</u>	1	108
hizmetkâr	37	2	5	35	21	100
doğramacı	<u>82</u>	1		9	3	95
kazzaz			<u>50</u>	36		86
imam				85		85
muhtar	6			55	21	82
kasap	3		18	<u>54</u>		75
nalband				<u>74</u>		74
basmacı	<u>54</u>	1	2	13		70
hamal	7		33	28	1	69
debbağ				<u>68</u>		68
çilingir	<u>65</u>					65
demirci	3			<u>59</u>	1	63
belci				<u>61</u>		61
kahveci	10			<u>49</u>	1	60
kapamacı	<u>57</u>	1			1	59
kuyumcu	<u>38</u>	9			11	58
havlucu	<u>34</u>			10	12	56

haffaf				<u>52</u>		52
semerci				<u>51</u>	1	52
amele	<u>48</u>	3		1		52
pazarcı	19		12	20	1	52
çerçi	7		<u>43</u>	2		52
attar			3	<u>47</u>		50
bakkal			7	4	<u>37</u>	48
duhancı	9		1	<u>31</u>	6	47
kalaycı	3			<u>43</u>		46

Occupations According to the Ethno-religion in Kütahya:

Occupations	Armenian	Catholic	Muslim	Orthodox Christian	Total
terzi	<u>137</u>	53	2	96	288
dikici	14	4	<u>228</u>		246
tebaa	15	3	168		186
yapıcı	12	13	14	<u>139</u>	178
berber	2	8	<u>95</u>	1	106
bakkal	3	4	<u>95</u>		102
ziraatçı			<u>184</u>	1	185
debbağ			<u>92</u>		92
demirci	1		<u>88</u>		89
bahçıvan			<u>72</u>	1	73
eskici	26	3	41		70
imam			67		67
hatabkeş			<u>66</u>		66
talebe			63		63
kahveci			<u>58</u>		58
dağcı			<u>57</u>		57
kuyumcu	<u>38</u>	18			56
bakırcı				<u>52</u>	52
nalband			<u>51</u>		51
bezirgân	5	5		<u>40</u>	50
haffaf	4		<u>41</u>		45
ırgad	11	7	14	13	45
zabtiye			44		44
ekmekçi		1	<u>41</u>		42
saraç			<u>42</u>		42
çerçi	22	13	4	3	42
kasap	1		<u>39</u>		40
duhancı			<u>38</u>		38

attar	10	5	<u>23</u>		38
semerci			<u>37</u>		37
timarlı zabtiye			33		33
ayak taciri	2	1	<u>29</u>		32
Tüccâr	4		<u>21</u>	2	27
çoban			<u>24</u>	1	25
değirmenci			<u>17</u>	8	25

Occupations According to the Ethno-religion in Vranje:

Occupations	Muslim	Orthodox	
		Christian	Total
hizmetkâr	106	105	211
ziraatçi	<u>106</u>	52	158
urgancı		<u>119</u>	119
timarlı süvari	94		94
terzi	29	55	84
bakkal	20	34	54
nalband	<u>42</u>		42
muytab		<u>35</u>	35
meyhaneci		<u>32</u>	32
arabacı	14	14	28
çiftlik sahibi	27		27
bahçıvan		<u>22</u>	22
Tüccâr	17	5	22
berber	<u>20</u>		20
debbağ	<u>20</u>		20
ırgad		13	13
semerci		11	11
değirmenci		10	10
papuççu		8	8
oduncu		8	8
muhtar	8		8
yemenici	4	3	7
boyacı		7	7