TURKISH AND OTTOMAN STUDIES

OTTOMAN POPULATION 1830-1914

Demographic and Social Characteristics

KEMAL H. KARPAT

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PREFACE

This work provides those interested in the social transformation of the Middle East, Anatolia, and southeast Europe with basic Ottoman population data for the period 1830 to 1914. The reasons that impelled me to undertake the exceptionally difficult (but vital) task of compiling this information arose from my broader study of the socio-economic and political transformation of the Ottoman state: population movements were the direct expression of that transformation.

The break-up of the Ottoman commonwealth into a group of ethnic-national states from 1815 to 1920 and beyond even to the present day has been considered, and studied, as the consequence of foreign intervention and/or as a movement of national revival and, as well, as the liberal, individualistic, modernist reaction of a new class of elites to traditionalism and autocratic rule. Actually, the gradual disintegration of the Ottoman state that began in the nineteenth century was the result of fundamental changes in its economic and social structure caused by the introduction of a capitalist economic system and the adoption of national statehood as a new principle of political organization. These events manifested themselves not only in the emergence of a new social order but also in a variety of political and ideological alignments conditioned as much by economic interest as by religious identity, ethnic affiliation, or political-national aspiration.

The population movements in the Ottoman state were both the agent and the chief consequence of the structural transformation. Indeed, emigration and immigration—along with birth and death rates that varied among the different social, ethnic, and religious groups and the settlement of millions of nomadic tribesmen in Anatolia, Iraq, Syria, and on the outskirts of the Arabian Peninsula (which increased the numbers of the sedentary population and spurred agricultural production)—were the most outstanding features of demographic change.

I am persuaded by my years of research and writing that a full understanding of the social and political transformation of the Balkans and the Middle East demands a comprehensive study of the size, growth rate, and religious-ethnic composition of the Ottoman population and of the social and economic forces that conditioned its growth and differentiation.

My original study required a complete record of Ottoman population in the nineteenth century. Therefore, I undertook a systematic and critical review of population information, only to discover that most of the existing studies on the topic—that is, most of the myriad so-called ethnographic studies published in the West and claiming to deal with Ottoman population in the 1800s—were unreliable. At the end, it appeared that the most consistently reliable sources of demographic data were the figures issued by the Ottoman government itself; and it turned out that the most trustworthy European writers on Ottoman population—e.g., Ubicini, Helle von Samo, Kutshera, and Cuinet, to name just a few—based their work on Ottoman official data. Of all the existing statistics, only those of the Ottoman government were compiled by making an actual count of the population. They were compiled for strictly practical purposes, such as tax levies, military conscription, the establishment of municipal boundaries, and the building of railroads and highways in the most useful locations. Thus they were required to be as accurate as possible. The population censuses and registration system, in fact, epitomized the Ottoman commitment to administrative reform and the establishment of a new, rational, systematic bureaucracy and ushered in the period of modernization.

It should be noted at the start that the Ottoman "census" consisted of the registration of the population of each district by a committee. Subsequent annual population figures for the realm were obtained by cumulatively adding births and subtracting deaths as these were registered in each district by the population bureau. As these data were intended for internal administrative use, only one or two census results were published in book form, and these were in Arabic script and in a limited number of copies.

The text of the present book discusses the history and evolution of the Ottoman census and registration and collection of statistical information. The first chapter surveys the published literature; the second describes and analyzes in detail the various censuses from 1830 to 1914 and the purpose and functioning of the population registers. Chapters 3 and 4 deal, respectively, with the ethnic-religious composition of the Ottoman population and with the migrations that so drastically affected the composition and the total size of the population; these are very general, it being my intention to provide a thorough analysis of the change in the structure of the Ottoman population in a later volume of this ongoing study. The final chapter of the text is devoted to the city of Istanbul, for the transformation of the capital epitomized and reflected that of the empire as a whole; it can be studied in detail because the city was subjected to five censuses in the nineteenth century.

The common shortcoming of Ottoman censuses was the consistent undercounting of population in general and of women in particular. The Ottoman officials were aware of this problem and duly noted those areas where the census of women or other groups was incomplete. They provided estimates for nomadic tribes and for areas where the census could not be carried out. Being consistent, the undercount

of the population can easily be corrected by devising a proper margin of error.

The second, and major, part of this book, the statistical appendices, is divided into several sections. The first section contains basic population figures compiled by the government. Other sections contain data on religious-ethnic groups, on the population of the city of Istanbul, and on various social and economic facets of the state's development. Most of these figures are published for the first time in this work, which is the first comprehensive, qualitative survey-study of the Ottoman population to cover systematically the entire nineteenth century.

I have presented the statistics without major interpretive analysis (after subjecting them to some necessary correction, systematization, and clarification), for such analysis would have called for the use of other figures and of historical and political data that could have obscured the intrinsic value of the original statistics. Extensive interpretation and analysis will be provided in another volume in which the dynamics of the population changes are studied. I have provided some information about the constantly changing boundaries of the Ottoman administrative units, inasmuch as the lists give population statistics according to the various districts and appeared in need of elucidation on this point. I have also attempted to give useful technical information (for example, about the history of the Ottoman calendar) where it seemed this would help the reader to understand the population records better.

It has required years of exceptionally tedious work to sort out, type, add up, and check the original figures, to make necessary technical corrections, and then to put them in some meaningful order and, finally, to retype them in final form. It is my fervent hope that this study will stimulate new interest in the vitally important topic of Ottoman demography and will be supplemented and expanded by additional studies as the 21,000 or so population registers known to exist in various archival stores are fully catalogued and made available to scholars. I am deeply grateful to the various persons who have assisted me in my endeavor to present this first collection of statistics in usable form. Thanks are due first to Hayri Mutluçağ for his various inputs into this work; and I also thank Eric Bingen, Michael Harpke, Hülya Sowerwine, Barbara Husseini, Robert Eils, Dr. Tevfik Güran, Nurhan and Erol Katircioğlu, Dr. Justin McCarthy, and Engin Akarli, and the patient, hard-working staff of the Department of History, University of Wisconsin–Madison, for their various efforts on behalf of this work. I am also very grateful to the Graduate School, University of Wisconsin–Madison, and to the Social Science Research Council for the salary support and research assistance that has enabled me to accomplish this work.

KEMAL H. KARPAT
Madison, 20 June 1982

INTRODUCTION

IT HAS BEEN my aim, in the preparation of voluminous and diverse material, to present the statistics and other information in this volume in the most usable form possible. Several problems have been solved along the way, but others remain for the reader to sort out; some will not be completely solvable without more information. For example, as I have pointed out in text, in some cases population comparisons cannot usefully be made because we do not have information about the exact boundaries of the areas for which population figures are given. Although population lists followed administrative divisions after 1870, there were frequent reshufflings of district boundaries, and one cannot be sure, without further investigation, that a district has remained the same in area from one population list to the next even when its name remains the same.

Place Names and Spelling

The same locality may be called by different names in different sources, or a name may appear in several different spellings—e.g., Kosova, Kossovo, Cosovo. In general, I have used the form of the name that appears in Turkish sources and have used Ottoman Turkish spellings, as opposed to European or transliterated Arabic names or spellings, particularly in the statistical material: thus, Manastir instead of Monastir, Harput rather than Kharput, Dobruca instead of Dobruja, and so on. Nevertheless, some tables are presented essentially as they appear in the source, complete with European versions of names; and in the text I often use the common present-day names for former Ottoman possessions, depending on context. Alternate or present-day names of major locations are from time to time given parenthetically or in notes.

The name Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid is translated as "Aegean Islands," although the boundaries of that province often extended beyond the Aegean Sea to the north and the south.

I have also used Turkish spellings, in general, rather than European or transliterated Arabic, for words other than place names: *sancak* rather than *sanjak* or *sandjak*, *ciziye* rather than *jiziye* or *djiziye*, *harac* rather than *kharaj*, etc.

The orthography is modern Turkish, in which c = j, ğ = soft g, ç = ch, ş = sh, and ö, ü = o, u with umlaut as in German. The short ı, however, appears throughout as an ordinary dotted i, while the long capital İ is undotted. I have also ignored the convention that uses â, ô, and û in Turkish words of Arabic or Persian origin and have eliminated long vowel markings (ā, ī).

Tables

Where it seemed advisable, and as noted, I have corrected figures in the tables. I have given totals for convenience where columns were not totaled in the original. I have corrected totals that are incorrect in the original (realizing the while that the error in the original may be in fact in the figures for which the total is given rather than in the computation of the Ottoman statistician). None of these corrections significantly affects the basic data. Extensive notes give information of significance about particular figures.

Calendar and Dates

In general the Ottomans used the Muslim calendar, i.e., the Hicri-Kameri (H.) calendar that was tied to the lunar year and began with the year of the Hegira (A.D. 622). However, as early as 20 July 1677 the device of adding one year to the calendar every thirty years was adopted. This added year came to be known as the year of "şivis"—roughly, of "overlapping" or "interpenetration." By 1740 salaries and appointments were being calculated on the basis of a solar calendar year beginning in March, while revenues and expenditures were still calculated according to the Hicri calendar. By July of 1794, during the reign of Selim III, a trend toward application of the solar calendar in all financial matters was established. The solar calendar was known as Mali or Rumi (Roman) and was the same as the calendar introduced in 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII and called in the West the Gregorian calendar. It was adopted as a second official Ottoman calendar on the first of March of the Hicri year 1256 (A.D. 13 March 1840). Rumi (R.) dating then became standard in the government statistical offices as well as in the financial offices, although the Hicri calendar continued in use also throughout the reign of Abdulhamid II (1876–1909). With the rise to power of the Union and Progress Society in 1908, use of the Roman calendar became general. In 1912 the government introduced the twenty-four-hour day (*saati zevali*); and on 1 March 1917 the solar calendar became the official calendar for all government transactions. After the establishment of the Republic (1923) the Grand National Assembly brought the Turkish calendar completely into accordance with the western calendar, adopting, on R. 26 December 1341 (1925), a law decreeing that the dating system henceforth used in the Republic of Turkey would be the internationally accepted one—i.e., the solar calendar with the year beginning January 1. For a fuller explanation of the Ottoman system of dating, see Faik

Reşit Unat, *Hicri Tarihleri Miladi Tarihe Çevirme Kilavuzu* [Guide to the conversion of Hicri years to solar years] (Ankara, 1959). In converting dates in this work I have relied on Unat's *Guide* and, principally, on Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa, *Takvim-i Sinin* [The Calendar of Years] (Istanbul: Ceride-i Havadis, 1331 [1915]).

Late in the century population statistics were prepared by both the Population Bureau (Sicill-i Nüfus) and the Statistical Office. These offices were attached to different ministries, and each compiled its own statistics, often without reference to the other. Although the Statistical Office used the Rumi calendar year (as did the financial services), most other offices, including the Population Bureau, adhered to the Hicri calendar. I have throughout given the western (Miladi) date along with the original date. Where the source indicated month and day, the exact date of an event is given; in cases in which the source gives only a year, a Miladi date such as 1881/82 may be used, because of the fact that the Hicri year overlapped two western calendar years.

Sources and Abbreviations

Frequently cited sources are abbreviated in notes as follows:

(1) IUKTY = Istanbul Universitesi Kitapliği (Istanbul University Library), Türkçe Yazmalar (Turkish manuscript section); the abbreviated main reference is followed by the document number and, sometimes, other information such as the date and/or title of the document.

(2) BA = Başbakanlik Arşivi (the Başbankanlik Archive in Istanbul); the reference to the archive is followed by section and subsection designations, the document number, and, occasionally, the date and/or title of the document. BA sections and subsections are abbreviated as follows:

(C) = Cevdet (collection of documents filed under the name of their cataloguer);
(D) = Dahiliye (Interior Ministry);

(HH) = Hatt-i Hümayun (orders sent by the sultan to the grand vizier for execution);
(I) = Irade (decrees);
(KK) = Kamil Kepeci (documents filed under the name of their cataloguer);
(M) = Maliye (Finance Office);
(MH) = Mabeyn-i Hümayun (Secretariat of the Imperial Palace—private correspondence of the sultan);
(MM) = Meclis-i Mahsus (Special Council);
(MV) = Meclis-i Vala (Supreme Council);
(P) = Perakende ("scattered"—miscellaneous documents not classified precisely into subsections);
(ŞD) = Şuray-i Devlet (Council of State);
(Y) = Yildiz (a collection of documents containing the correspondence of Sultan Abdulhamid transferred from Yildiz Palace *in toto* and kept together in the archives).

(3) FM = the Turkish Foreign Ministry archives; this main reference is followed by the section designation, document number, and, frequently, a description of the document and date. Section abbreviations are the following:

(Id) = Idare (administrative file);
(S) = Siyasi (political file).

(4) FO = British Foreign Office archival material from the Public Records Office in London; this reference includes a file number, volume or document number, and, frequently, a date and description of the document.

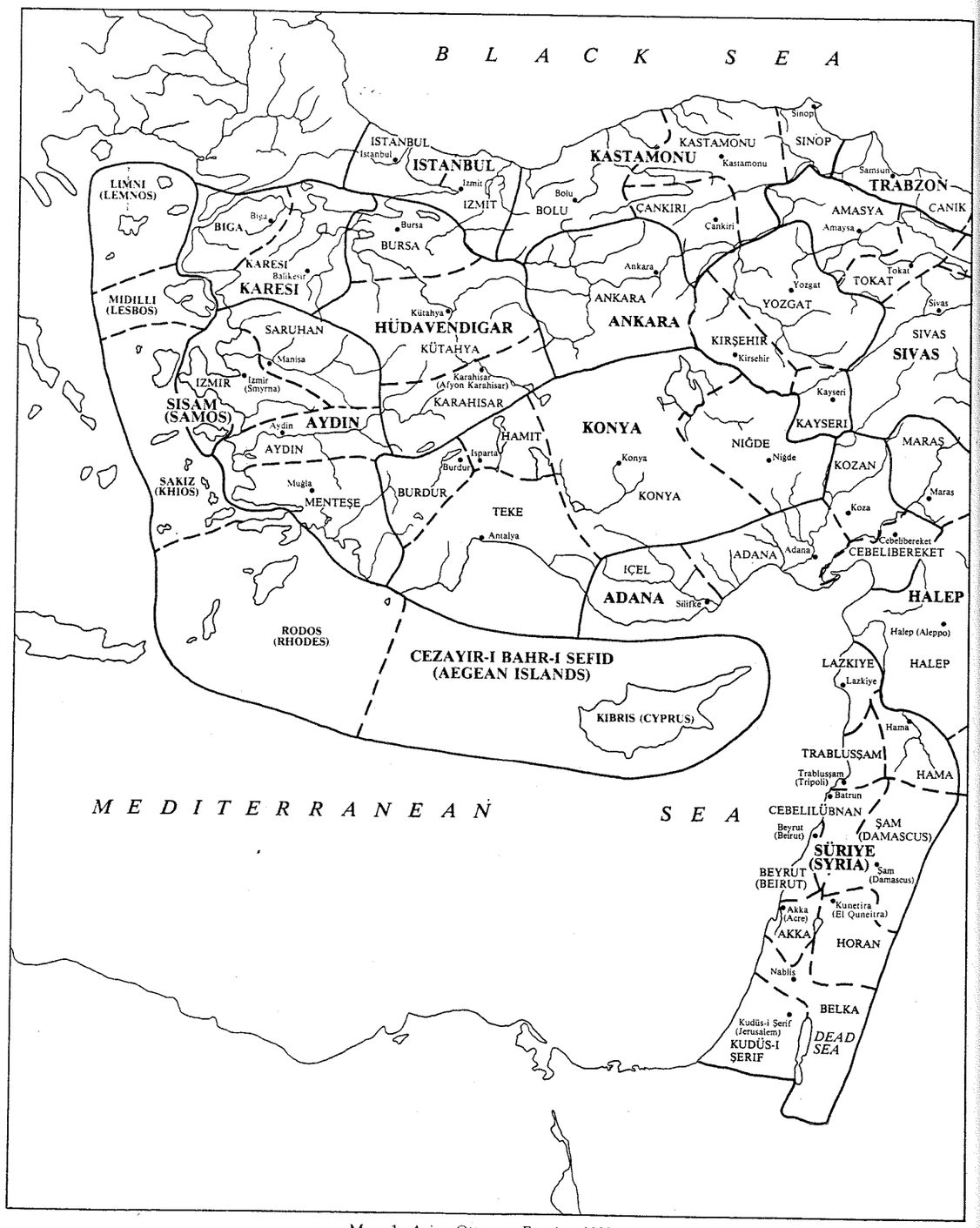
(5) HCAP = the House of Commons *Accounts and Papers* in Great Britain's series of published *Parliamentary Papers*; the abbreviated main reference is followed by the *Parliamentary Papers* volume number and the number of the *Accounts and Papers* volume (separated by a slant line), the volume year, and, often, the page number and information about the material cited.

An important source for background information, although not much cited, was the French Foreign Ministry Archive in Paris.

MAPS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

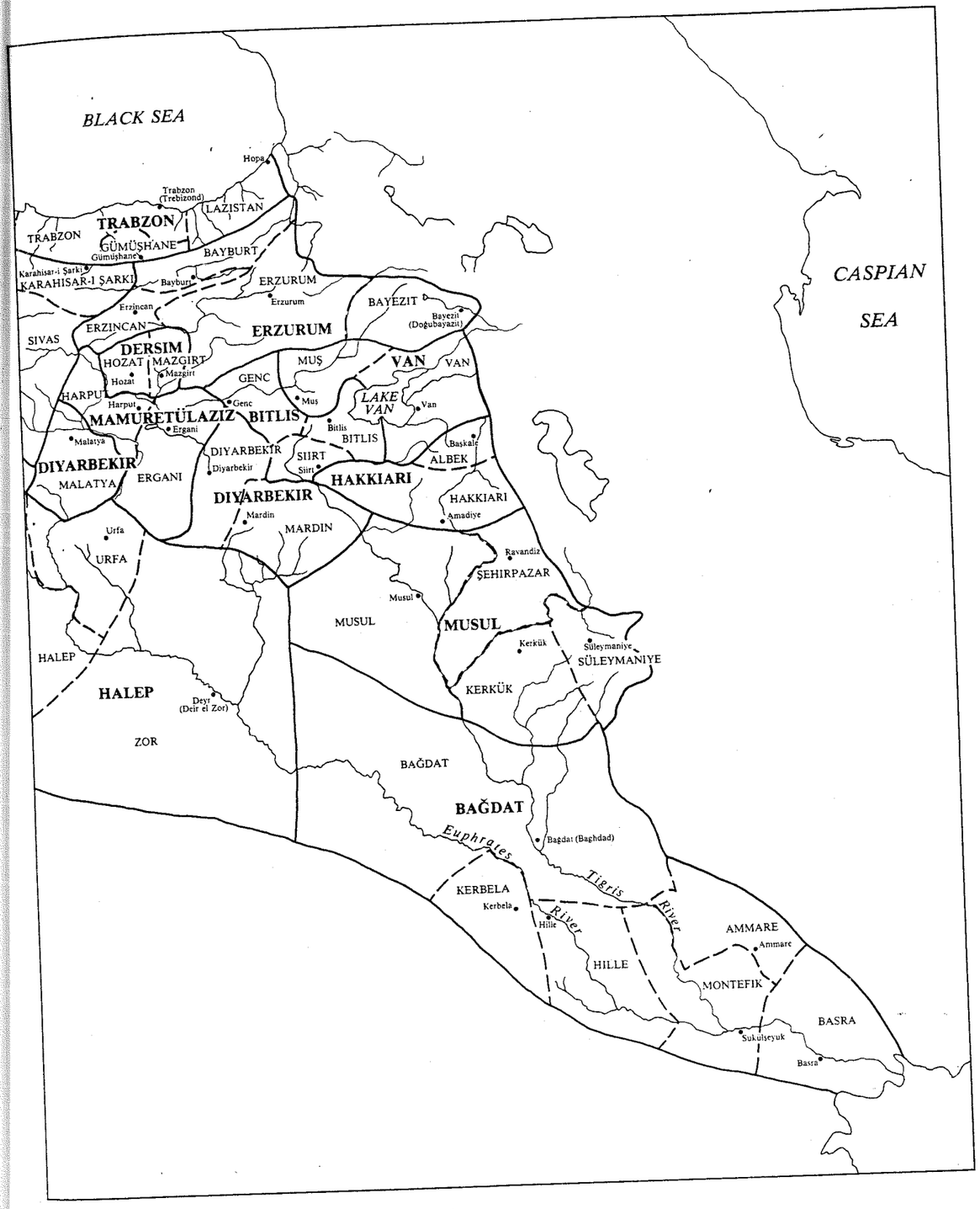
ASIAN PROVINCES

EUROPEAN PROVINCES



Map. 1. Asian Ottoman Empire, 1883.
Based on Synvet's adaptation of a map by H. Kiepert.

Note: Some of the divisions shown on the map as provinces or *sancaks* were, in fact, special districts. Samos was a *beylik*, while Canik (Samsun), Cebililübnan, Beyrut, and Kudüs (Jerusalem) were *mutasarriflik*s and were administered directly from Istanbul rather than from the provincial centers.



Map. 2. European Ottoman Empire, before the Treaty of Berlin, 1878.

OTTOMAN POPULATION, 1830–1914

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
Kütüphanesi
İslâm Ansiklopedisi

1 CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY OF THE OTTOMAN POPULATION

POPULATION MOVEMENTS have always played a dynamic role in the transformation of human society. Indeed, in all of the history of the world, the impact of migration and settlement—as well as of high or low rates of birth and mortality and of the social, cultural, economic, and political effects of these demographic events—is clearly and widely discernible. In the history of the Middle East one finds excellent examples. The Muslim calendar begins with an act of migration, that is, the *hejira* of A.D. 622. Migrants going from the countryside to urban centers or fleeing from areas hostile to Islam have always exerted crucial influence on the social and political destiny of Muslim countries. The refugees fleeing from Spain to North Africa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the forced migration of Muslims from Russia (the Caucasus and Crimea) in the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, the shifts of populations in India, Pakistan, and Palestine since 1948, to cite just a few examples, have been major factors accounting, at least in part, for the social transformation of the entire Muslim world. (Ali Shariati, the Iranian fundamentalist teacher [1933–1977], stated that he became aware of the importance of migration in Islam by reading the Koran.)

The socio-political and economic history of the Middle East in the nineteenth century was in large measure the product of major population movements. These produced increased social mobility, changed the rates of birth and death, intensified urbanization, and generated a variety of related changes. Today, migration from villages to cities has changed the demographic picture of practically all the Muslim countries and has been a powerful factor in socio-political change. For example, in the Islamic revolution in Iran the participation of the new arrivals in Teheran was a major factor.

Despite their obvious importance, population movements in the Middle East, especially during the Ottoman era, have not yet been studied in a broad historical and conceptual framework. The few existing studies deal essentially with demographic problems as isolated phenomena, ignoring their wider historical, political, and regional dimensions. Few scholars nowadays seem to have the time or patience to pore over hundreds of documents for months on end in dusty archives in order to extract information that can be condensed in a few pages and may remain long unnoticed and unappreciated. It is understandable, therefore, that considerable ingenuity and imagination have been invested in devising "concepts," "theories," and "models" to explain the entire history and transformation of the society in that area. In some cases the theorists have made sweeping false assertions, interpreting Middle Eastern events on the basis of preconceived western concepts or scattered impressions without regard for the differences—in culture, historical experience, and goals—that limit the applicability of these alien concepts. Yet, paradoxically, a major shortcoming of Middle East social studies in general and of population studies in particular derives from the lack of concepts and theories capable of expressing the social and historical experience of the Middle East within its own value system and patterns of change and acculturation.

The development of suitable concepts and theories, of course, depends first on the accumulation of usable empirical data. Anyone attempting to study population problems in the Middle East, especially precise topics such as fertility or mortality rates or family size in a given period of history or for a particular region, is hampered by insufficient data on the size of the population and by lack of knowledge about procedures for registering births and deaths. Indeed, the studies of Middle Eastern population history, besides failing to apply methods and techniques adapted to the socio-cultural conditions, suffer basically from lack of information. Although archives in the area, especially those in Istanbul and Ankara, contain much material on population size and the registration systems, very little of this material has been sorted out and used to study specific demographic problems.[1] Therefore, the first task of the

1. There are some notable exceptions. Ottoman censuses and surveys of the land in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are known of through O. L. Barkan's pioneering works: "Tarihi Demografi Araştirmalari ve Osmanli Tarihi," *Tarih Mecmuasi* 10 (1953); "Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement

scholar interested in the social history and the transformation of the Middle East, southeast Europe, and North Africa is to assemble, systematize, and analyze the population data available in Turkish archives and other places and to study the procedures used in gathering these data. This is particularly vital for the nineteenth century, when population movements were more influential than ever before in generating social and political changes throughout the entire Ottoman state.

Studies of Ottoman Population: An Evaluation

There is no dearth of writings about the population of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, but most of these are ethnographic works. It is true that they are, in a way, indispensable to any study of this topic. Generally, however, their value is limited. They suffer from three major shortcomings. First, only a few of them utilize reliable statistical information based on the actual count of population. Second, these studies often were undertaken with the sole purpose of supporting the political claims of certain ethnic or religious groups within the empire; besides demonstrating an appalling lack of information on practically every aspect of Muslim life, they strongly reflect the political biases of the writers or of their informants, and, worst of all, in some of them the statistics were blatantly manipulated or falsified outright in order to support some territorial claim of an existing or potential political state. Third, most of these "population studies" (or ethnographic surveys, as they are properly called) by westerners dealt with the European part of the Ottoman state, leaving Anatolia and the Arabic-speaking countries unaccounted for; and after most of the Balkans had achieved the desired independence (1878), the rate of production of studies of Ottoman population dropped drastically.

Because the maneuvering for territory and influence in the lands of the Ottoman Empire had such a profound impact, I here address in some detail the issue of the dishonest use of population statistics. The precedent for the political manipulation of demographic data was set by Russia, and the practice was thus immediately legitimized—as seemed to be the case with any such deed of a big power in the nineteenth century; any subterfuge employed against the Ottoman government was at that time more often than not viewed as inevitably right and proper. During the talks at the Istanbul Conference, held in December 1876 for the discussion of "reforms" (actually autonomy) for the Balkans, the Russian delegate submitted a series of population statistics alleged to have been prepared by a great authority. These statistics indicated that the Bulgarians formed a majority in most of the central and northeastern parts of the Balkans—that is, in the area which became part of Greater Bulgaria under the San Stefano treaty in 1878. In fact, the Russian statistics had inflated the comparative number of Bulgarians by completely ignoring the Vlahs, Greeks, and Serbs, while minimizing the number of Muslims. In reaction to the Russian statistics, the Greeks and, occasionally, some other groups issued their own statistics. Faced with this strong reaction from Christians who, no less than the Muslims, objected to becoming part of Bulgaria, the British government decided to investigate the numbers of Greeks, Muslims, and other ethnic groups in Thrace and other areas of contention. It sent to these places a number of military officers, whose voluminous population reports (although often distorted in favor of the Greeks) are worthy of study.[2] I believe that these reports were at least partly responsible for inducing the British to oppose, at the Berlin Congress in 1878, the cession of territory in the central and southern parts of the Balkans to Bulgaria. (The British hoped to see Greece acquire these territories, despite the fact that the Muslims formed the majority in many places.)

The manipulation of population statistics for political purposes by various ethnic and religious groups was widespread and ingenious. For example, early in the twentieth century the Greek Patriarchate issued figures purporting to show that the Greeks in western Anatolia numbered 1.7

dans l'Empire ottoman au XV^e et XVI^e siècles, "*Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1, no. 1 (1957); 9–21; and "Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys," in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 163–71. See also Heath W. Lowry, "The Ottoman *Tahrir Defters* as a Source of Urban Demographic History: The Case Study of Trabzon (ca. 1486–1583)" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1977); Leila Erder, "The Measurement of Preindustrial Population Changes: The Ottoman Empire from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century," *Middle Eastern Studies* 11 (1975): 284–301; M. A. Cook, *Population Pressure in Rural Anatolia: 1450–1600* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971); Ronald J. Jennings, "Urban Population in Anatolia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon, and Erzurum," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 7 (1976): 21–57; Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century* (Erlangen: Fränkische Geographische Gesellschaft, 1977). A survey of the Western bibliography on Ottoman population in the nineteenth century is in Engin Akarli, "Ottoman Population in Europe in the 19th Century; Its Territorial, Racial, and Religious Composition," (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1970). See also Marc Pinson, "Demographic Warfare: An Aspect of Ottoman and Russian Policy, 1854–1866" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1970). For further bibliographical information, see my *The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization in Turkey* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), and my "Ottoman Immigration Policies and Settlement in Palestine," in *Settler Regimes in Africa and the Arab World*, ed. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod and Baha Abu-Laban (Wilmette, Ill.: Medina University Press International, 1974), pp. 57–72. For a general survey of current population studies, see Georges Sabagh, "The Demography of the Middle East," *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 4, no. 2 (1970): 1–19. For a comprehensive study of Ottoman statistics, see Justin McCarthy, *The Arab World, Turkey and the Balkans (1878–1914): A Handbook of Historical Statistics* (Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1982).

2. These reports, discussed more fully in Chapter 3, can be found in the FO 78 and 242 series.

million. The authors stated that these figures were from the official Ottoman censuses. Indeed, the final totals given in the Greek and Ottoman statistics coincided perfectly; however, in their classification of the population according to ethnic origin, the Greek-sponsored statistics ignored the Ottoman classification and substituted inflated numbers for the Greeks.[3] These false statistics were used by the Greek premier, Eleutherios Venizelos, at the peace conference at Versailles in 1919 as the basis for claiming western Anatolia for Greece; and later the League of Nations used them to calculate the number of Greek refugees from Turkey. The Armenian patriarch adopted a different method for arriving at his inflated figure for the number of the Armenians in the Ottoman state. Submitted to the Berlin Congress in 1878, this deceptive figure has since been used extensively by a variety of scholars and politicians. The patriarch simply added in with his figures for the Armenian population of the province under consideration the Armenian population of one or more neighboring provinces and excluded from his count Muslims, refugees, and, at times, Kurdish nomads. This subterfuge was discovered by the British officials in charge of implementing reforms in the eastern provinces, and the patriarch was forced to admit his "error" (see Chapter 3).

Another subterfuge used by advocates of the various groups was to reclassify all the Christians as "Bulgarian" or "Greek" or some other chosen nationality.[4] In other cases Muslims would be divided into tribal groups, or into Shiite and Sunni, and classified as non-Muslim in order to promote the preferred group to numerical majority. For example, a statistical table put out by the Armenian patriarch in 1912 gives the total number of Christians in six provinces in eastern Anatolia (Van, Bitlis, Sivas, Erzurum, Harput [Kharput], and Diyarbekir) as 1,183,000, or 45.2 percent of the total population, and the number of the Armenians as 1,018,000—about twice the number in the official Ottoman census. The patriarch placed the total number of Muslims at 1,178,000, or 45.1 percent of the total, that is, just a shade under the percentage of Christians. The remaining 9.7 percent of the population, according to the patriarch's statistics, was made up of "various other religions."[5] In a different column it is indicated that these "other religions" consisted of Kizilbaş, Zaza, Çarikli, and Yezidis, that is, Alevi and other nonorthodox Muslim groups. These were classified as non-Muslim in order to back the assertion that the Christians formed a majority in eastern Anatolia. This preposterous claim was rejected by the even most biased of European statesmen.

Evidence of the shortcomings of nineteenth-century population studies is clearly revealed in the monumental, multivolume bibliographical work by Nikola V. Mikhov.[6] Mikhov's study was undertaken in part to justify Bulgarian nationhood and advance (indirectly) Bulgarian claims to Macedonia and in part to counter Greek and Serbian efforts to include the Bulgarians as part of their own groups. Although it is a permanent historical source and a monument to Mikhov's dedication to industrious scholarship, the work has basic weaknesses. In the first four volumes the titles of 3,050 books and articles, together with extracts containing statistics and information on Bulgarian history and society, are listed. These titles include 1,126 citations from German, 1,123 from French, 731 from English, 63 from Italian, and 7 from other European languages. There are no citations from Turkish, and the work includes almost no direct quotations from the official Ottoman censuses (except for a reference to Salaheddin Bey's figures drawn from A. Ubicini), although Mikhov refers extensively to writings and figures given by western authors such as A. Ubicini, David Urquhart, and Ami Boué and to statisticians and demographers such as E. G. Ravenstein and Hugo Kutschera. It is interesting to note that Mikhov considered the scarcity of official censuses in the Ottoman state to be normal, for even in Europe regular systematic censuses were not taken until early in the nineteenth century. Mikhov takes note of the fact that many of the cited authors estimated Ottoman population by applying subjective judgment or using false information supplied by natives. As an example, he points out that travelers' estimates of the total number of Bulgarians in the period from 1800 to 1878 ranged from 500,000 to 8 million. A similar misrepresentation had been noted earlier by William Eton, who dismissed the claim by the Greeks that they numbered 8 million at the end of the eighteenth century.[7]

Doubt about the accuracy of Ottoman official population figures was expressed by some Europeans who made unsubstantiated claims about their own special knowledge of and insight into Ottoman affairs. In many cases these individuals were travelers or professionals who lived in exclusively European sections of Ottoman cities, communicated only with the Christian groups, or worked in remote cor-

3. Justin McCarthy, "Greek Statistics on Ottoman Greek Population," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1, no. 2 (1980): 66–76.

4. This is how the results of the census of 1866 in Tuna Province were used. The original register for this census is in the National Library in Sofia. I have requested a copy of the register but have not received it and have therefore relied on the figures as published in the yearbook and by Nikolai Todorov in *Balkanskiat Grad, XV–XIX–VEK* [The Balkan town, XV–XIX centuries] (Sofia, 1972), pp. 327 ff. See the English version of Todorov's book, *The Balkan City, 1400–1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983).

5. The tables with detailed ethnic and religious classifications may be found in Marcel Léart, *La Question arménienne à la lumière des documents* (Paris: A. Challamel, 1913), pp. 60–61. (It is interesting to note that Léart was actually an Armenian from Istanbul whose real name was Kirkor Zohrap; see FO 96/205.)

6. *Naseleniento na Turtsii i Bulgarii, prez XVIII–XIX v. (La Population de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie au XVIII^e et au XIX^e siècles)*, 5 vols. (Sofia, 1915–1968). The name of the author and the title of this work appear in French on the title page of each volume; each volume also has a preface in French. However, the text is entirely in Bulgarian and I therefore cite it under its Bulgarian title only throughout this volume. The essence of this work is in the first volume; volumes 2 through 4 list titles omitted from volume 1, while the last volume concerns itself with Russian works on Ottoman population.

7. *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*, 2d ed. (London, 1799), p. 291.

ners of the realm. Upon returning to their countries of origin, these "experts" on Ottoman affairs wrote books and gave out estimates and opinions relating to every aspect of Ottoman life. A good example is F. Bianconi, who worked as an engineer for a railroad company from 1872 to 1876 and then, upon returning to the West, issued his own set of population statistics; he used no reliable sources but tried to enhance his own credibility by denouncing the Turks and their statistics.[8] Despite their gross distortions, Bianconi's figures have often been cited as a major source of information on Ottoman population.

Ottoman Official Data: Its Value and Use

Although the views of those few misinformed individuals who mistrusted Ottoman population statistics enjoyed considerable publicity in the European press, this was compensated for by the testimony of other Europeans. A large number of Europeans of all nationalities worked for long periods in the Ottoman state as diplomatic representatives (consuls, military attachés, embassy secretaries, etc.), teachers, or business representatives. They learned the language, read the local press, and became intimately acquainted with the Ottoman bureaucracy. They tried to compile statistics on matters such as Ottoman trade, military strength, and defense capabilities in order to provide their home governments with factual information needed for the making of vital economic and political decisions. These men had to seek the most reliable sources of information; and after thorough investigation they came to accept the Ottoman official statistics as basically trustworthy, although they often made adjustments to compensate for certain technical shortcomings.[9] In some cases, when in doubt about some figures, these Europeans questioned Ottoman ministers and prime ministers; Ubicini, for example, had some of his population figures checked by Ahmet Vefik Paşa. These Europeans developed a healthy respect for the Ottoman population statistics and used them extensively, often publishing them in Europe. The data contained in the official censuses or published in imperial or provincial yearbooks were accepted as sound and used (as shall be shown in the next chapter) by Ubicini, Boué, Urquhart, Kutschera, Paul Boutet, A. Ritter zur Helle von Samo, Ernst Behm, H. Wagner, Vital Cuinet, and others;[10] their works in turn became primary sources for many lesser writers and a great variety of periodicals. Nowadays even scholars belonging to those ethnic and national groups that were at one time under Ottoman rule and critical of its policies have come to accept the Porte's official statistics as mainly reliable.[11]

The Ottoman population statistics were developed to satisfy pressing administrative and military needs. Censuses, land surveys, and, eventually, a permanent population register system became vitally important for the government in the nineteenth century. Centralization had forced it to assume new administrative responsibilities, for the successful discharge of which knowledge of the empire's human and financial resources was necessary. The recruitment of a modern army and its organization into active and reserve units required accurate information about the number and age of the male population. The conscription system for Muslims introduced by Mahmut II in 1838, the general conscription introduced in 1855 (but never actually applied to Christians), and, especially, the categorization of males obligated to do military service could have been implemented only under a sound registration system. In the latter part of the nineteenth century Muslim males were divided into four age groups, with military obligations defined accordingly: the active duty group (*muvazzaf*) served four years from age twenty; the active reserve group (*ihtiyat*) served for two more years; the inactive reserve (*redif*) was under obligation for another fourteen years; and, finally, the territorial/local militia (*mustahfiz*) served for four years. (A male Muslim thus might have some sort of military duty for as much as twenty-four years.)

The Ottoman military establishment was therefore the first to show keen interest in population records and to exert pressure on the sultan and the government to undertake censuses and adopt a regular population register system. In fact, army officers took active roles in Ottoman

8. Bianconi wrote: "Le peu de scrupule qui ont les Turcs etant aujourd'hui universellement reconnu, on doit convenir que jamais les statistiques fournies d'une façon officielle par la Porte, sur ses sujets, n'ont pu être prises en sérieuse considération et ne doivent, en conséquence, servir en aucune maniere comme documents pour l'élaboration d'un travail ethnographique de ces contrées" (*Ethnographie et statistique de la Turquie d'Europe et de la Grèce*, 2d ed. [Paris, 1877], p. 16).

9. For instance, Paul Boutet, who used the Ottoman population lists for 1877/78 wrote: "Tout en tenant compte des erreurs inévitables qui accompagnent toujours un premier essai d'un genre pareil, surtout pour une oeuvre faite dans un pays oriental, on peut accepter ces statistiques, publiées officiellement, comme devant avoir une autorité de beaucoup supérieure à celle des divers chiffres, plus ou moins fantaisistes, donnés jusqu'ici par des publicistes qui pour la plupart, n'avaient pas accès aux sources d'information" ("L'Empire ottoman, Documents statistiques," *Exploration* 2 [1877]: 159).

10. A group of British statisticians trying to assess the human resources of Turkey and Russia had the following to say about the Ottoman figures: "In treating the Turkish statistics, therefore, without the aids we are used to in countries where there is a good administration, we need not be absolutely in the dark. The results will not be so authoritative or so complete in detail as it is expedient to have them, but they will be much better than no results at all, and may leave no practical doubt on the more important questions to be answered. The first question which presents itself is that of population and area. Of this a very good account has lately been given by Mr. Ravenstein . . ." ("Turkish Resources," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 40 [1877]: 633–34). (Ravenstein's work is commented on in Chapter 3.)

11. See Todorov, *Balkanskiat Grad* and "The Balkan Town in the Second Half of the 19th Century," *Etudes balkaniques*, no. 2 (1969): 31.

censuses, kept their own registers for the Muslims, and cooperated closely with civilian population officials throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

To meet this strong administrative need, then, the Ottoman developed the censuses and the yearbooks (*salnames*), both state and provincial, to be basic and reliable sources of information about the size and general religious composition of the population and, eventually, about the ethnic division of the Christians as well. The census methods and the quality of the statistics produced underwent continual evolution, reaching a quite advanced level in the census of 1881/82–1893.[12] (Earlier figures, while generally reliable, have relatively higher margins of error than those of the census taken in the 1880s.)

The censuses taken at various times in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are thus the principal Ottoman source of information on the population. However, these have not been published officially in their entirety, although some summaries were made public: the important census of 1844, for instance, is known through figures published by Ubicini and Boré. The detailed lists that were the bases for the final census figures (with the partial exception of lists from the 1866 census of Tuna *vilayet*) probably will not be available until all the Ottoman documents of the nineteenth century are fully catalogued. The second major source of information on Ottoman population is the yearbooks.[13] Although imperial *salnames* covering the entire realm began to be published in 1847 (H. 1263), the population figures for the whole empire appeared for the first time only in the volume issued in 1877/78. The first provincial yearbook (for Bosnia) was published in 1866. By 1868 there were several *salnames* giving population figures for their respective provinces. These figures, used extensively by various European ethnographers and statisticians, were based on earlier figures obtained by actual count and also from tax registers and other information available to the provincial administrators. Population estimates given by various European scholars and diplomats, as well as by Ottoman geographers and encyclopedists, rely either on these official published records or on the information supplied by officials in charge of population affairs. A list of yearbooks according to publication date is included as Appendix A.1 following this chapter.

The statistical tables compiled by the Ottoman government in the nineteenth century also provide excellent information for measuring the level of urbanization. The census results are given by *vilayet/eyalet* (province), *liva/sancak*, and *kaza*—that is, according to the main administrative units of the time. Often the first figure given following the name of a specific administrative center is the population of the capital city, usually under a heading such as *merkez kazasi* (central *kaza*). In the case of Edirne Province, for example, the central *kaza* includes the main city and the villages in the vicinity of the city. Although the size of the territory of the central *kaza* varies, the population in the villages is seldom more numerous than the population of the city itself; therefore, one can arrive at a tentative population figure for the city by subtracting from the total population of the central *kaza* a certain number of people deemed to live in the villages attached administratively to it. Some censuses refer specifically to the population of a given town; the census of 1831 occasionally includes the population of the city, e.g., of Konya, Edirne, Manastir (Bitolia), and other smaller towns. The surrounding areas (the neighborhoods—*nahiyes*) indicated separately, making possible the comparison of the urban and rural populations.

Population Censuses and Administrative Division

The study of Ottoman population is vitally dependent on precise, up-to-date maps showing the administrative division of the realm. Internal population movement is after all simply a transfer of people from one administrative unit to another. In the nineteenth century the administrative division of the Ottoman state underwent several changes that tend to confuse one unfamiliar with the process. The original division, adopted in the second half of the fifteenth century, had survived, despite various changes, until that time, and the *Cihannuma*, the classical work on geography of Katip Çelebi (1609–1658), provides fairly estensive information about this. A detailed description of the administrative division of a later period was given at the beginning of the nineteenth century (1804) by P. L. Inciciyan, who devoted three volumes of his eleven-volume work on world geography to the description of Istanbul (volume 5), Rumili (volume 6), and Anatolia (volume 10).[14] Joseph, Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, M. D'Ohsson, and Ubicini, among

12. This census was begun in the Hicri year 1299, corresponding to 1881/82, but it was not declared complete until more than ten Gregorian years later. As will be demonstrated in detail in Chapter 2, it was, with the possible exception of the partial census taken in Tuna Province in 1866, the most advanced and comprehensive of all the Ottoman population surveys conducted in the nineteenth century.

13. The imperial yearbooks, known as *Devlet-i Aliye Salnameleri*, or *salnames* for short, consist of sixty-six volumes published regularly, except during the First World War, from 1847 to 1918. The provincial *salnames*, which began to be published roughly from 1868 onwards and amount to several hundred volumes of various sizes, are very valuable sources on Ottoman socio-economic history despite the fact that, with the partial exception of those for Aydin and Hüdavendigar provinces, few were published regularly. The best and most comprehensive study of the *salnames*, which includes information about their location in libraries in Turkey, is that published by the Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture, *Ottoman Year-Books (Salname and Nevsal)* (Istanbul, 1982). See also Justin McCarthy and J. Dennis Hyde, "Ottoman Imperial and Provincial Salnames," *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 13, no. 2 (1976): 10–20; and Hasan R. Ertug, "Osmanli Devrinde Salnameler," *Hayat Tarih Mecmuasi* 10, nos. 103, 104 (1973). See also *Islam Ansiklopedesi*, s.v. "Salname."

14. The section on Rumili has been published recently in a version prepared by H. D. Andreasyan; see "Osmanli Rumelisi Tarih ve Cografyasi," *Güney Doğu Avrupa Araştirmalari Dergisi* 2–3 (1973–1974): 11–88, and 4–5 (1975–76): 101–152.

western students of Ottoman affairs, provided illuminating information on the administrative divisions of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Among other recent works, a comprehensive study by Andreas Birken is noteworthy.[15]

It is not necessary here to provide a detailed description; it suffices for the purpose of this study to say that the Ottoman administrative division in 1831—that is, when the first modern census was taken—included 29 *eyalet*s (with one or two of them, e.g., Viranşehir, retaining a rather confusing status) subdivided into *liva*s or *sancak*s; one of these subdivisions was chosen as the seat of the provincial governor and was known as "paşa sancağı." The *liva* or *sancak* was divided in turn into *kaza*s, which were basically judicial districts under a judge (*kadi*). The *kaza*s were further subdivided into *nahiye*s—mainly rural districts which had a given number of villages. In 1834 Sultan Mahmud II introduced a new administrative division consisting of 28 *eyalet*s, 31 *sancak*s, and 54 independent *voivoda*s subdivided into 126 *liva*s and 1,267 *kaza*s.[16] Five years later this new division was abandoned, and the empire reverted to the old administrative system.

Yearbooks published after 1847 give information on the administrative division. In the early 1850s the Ottoman state appears to have been divided into 36 *eyalet*s, of which 15 were in Europe, 18 in Asia, and 3 in Africa; however, their political and administrative status was varied, Egypt, Wallachia, Moldavia, and Serbia being almost independent, while Tunisia had special status. The *eyalet*s were subdivided into 440 *liva*s, or *sancak*s (administered by a *kaymakam* or *mutassarrif*), *kaza*s (administered by a *müdir* assisted by a council of notables), and *nahiye*s (administered by elected *muhtar*s or *kocabaşi*, the first usually among Muslims, the second in non-Muslim communities). Lists of the administrative units of 1831 and the early 1850s are given in appendices A.2 and A.3 following this chapter.

The gradual evolution of a new administrative organization began with the promulgation of the Vilayet Law of 1864.[17] The reform was a slow process. It was partly completed by 1871 but continued thereafter.[18] The *vilayet* of Tuna was the first, created in 1864 by combining the *eyalet*s of Silistre, Vidin, and Niş into a unit under the governorship of Mithat Paşa; this was the pilot project for achieving modernization.[19] In 1867 and 1871 new *vilayet*s were created; in 1870 there were 23 *vilayet*s; in 1875 the number was 25. By 1893 there were 27 *vilayet*s in Europe and Asia (excluding North Africa), 4 special districts (Çatalca, Biga, Küdus-i-Şerif [Jerusalem], and Izmit), and the capital. (It should be remembered that territories in the Balkans and Caucasus had been lost through the treaty of Berlin in 1878: these were Bosnia, Tuna [Bulgaria], Kars-Artvin, and eastern Rumelia.)

The Vilayet Law of 1864, as amended, basically preserved the old division (*eyalet*, *liva*/*sancak*, *kaza*, *nahiye*) but changed the *eyalet*s into *vilayet*s administered by *vali*s (governors) appointed by the central government. There were changes also in the administrative titles: a *mudir* became the administrator of the *nahiye*. The purpose of the reform was to strengthen the authority of the central government by eliminating or neutralizing the influence of the *derebey*s and other local lords. Originally the *vilayet* was larger than the old *eyalet*; gradually, however, the *vilayet*s were partitioned into smaller units for more efficient administration. For example, in 1878/79 the *vilayet* of Erzurum was subdivided into the *vilayet*s of Van, Bitlis, Mamuretülaziz, and Erzurum; in 1880 Bağdat (Baghdad) was divided into Bağdat, Kerkük (Mosul), and Basra; meanwhile, parts of Zor (Deir) were attached to Halep (Aleppo) and Damascus, while Halep itself was divided into Halep and Adana; and Diyarbekir ceded Siirt to Bitlis and Malatya to Harput (Kharput). Any comparison of the populations of the various regions, especially of the *vilayet*s, in different years must be sure to take into account the creation of these new administrative units as well as the concurrent use of Turkish and Arabic, Slavic, or Greek names for a given locality within the same *vilayet*.

In sum, it is extremely important to have a complete and detailed study of the Ottoman administrative division and of the boundary changes in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately such a task goes far beyond the scope of this work, which is confined to a quantitative study of population.

Problems in the Use of Ottoman Census Data

Ottoman population statistics cannot be accepted at face value. They have particular characteristics which must be understood, as well as shortcomings which must be overcome or, at least, taken into consideration. Briefly, the standards to be applied in evaluating Ottoman data are (1) internal consistency, (2) consistency with modern enumerations given by the governments of the new states, and (3) consistency with demographic rules.[20] Some of the deficiencies revealed by the application of these standards are technical and easily remedied by arithmetical adjust-

15. *Die Provinzen des osmanischen Reiches* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1976).

16. See Ernest Dottain, "La Turquie d'Europe d'apès le Traité de Berlin," *Revue de géographie* 3 (1878): 97–123.

17. George Young, *Corps de droit ottoman* 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905): 47–69.

18. For a survey of the administrative reform (but without the list of *vilayet*s), see Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856–1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 157–71.

19. See for details Hans-Jurgen Kornrumpf, *Die Territorialverwaltung im östlichen Teil der europäischen Turkey vom Erlass der Vilayets-ordnung (1864) bis zum Berliner Kongress (1878) nach amtlichen osmanischen Veröffentlichungen* (Weisbaden: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1976).

20. See Justin McCarthy, "Population of the Ottoman Fertile Crescent" (Paper delivered at the International Conference on the Economic History of the Middle East, 1800–1914, Haifa, Israel, December 14–19, 1980), pp. 3–4. (The final version of this paper is "The Population of Ottoman Syria and Iraq, 1878–1914," *Asian and African Studies* 15, no. 1 [1981]: 3–44.)

ments. Others stem from the special Ottoman concept of the census and from a variety of social and administrative factors affecting the composition and distribution of the population; these are less easily corrected. The census methods were devised in accordance with the special Ottoman philosophy of the population count, and the results reflected the socio-cultural environment in which it was carried out.

The pervasive flaw in these data is the understatement of population. No census taker, including the most sophisticated contemporary one, can truly count the entire population. For instance, the *New York Times* of 9 March 1980 reported, in regard to the United States census to begin on 1 April 1980, that "the Census Bureau is under intense and mounting pressure to provide a means of artificially adjusting its final count to include the millions of people who are expected to elude the census takers April 1, despite all efforts to improve the count." The Census Bureau estimated that in certain densely populated areas as much as 18 percent of some age groups would escape the count. If the United States, with all its trained personnel and sophisticated computers, cannot conduct a perfect census in the late twentieth century, it is totally unrealistic to criticize the Ottomans for not having been able to count exactly their entire population in the nineteenth century.

The *raison d'être* of Ottoman population counts was originally not the simple desire to have an accurate record of the total number of people in the realm or details about their socio-ethnic composition. The traditional Ottoman *tahrir* was a survey carried out for tax purposes, and its results were recorded in land deed registers (*tapu defteri*). The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *tahrir*s involved the registration of adult males—especially households heads as taxpayers but also bachelors and others—and thus the *tapu defteri* are regarded as a fairly good source of demographic information;[21] but the object of the *tahrir*, it must be emphasized, was to assess the area of cultivated lands for the levying of taxes on the cultivator. In the nineteenth century new considerations dictated a new type of survey. However, for the Ottoman government the first modern-style census, begun in 1831 (or 1830, according to new but unverified information), was still not an end in itself. Its main purpose was to establish a quantitative basis for the levying of personal taxes on non-Muslims and, as previously pointed out, for the conscription of Muslim male adults into the army. This direct assessment of the male population replaced the former reliance on incomplete information supplied by communal heads. However, the government was not then interested in and did not seek to register those individuals—women, orphans, Christians below the age of puberty, the mentally or physiclaly incapacitated, high-ranking officials, etc.—who were not obligated to pay personal taxes or do military service. Land surveys, then known as *emlak tahriri*, continued to be conducted but were taken separately from the population count.[22]

By the middle of the nineteenth century, that is, after the signing of the Paris treaty in 1856, the Ottoman census philosophy underwent another change. The Porte began to embrace the European concept of functional government and service to society. Consequently, it felt the need to reassess its human and natural resources. Moreover, the rising national consciousness among the Christian groups had manifested itself in the form of a variety of demands—e.g., for the establishment of national churches and schools—as well as in claims for independence and territory, often supported by data ignoring other groups; hence there arose the necessity of learning the exact number of each major Christian ethnic group. These humanist-functionalist-nationalist considerations were manifest in the census and registration system implemented in 1881/82–1893. This census used several ethnic-confessional categories for the Christian population, but all the Muslims continued to be counted as one homogeneous group, despite the ethnic and linguistic differences among them.

As the government's census philosophy changed, so did the registration unit. The traditional tax unit in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the *hane*, or *avariz hanesi*, that is, the household as represented by its male head. The old Ottoman "household" did not necessarily correspond to either the nuclear or the extended family: it was a household defined financially, in accordance with the taxpaying potential of its members rather than in accordance with its numerical size. However, some of the Ottoman population lists issued in the second half of the nineteenth century mentioned the number of *hane* in a region or in the entire country. Thus used, the term referred either to the sociologically defined nuclear family or to the extended family rather than to the taxpaying household. The exact size of the Ottoman "family" has not yet been accurately established, and it is erroneous to arrive at categorical conclusions regarding the size of the Ottoman population without clearly establishing the exact meaning of the term *hane* and without considering other variables.

One politically inspired report did give some figures on

21. See opinions summarized in Amnon Cohen and Bernard Lewis, *Population and Revenue in the Towns of Palestine in the Sixteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 3; see also Lowry, "Ottoman *Tahrir Defters*."

22. The existing records on taxation and the distribution of *miri* (state) land to cultivators could yield excellent figures on the Ottoman population in the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. For instance, the *yoklama*s, censuses of the *timar*s taken in 1596, 1606, 1672, 1691, 1694, 1698, and 1715, indicate that tradition was not abandoned altogether. These surveys show a continuing preoccupation with the size of cultivable lands—at least with those given as fiefs to the *sipahi*s—and with their revenue. See Vera P. Mutafchieva and Stashimir Dimitrov, *Sur l'état du système des timars des XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles* (Sofia: Académie Bulgare des Sciences, 1968). The complexity of the population problem in the Ottoman state in the sixteenth century becomes evident if one approaches it from the viewpoint of agricultural production and urbanization; see Hurican Islamoğlu, "Dynamics of Agricultural Production, Population Growth and Urban Development: A Case Study of Areas in North Central Anatolia, 1520–1575" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1979).

family size, but they are certainly inaccurate. Vladimir Teplov undertook a study of the Balkan population under the auspices of the Russian government and used, in addition to the official Ottoman yearbooks, information supplied by churches and native informants. He based his figures on the latter two sources and arbitrarily concluded that Muslim families consisted of 5 members, while non-Muslim families had from 7 to 9.37 members.[23] These figures are contravened by those from an actual family survey conducted by W. L. Stoney, a British consular official in the Philippopolis (Plovdiv) area of Bulgaria. In order to answer some inquiries from England about the exact size of the Balkan family, Stoney surveyed 50,622 individuals belonging to 10,110 families in 55 villages having a predominantly Bulgarian population. He arrived at the conclusion that each family had an average of 5.007 members.[24] On the other hand, one British consular agent indicated that the average size of some 600 Armenian families planning to migrate to Persia in the late nineteenth century was 7 members.[25] A recent survey of about 10,000 immigrant families settled in Anatolia towards the end of the nineteenth century shows that in a locality representing the minimum the average family consisted of 1.99 persons, while in an area representing the maximum the average was 9.60. The average for all the families in these immigrant villages was about 4.10 individuals per family.[26]

For the 1831–1838 census the adult male, regardless of household status, became the official registration unit; he remained so until the 1881/82–1893 census, at which time the basic unit became the individual, regardless of age or sex.

These changes in the Ottoman census philosophy and in the officially designated registration unit were reflected in the results of the various surveys. The underreporting of the population continued throughout, however. Even after the government adopted the goal of registering all its citizens as individuals, factors such as isolation, difficulties in communication, and the resistance of some subjects to the census resulted in a considerable number of persons being left unregistered.[27]

Population statistics issued before the 1880s seldom ever mentioned the nomadic tribes. Such tribes were only occasionally subjected to an actual count; when the number of nomadic tribesmen was recorded at all, the census officials had relied in most cases on figures supplied by the tribal chieftans. The census of 1881/82–1893 was the first to provide comprehensive estimates of the population of the tribes and of the areas not subject to actual count. As to the count of women, even after they began to be individually registered in the 1880s their number appears as consistently less than that of the men, raising some question whether there existed factors that caused a higher mortality among women.

It is possible to overcome, at least partly, the inaccuracies resulting from the undercounting of various segments of the Ottoman population.[28] A reasonable estimate of the total population can be made for periods when women were not counted simply by doubling the number of men, as is regularly done by many students of Ottoman population. In addition, however, one must adopt a margin-of-error percentage to account for persons unregistered by the census takers because they were exempt from taxes or were not subject to conscription or because they could not be reached. In this study I have adopted 8 percent as the margin of error for the calculation of the population of some areas and of some ethnic groups (but the figures in the statistical appendices are not corrected for error). This percentage was adopted after comparing various figures given for one area or one group over a period of time and assuming—based on various governmental statistics—that the annual growth rate was 1 percent during the second half of the nineteenth century. (Actually this percentage of error may be raised to 10, or even 15, for remote mountain areas.) One might arrive at a more precise calculation of the error by studying the birth and death entries during a given period of time in a given area and by devising a variable formula to account for the population that escaped the count. This could be achieved only by locating and using the actual population registers kept in various administrative centers. Many of these seem to have been destroyed, but many others have survived.

The Muslim population was undercounted more often than the Christian population, the latter being mostly sedentary, compactly settled, and easily accessible. However, the registers of their religious constituency kept by the Christian ecclesiasts appear to have only limited value. Most of the churches registered only marriages and the number of houses, neither of which is a reliable index of population. As far as the tax lists were concerned, it is generally accepted that these showed the Christian males to be far fewer than their actual number. It is true that many Christian prelates developed special rosters for registering their followers in order to extract from them a payment for their own services, as they did not receive regular salaries; however, as would be expected, many individuals, usually those living in large communities, failed to register. Many small, closely knit communities, in which the priest knew everybody anyway, did not have such registers at all. Lists prepared by various non-Muslim communities and

23. *Materialy Dlya Statistikii Bolgarii, Trakii i Makedonii* [Statistical materials on Bulgaria, Thrace, and Macedonia] (St. Petersburg, 1877). Teplov's data also pointed to a relatively rapid rise in Christian population and to a decrease in the Muslim population in certain areas of the empire, a phenomenon discussed later in this chapter.

24. HCAP 92/44 (1877), p. 1.

25. HCAP 96/49 (1890), p. 25, Lloyd to White, 6 March 1890.

26. Nejat Göyünç, "Aile Deyimi Hakkinda," *Tarih Dergisi* 32 (1979): 331–43; for other estimates, see Haim Gerber, "The Population of Syria and Palestine in the Nineteenth Century," *Asian and African Studies* 13, no. 2 (1979): 58–20.

27. See McCarthy, "Population of the Ottoman Fertile Crescent," pp. 4–5.

28. For a full discussion of the procedures that may be adopted, see ibid., pp. 5–7 and esp. n. 23.

nationalist organizations, in which the number of these various ethno-religious groups was generally overstated, were considered unreliable even by Europeans friendly to those communities.

The assessment of fertility rates is an absolute necessity for the understanding of the growth rate of the Ottoman population. It is generally assumed that during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century the Ottoman population decreased, beginning to increase again after 1850. This assumption is one-sided and only partly true, for it ignores the differences in growth rates between Muslim and non-Muslim groups. The non-Muslim population actually grew at a fairly fast rate after the 1830s—probably 2 percent annually; the Muslim population declined or remained the same in number. There are indications, however, that fertility rates among the Muslims began to increase after 1850. The causes of the disproportionate fertility rates among the two groups are to be found in the special economic and social conditions which favored non-Muslims and penalized the Muslims, especially Turks. Male Turks spent their peak reproductive years in military service and were unable to marry and settle down to take advantage of economic opportunities. Then, when in the nineteenth century the Ottoman state was exposed to the influence of the European capitalist economy and to intensified internal and international trade, several non-Muslim groups became the early recipients of the economic benefits—and the promoters as well—of the new economic system. Although numerically a minority, the non-Muslims, who had no military obligations, throve under the changed economic, cultural, and social conditions, and this had a positive effect on the size of their populations. The Muslims, except for some small bureaucratic and agrarian groups, became the supporters rather than the beneficiaries of the new order. They appeared to retain political control of the state machinery, but even this control was slipping away. Moreover, epidemics seemed to take a greater toll among Muslims, in part because of misconceptions they had about disease and the way to fight it, which led to a failure to take necessary precautions against its spread. However, it was diminished economic opportunity that, more than war, famine, disease, or other calamities associated with underdevelopment, slowed the growth of the Muslim population in the nineteenth century. The increase in the growth rate after 1850, besides reflecting the absence of war and the presence of better health practices, was attributable also to the improved world economic conditions that favored the agricultural sector, in which most of the Muslims worked, and to the emergence of a Muslim middle class that began to adopt the same economic, cultural, educational, and political institutions (as well as sanitary facilities) that had proved so beneficial to the non-Muslims.

In sum, then, in studying the Ottoman population in the nineteenth century, one must take into account the impact of social and economic forces that affected the fertility rates among various ethnic and religious groups in accordance with their roles and functions within the economic and political system. (Appendix A.4 following this chapter has tables giving a few birth and death statistics for the period 1835–1850 which show the differences between Muslims and non-Muslims in this respect.)

The socio-cultural and ethnic composition of the Ottoman population was altered profoundly by internal and international migrations. This massive population movement was scarcely reflected in the census data and has not been studied at all, despite its vital importance to an understanding of the socio-political changes in the Middle East.

Throughout the nineteenth century the government made a sustained effort to settle various Turkmen, Kurdish, Arabic, and other nomadic tribes throughout Anatolia, Syria, and Iraq wherever cultivable land was available.[29] These tribes were overwhelmingly Muslim and therefore increased the total of the Muslim population as they became accessible to the census takers. Moreover, between 1854 and 1908 the Ottoman state received approximately 5 million Muslim immigrants from Russia (Caucasus, Crimea, Kuban, and Central Asia) and the Balkans; at the same time some 500,000 to 800,000 Greeks, Armenians, and Arabs emigrated, chiefly to Russia and the Americas. The number of the settled tribesmen and immigrants was not immediately reflected accurately in the Ottoman statistics, as these people usually were registered only after they were firmly established in their assigned places and had become economically capable of paying taxes and providing men for military service. Any student of Ottoman demography, therefore, ought to be aware of the crucial but unrecorded factor of migration, which strongly affected the quantitative and qualitative composition of the Ottoman population, chiefly its Muslim component.

In conclusion, one can say that the existing Ottoman censuses and yearbooks are reliable sources of information on the size and composition of the population of the Balkans and the Middle East in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They contain technical errors which derive from known causes and can be corrected by developing the necessary statistical criteria. These Ottoman statistics can be made immediately useful by adopting a simple margin of error percentage.

29. For the settlement process, see Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth, *Ländlich Siedlungen im südlichen Inneranatolien in den letzten vierhundert Jahren* (Göttingen: Selbstverlag des Geographischen Instituts der Universität Göttingen, 1968).

Appendix A.1. Yearbooks (*Salnames*) Published in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey: Chronological and Administrative Distribution

1263 (1847): Devlet.
1264 (1848): Devlet.
1265 (1849): Devlet.
1266 (1850): Devlet.
1267 (1851): Devlet.
1268 (1852): Devlet.
1259 (1853): Devlet.
1270 (1854): Devlet.
1271 (1855): Devlet.
1272 (1856): Devlet.
1273 (1857): Devlet.
1274 (1858): Devlet.
1275 (1859): Devlet.
1276 (1860): Devlet.
1277 (1861): Devlet.
1278 (1861): Devlet.
1279 (1862): Devlet.
1280 (1863): Devlet.
1281 (1864): Devlet.
1282 (1865): Devlet, Sal. Askeri.
1283 (1866): Devlet, Bosna, Sal. Askeri.
1284 (1867): Oevlet, Bosna, Haleb.
1285 (1868): Devlet, Bosna, Haleb, Konya, Suriye, Tuna.
1286 (1869): Devlet, Bosna, Diyarbekir, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Konya, Suriye, Trablus Garb, Trabzon, Sal. Askeri.
1287 (1870): Devlet, Adana, Bosna, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Erzurum, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Konya, Selanik, Sivas, Trablus Garb, Trabzon, Tuna, Sal. Askeri.
1288 (1871): Devlet, Ankara, Bosna, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Erzurum, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Konya, Misir, Selanik, Sivas, Suriye, Trablus Garb, Trabzon, Tuna, Yanya, Rasathane-i Amire. Türkiye ti [sene 1288–1290].
1289 (1872): Oevlet, Adana, Ankara, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Diyabekir, Edirne, Erzurum, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Konya, Sivas, Suriye, Trablus Garb, Trabzon, Tuna, Türkiye fi [sene 1288–1290].
1290 (1873): Devlet, Adana, Ankara, Bosna, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Erzurum, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Konya, Prizren, Suriye, Trabzon, Tuna, Türkiye fi [sene 1288–1290]. Sal. Hadika.
1291 (1874): Devlet, Ankara, Bosna, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Erzurum, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Konya, Prizren, Selanik, Suriye, Trabzon, Tuna, Sal. Askeri.
1292 (1875): Devlet, Bağdad, Bosna, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Erzurum, Girid, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Konya, Manastir, Selanik, Sivas, Suriye, Trablus Garb, Trabzon, Tuna, Yanya, Sal. Askeri.
1293 (1876): Devlet, Adana, Ankara, Bosna, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Erzurum, Girid, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Manastir, Selanik, Sivas, Trablus Garb, Trabzon, Tuna, Yanya, Sa. Askeri.
1294 (1877): Devlet, Adana, Bosna, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Erzurum, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Konya, Selanik, Trablus Garb, Trabzon, Tuna, Yanya.
1295 (1878): Devlet, Ankara, Bosna, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Konya, Trablus Garb, Trabzon.
1296 (1879): Devlet, Adana, Aydin, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Konya, Kosova, Suriye, Trabzon, Sal. Ebüzziya.
1297 (1880): Devlet, Adana, Aydin, Diyarbekir, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Suriye, 1297 sene-i hicriyesine mahsus salname-i kameri, Rebi-i Marifet.
1298 (1881): Devlet, Aydin, Kastamoni, Konya, Ma'muret-ül-Aziz, Sivas, Suriye, Trabzon, Yemen.
1299 (1882): Devlet, Ankara, Aydin, Bağdad, Erzurum, Haleb, Işkodra, Katamoni, Konya, Selanik, Suriye, Yemen, Sal. Türki, Rebi-i Marifet.
1300 (1883): Devlet, Ankara, Aydin, Bağdad, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Haleb, Konya, Kosova, Sivas, Suriye, Rebi-i Marifet.
1301 (1884): Devlet, Aydin, Bağdad, Bosna ve Hersek, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Hicaz, Hüdavendigar, Konya, Ma'muret-ül-Aziz, Sivas, Suriye, Trablus Garb, Rebi-i Marifet.
1302 (1885): Devlet, Aydin, Bağdad, Bosna ve Hersek, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Konya, Kosova, Ma'muret-ül-Aziz, Sivas, Suriye, Trablus Garb, Hariciye, Rebi-i Marifet.
1303 (1886): Devlet, Aydin, Bağdad, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Edirne, Haleb, Hicaz, Hüdavendigar, Konya, Selanik, Suriye, Rebi-i Marifet.
1304 (1887): Devlet, Aydin, Bosna ve Hersek, Cebel-i Lübnan, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Edirne, Erzurum, Hüdavendigar, Konya, Kosova, Sivas, Suriye, Yemen, Rebi-i Marifet.
1305 (1888): Oevlet, Aydin, Cebel-i Lübnan, Edirne, Haleb, Hicaz, Hudavendigar, Karesi, Konya, Kosova, Ma'muret-ül-Aziz, Suriye, Trablus Garb, Trabzon, Yemen, Sal. Askeri, Rebi-i Marifet.
1306 (1889): Devlet, Aydin, Bosna ve Hersek, Cebel-i Lübnan, Edirne, Haleb, Hicaz, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Konya, Sivas, Suriye, Yanya, Yemen, Hariciye, Nev. Marifet.
1307 (1890): Devlet, Aydin, Cebel-i Lübnan, Edirne, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Konya, Ma'muret-ül-Aziz, Selanik, Yanya, Yemen, Bahriye, Sal. Askeri, Nev. Marifet.
1308 (1891): Oevlet, Adana, Ankara, Aydin, Basra, Bosna, Bosna ve Hersek, Cebel-i Lübnan, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Girid, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Ma'muret-ül-Aziz, Musul, Sivas, Suriye, Yemen, Bahriye, Sal. Askeri.
1309 (1892): Devlet, Adana, Bağdad, Basra, Bosna ve Hersek, Cebel-i Lübnan, Edirne, Girid, Haleb, Hicaz, Konya, Suriye, Trabzon, Bahriye, Sa. Askeri, Nev. Marifet.
1310 (1892): Devlet, Bağdad, Bitlis, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Edirne, Erzurum, Hüdavendigar, Işkodra, Kastamoni, Konya, Ma'muret-ül-Aziz, Manastir, Musul, Selanik, Suriye, Sal. Askeri, Takvim-i Ebüzziya.
1311 (1893): Devlet, Ankara, Aydin, Bağdad, Basra, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Edirne, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Kosova, Manastir, Selanik, Suriye, Trabzon, Üsküp, Yemen, Bahri, Sal. Askeri.
1312 (1894): Devlet, Adana, Aydin, Bağdad, Beyrut, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Diyarbekir, Erzurum, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Işkodra, Kastamoni, Konya, Ma'muret-ül-Aziz, Manastir, Musul, Selanik, Suriye, Trablus Garb, Yanya, Bahri.
1313 (1895): Devlet, Aydin, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Edirne, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Manastir, Selanik, Suriye, Trabzon, Yemen, Bahri, Sal. Askeri, Musavver Nev. Servet-i Fünun, Masavver Newv. Servet-i Fünun.
1314 (1896): Devlet, Aydin, Bağdad, Edirne, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Konya, Kosova, Manastir, Bahri, 1314 senesine mahsus Nev. Meşahir, Musavver Nev. Osmani, Musavver Nev. Servet-i Fünun, Nev. Asr.
1315 (1897): Devlet, Aydin, Bağdad, Edirne, Erzurum, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Işkodra, Selanik, Suriye, Van, Bahri, Musavver Nev. Servet-i Fünun, Nev. Asir, Nev. Nisvan, Takvim-i Ebüzziya.
1316 (1898): Devlet, Aydin, Bağdad, Bitlis, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Işkodra, Suriye, Trabzon, Bahri, Maarif, Musavver Sal. Fenni, Musavver Nev. Servet-i Fünun, Nev. Asir, Nev. Askeri, Takvim-i Ebüzziya.
1317 (1899): Devlet, Aydin, Bağdad, Basra, Beyrut, Bitlis, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Erzurum, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Konya, Suriye, Bahri, Maarif, Nev. Afiyet, Nev. Malumat.
1318 (1900): Devlet, Adana, Ankara, Bağdad, Basra, Bitlis, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Erzurum, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Kosova, Selanik, Suriye, Trabzon, Bahri, Hariciye, Maarif, Nev. Afiyet, Nev. Osmani.
1319 (1901): Devlet, Aydin, Bağdad, Beyrut, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Diyarbekir, Edirne, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Trabzon, Yanya, Bahri, Maarif, Nev. Malumat.
1320 (1902): Devlet, Adana, Ankara, Aydin, Basra, Edirne, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Selanik, Trabzon, Bahri, Hariciye.
1321 (1903): Devlet, Aydin, Bağdad, Cezair-i Bahri Sefid, Diyarbekir, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Kastamoni, Sivas, Trabzon, Bahri, Maarif.
1322 (1904): Devlet, Beyrut, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Trabzon, Bahri, Nev. Afiyet.
1323 (1905): Devlet, Aydin, Bağdad, Diyarbekir, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Selanik, Bahri, Nev. Atai.
1324 (1906): Devlet, Bağdad, Beyrut, Haleb, Hüdavendigar, Konya, Selanik, Sal. Gayret, Nev. Afiyet, Nev. Iktisad.
1325 (1907): Devlet, Ankara, Bağdad, Hüdavendigar, Ma'muret-ül-Aziz, Musul, Selanik, Sivas, Sal. Gayret.
1326 (1908): Devlet, Aydin, Beyrut, Haleb, Bahri, Sal. Askeri, Nev. Ragib.
1325 (1909): Musavver Nev. Osmani, Nev. Bahri.
1326 (1910): Devlet, Karagöz, Musavver Sal Servet-i Fünun, Musavver Nev. Osmani.
1327 (1911): Devlet, Bağdad, Karagöz, Musavver Sal. Servet-i Fünun, Musavver Nev. Osmani.
1328 (1912): Devlet, Musul, Karagöz, Musavver Sal. Servet-i Fünun, Rehber-i Seadet Mektebi . . . , Musavver Eczaci Nevsali, Musavver Nev. Osmani, Musavver ve Muhtirali Nev. Hürriyet.
1329 (1913): Cemiyet-i Tedrisiye-i Islamiye Salnamesi, Osmanli Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Salnamesi, Karagöz, Musavver Sal. Servet-i Fünun.
1328–29 (1913–14): Bahri.
1330 (1914): Konya, Boğaziçi Şirket-i Hayriye . . . , Ordu, Rüsumat, Nev. Milli, Nev. Ziraat ve Ticaret.

Appendix A.1. Yearbooks (*Salnames*) Published in the Ottoman Empire (continued)

1330–31 (1914–15): Bahri.
1331–32 (1915–16): Bahri.
1332 (1916): Ilmiye.
1333 (1917): Beyrut, Bahri.
1333–34 (1918–19): Devlet, Bolu, Bahri, Nev. Baytari.
1335 (1920): Diken ve Inci Salnamesi.
1336 (1921): Salikveren Muhibban . . . .
1337–38 (1921–22): Bolu.
1338 (1922): Kizil Acaristan. Milli Nevsal.
1338 (1923): Karesi Idadi-Sultani-Lisesi.
1339–(1923): Milli Nevsal. Süs. Nev. Edebi.
1339 (1924): Bahri. Zümrüd-i Anka Salnamesi.
1340 (1924): Milli Nevsal.
1340–41 (1924–25): Türk Ticaret.
1340 (1925): Resimli Yil.
1341 (1925): Milli Nevsal.
1341–42 (1925–26): T.C. Devlet, Bahri, Büyük Salname.
1926: Türk Deniz Ticareti, T.C. Istanbul Şehremaneti.
1926–1927: T.C. Devlet, Resimli Iktisad Salnamesi.
1927: Bursa (Hüdavendigar), Urfa, Himaye-i Etfal Cemiyeti, T.C. Malul Gaziler Türkiye Salnamesi, Annelere ve Çocuklara Salname, Resimli Gazete Salnamesi.
1927–1928: T.C. Devlet, Resimli Iktisad Salnamesi.
1928: Ihsai Yillik, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Malul Gaziler . . . . Azmi Milli Salnamesi, Türk, Yili, Resimli Ay Almanağı.
1928–1929: Muallim Almanağı.

Source: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture. *Ottoman Yearbooks (Salname and Nevasal)* (Istanbul, 1982), pp. 112–15.

Notes: *Devlet* is the imperial or state yearbook giving statistics for the entire realm. Beginning in 1866 the names that follow the term "devlet" are mainly the names of the provinces that published yearbooks in that year. However, there were also volumes for ministries, the armed services, on education, or on other special topics of interest, and a few were published by individuals. The first specialized yearbook, it will be noted, is a military yearbook.

The custom of publishing yearbooks continued in the Republic, when the title was "modernized" by changing it from *salname* to *almanak*, taken from the French *almanac* (ironically, originally from the Arabic *al-manakh*).

This list is reproduced generally as in the source. Spellings have not been altered, except for the standardization of *a* and *i*. The dates given are Hicri and western (Miladi) through 1325; from 1325 (1909) on, dates are given according to the Rumi (Mali) calendar and the western calendar; after 1925, only Miladi dates are given.

Appendix A.2. Administrative Division of the Ottoman State, 1831 (H. 1247)

I. RUMELI (RUMILI)
1. Sofya and Manastir
2. Selanik (Salonica)
3. Üsküb
4. Kostendil
5. Ohri
6. Tirhala
7. Avlonya
8. Delvine
9. Vulçitrin
10. Ilbasan
11. Iskenderiye
12. Yanya
13. Oukagin
14. Prizren
14. Alacahisar

II. ANATOLIA
1. Kütahya
2. Hüvandendigar
3. Karahisar-i Sahib
4. Sultanönü
5. Ankara
6. Kengiri (Çankiri)
7. Bolu
8. Kastamonu
9. Aydin
10. Saruhan
11. Menteşe
12. Hamid
13. Teke
14. Karesi
15. Viranşehir[a]

III. KARAMAN
1. Konya
2. Beyşehir
3. Akşehir
4. Kayseriye
5. Niğde
6. Kirşehir
7. Aksaray

IV. BOSNIA
1. Saraybosna (Sarajevo)
2. Hersek
3. Izvornik
4. Kilis

V. SILISTRE
1. Silistre
2. Niğbolu
3. Vidin
4. Çirmen
5. Vize
6. Kirkkilise

VI. CEZAYIR-I BAHR-I SEFID (AEGEAN ISLANOS)
1. Gelibolu
2. Kocaili
3. Suğla
4. Rodos (Rhodes)]b
5. Kibris (Cyprus)]

VII. MARAŞ
1. Maraş
2. Malatya
3. Samsat
4. Gerger

VIII. DIYARBEKIR
1. Amid
2. Hani
3. Mazgird
4. Mefarkin (Meyafarikin)
5. Harberut
6. Sincar
7. Esferid
8. Siverek
9. Erganı
10. Anade
11. Hisni Keyf (Hasankeyf)
12. Çemişgezek
13. Nusaybin
14. Çapakçur
15. Sağman
16. Çermik
17. Kulb
18. Ilkis
19. Penbek
20. Pertekrek
Palu (H)[c]
Giyeh (H)
Cizre (H)
Eğil (H?)[d]
Hazzo (H)
Tercil (H)
Saru (Savur) (H)

IX. SIVAS (RUM)
1. Sivas
2. Amasya
3. Bozok
4. Çorum
5. Canik
6. Divriği (Divriki)
7. Arapgir (Arapkir)

X. ADANA
1. Adana
2. Tarsus
3. Alanya (Alaiye)
4. Iç Il (Içel)
5. Sis
6. Uzeyir]e
7. Beylan]

XI. ERZURUM
1. Erzurum
2. Erzincan
3. Hinis
4. Kelkit
5. Malazgirt
6. Tortum
7. Karahisar-i Şarki
8. Ispir
9. Kuruçay
10. Pasin
11. Mamervan
12. Kozancan (Kazavcan)
13. Kiği
14. Mecenkerd

XII. ŞAM (ŞAM-I ŞERIF, DAMASCUS)
1. Şam-i Şerif
2. Gazza
3. Kudüs-ü Serif (Jerusalem)
4. Nablus[f]
5. Lecun
6. Aclan (Aclun)
7. Tedmur

XIII. TRABLUSŞAM (TRIPOLI IN SYRIA)
1. Trablusşam
2. Hama
3. Humus
4. Cebeliye
5. Selmiye

Appendix A.2. The Administration Division of the Ottoman State (continued)

XIV. SAYDA
1. Sayda
2. Akka]g
3. Beyrut
4. Safed
5. Sur]

XV. HALEP (ALEPPO)
1. Halep
2. Maarret-el Misrin
3. Matic
4. Balis
5. Ayintap[h]

XVI. RAKKA
1. Ruha (Urfa)
2. Deyrrehbe
3. Cabur (Habur)
4. Birecik
5. Hamase
6. Ben-i Rebia

XVII. KARS'
1. Kars
2. Kağizman
3. Keçvan
4. Şuregil
5. Zaruşad

XVIII. ÇILDIR
1. Levane (Vartin)
2. Şavşad
3. Mahcil
4. Cercer (Çirçir)
5. Cebecun (Cebecik)

XIX. TRABZON (TREBIZOND)
1. Trabzon
2. Künye

XX. VAN
1. Van
2. Adilcevaz
3. Şirve (Şirvan)
4. Esbaberd
5. Köyin
6. Zeriki
7. Kerdkar (Kürdkar)
8. Ağakis
9. Ericis
10. Mukus
11. Muş
Bargiri (H)
Hakkari (H)
Bitlis (H)
Hoşap (Mahmudiye) (H)

XXI. HABEŞ (ABYSSINIA)
1. Mekke-i Mükerreme
2. Medine-i Münevvere
3. Cidde-i Mamure
4. Yenbuğ
5. Taif
6. Nil (?)

XXII. KANDIYE (CRETE)
1. Kandiye
2. Hanya
3. Resmu

XXIII. ŞEHR-I ZOR

XXIV. MUSUL

XXV. BAĞDAT (BAGHDAD)

XXVI. BASRA

XXVII. MISIR (EGYPT)

XXVIII. TRABLUSGARB (TRIPOLI IN NORTH AFRICA)

XXIX. TUNUS (TUNISIA)

Source: Fazila Akbal. "1831 Tarihinde Osmanli Imparatorluğunda Idari Taksimat ve Nüfus." *Belleten* 15, no. 60 (1961): 617–28. (*Belleten* is the publication of the Turkish Historical Society [*Türk Tarih Kurumu*].)

Notes: Akbal's list, presented here in revised and condensed form, was based on registers pertaining to various administrative units (e.g., the *Defter-i Mufassal Liva-i Saruhan*) found in the Archives of Land Surveys and Deeds and in other archival sources. It is probably one of the most accurate and complete administrative list available for the period.

The main divisions I–XXIX are *eyalets*: the subdivisions are *livas* (the same as *sancaks*), and the first *liva* listed in each case was the "paşa sancaği," that is, the place of residence of the governor, or the capital.

[a] This division is called a *sancak* in a few sources only.

[b] Rhodes and Cyprus are indicated as being *sancaks* only in the register for the Aegean Islands tor the years 1818–1831 (H. 1234–1247).

[c] (H) stands for Hükümet, that is, the seat of government of the administrative center.

[d] Shown as a *liva* in some registers and as a *hükümet* in other sources.

[e] These two places are shown in some old registers as being part of Halep Eyalet.

[f] The old registers do not show Nablus as a *liva*.

[g] Shown as a *nahiye* in one source.

[h] Several sources indicated Ayintap (Gaziantep) as being a *sancak* in Maraş Eyalet. In 1818 Ayintap was attached to Halep Eyalet as a *kaza*.

[i] Registers do not indicate whether the towns in this *eyalet* were *livas*, although one source so labels them.

Appendix A.3. Administrative Division of the Ottoman State, 1850–1853 (H. 1266–1270)

Eyalet	Capital
EUROPE	
1. Edirne (Adrianople)	Adrianople
2. Silistre	Rusçuk (Russe)
3. Boğdan (Moldavia)	Iassi
4. Eflak (Wallachia)	Bucarest
5. Vidin	Vidin
6. Niş (Nissa)	Niş
7. Usküp	Usküp
8. Belgrad (the Fortress)	—
9. Sirp (Serbia)	Belgrad
10. Bosna (Bosnia)	Bosna-Serai
11. Rumili	Manastir
12. Yanya (Janina)	Janina
13. Selanik (Salonica)	Salonica
14. Cezayir-i Bahr-i (Sefid (Aegean Islands)	Larnaca
15. Girit (Crete)	Canea
ASIA	
16 Kastamonu	Kastamonu
17. Hüdavendigar	Bursa
18. Aydin	Izmir
19. Karaman	Konya
20. Adana	Adana
21. Bozöyük	Bozöyük
22. Sivas	Sivas
23. Trabzon (Trebizond)	Trabzon
SPECIAL DISTRICTS	
24. Erzurum	Erzurum
25. Kurdistan	Van
26. Harput (Kharput)	Harput
27. Halep (Aleppo)	Alep
28. Saida	Beyrut
29. Şam	Damascus
30. Musul	Musul
31. Bağdat (Baghdad)	Bağdat
32. Habeş (Abyssinia)	Adda
33. Harem-i Nebevi (Medina)	Medine
AFRICA	
34. Misir (Egypt)	Cairo
35. Trablusgarp (Tripoli)	Tripoli
36. Tunus	Tunus

Source: Adapted from [Jean Henri] A[bdolonyme] Ubicini, *La Turquie actuelle* (Paris, 1855), pp. xvi–xvii.

Appendix A.4. Some Birth and Death Statistics, 1835–1853 (H. 1251–1268)

1. Muslim Birth and Death Rates in Akçay Kaza

Period of Time							
Hicri Year	Miladi Year (A.D.)	Total Population	Number of Births	Birth Rate (per 1,000)	Number of Deaths	Death Rate (per 1,000)	Rate of Increase/ (Decrease) (per 1,000)
1251	4/29/1835—4/17/1836	1,939	67	35.5	35	18.6	16.9
1252	4/18/1836—4/6/1837	1,971	108	56.4	56	29.2	27.2
1253	4/7/1837—3/26/1838	2,023	88	44.7	154	78.3	(33.6)
1254	3/27/1838—3/16/1839	1,957	105	55.2	77	40.5	14.7
1255	3/17/1839—3/4/1840	1,980	73	37.9	75	38.9	(1.0)
1256	3/5/1840—2/22/1841	1,978	56	29.1	66	34.3	(5.2)
1257	2/23/1841—2/11/1842	1,968	61	31.9	90	47.0	(15.1)
1258	2/12/1842—2/31.1843	1,939	49	26.0	53	28.1	(2.1)
1259	2/1/1843—1/21/1844	1,943	87	46.0	65	34.4	11.6
1260	1/22/1844—1/9/1845	1,965	82	42.9	66	34.5	8.4

2. Muslim Birth and Death Rates in Terme Kaza, Canik (Samsun)

Period of Time							
Hicri Year	Miladi Year (A.D.)	Total Population	Number of Births	Birth Rate (per 1,000)	Number of Deaths	Death Rate (per 1,000)	Rate of Increase/ (Decrease) (per 1,000)
1251	4/29/1835—4/17/1836	1,496	69	47.4	30	20.6	26.8
1252	4/18/1836—4/6/1837	1,535	98	65.7	70	46.9	18.8
1253	4/7/1837—3/26/1838	1,563	88	57.9	166	109.2	(51.3)
1254	3/27/1838—3/16/1839	1,485	84	58.2	65	45.0	13.2
1255	3/17/1839—3/4/1840	1,504	64	43.8	69	47.2	(3.4)
1256	3/5/1840—2/22/1841	1,499	43	29.5	64	43.9	(14.4)
1257	2/23/1841—2/11/1842	1,478	52	36.2	70	48.7	(12.5)
1258	2/12/1842—1/31/1843	1,460	65	45.8	66	46.5	(0.7)
1259	2/1/1843—1/21/1844	1,459	67	47.2	44	31.0	16.2
1260	1/22/1844—1/9/1845	1,482	67	46.5	38	26.4	20.1

Appendix A.4. Some Birth and Death Statistics (continued)

3. Muslim Birth and Death Rates in Various Localities

Locality	Period of Time: Hicri Date	Period of Time: Miladi Date (A.D.)	Total Population	Number of Births	Yearly Birth Rate (per 1,000)	Number of Deaths	Yearly Death Rate (per 1,000)	Rate of Increase (Decrease) (per 1,000)
Güzelhisar	1 Eylül 1263—31 Kanun Evvel 1262	9/13/1846—1/12/1847	11,185	90	24.1	113	30.3	(6.2)
Güzelhisar	1 Eylül 1264—31 Kanun Evvel 1264	9/13/1848—1/12/1849	10,774	66	18.4	156	43.4	(25.0)
Afaşehir	1 Eylül 1268—31 Kanun Evvel 1268	9/13/1852—1/12/1853	4,569	45	29.5	37	24.3	5.2
Balabanyolu	1 Recep 1261—29 Zilhicce 1261	7/6/1845—12/29/1845	1,565	11	14.5	5	6.6	7.9
Balabanyolu	1 Eylül 1262—31 Kanun Evvel 1262	9/13/1846—1/12/1847	1,529	18	35.3	3	5.9	29.4
Erbaz	1 Eylül 1262—30 Nisan 1263	9/13/1846—5/12/1847	3,138	73	34.9	54	25.8	9.1
Karacasu (without Yenişehir-i Aydin)	1 Eylül 1265—31 Kanun Evvel 1265	9/13/1849—1/12/1850	6,014	35	17.5	22	11.0	6.5
Nazilli	1 Mayis 1267—31 Ağustos 1262	5/13/1846—9/12/1846	4,795	70	43.8	70	43.8	0.0
Nazilli	1 Kanun Sani 1262—30 Nisan 1263	1/13/1847—5/12/1847	5,052	67	39.8	36	21.4	18.4
Inegöl	1 Mayis 1267—31 Ağustos 1267	5/13/1851—9/12/1851	2,358	11	14.0	13	16.5	(2.5)
Inegöl	1 Kanun Sani 1267—30 Nisan 1268	1/13/1852—5/12/1852	2,338	26	33.4	36	46.2	(12.8)
Inav (Denizli)	1 Mart 1266—31 Teşrin Sani 1266	3/13/1850—11/12/1850	2,096	32	23.0	26	18.6	4.4

4. Non-Muslim Birth and Death Rates in Various Localities

Locality	Period of Time: Hicri Date	Period of Time: Miladi Date (A.D.)	Total Population	Number of Births	Birth Rate (per 1,000)	Number of Deaths	Death Rate (per 1,000)	Rate of Increase/ (Decrease) (per 1,000)
Birgi	1 Muharrem 1247—29 Zilhicce 1247	6/12/1831—5/30/1832	1,380	16	11.9	13	9.7	2.2
Demirhisar	1 Receb 1254—30 Zilhicce 1254	9/20/1838—3/16/1839	9,414	135	29.5	126	27.5	2.0
Demirhisar	1 Receb 1258—29 Cemayizelahir 1260	8/8/1842—7/16/1844	9,033	325	18.5	—	—	—

5. Muslim Male Population Birth and Death Rates in Some Provinces

Locality	Period of Time: Hicri Date	Period of Time: Miladi Date (A.D.)	Total Population	Number of Births	Yearly Birth Rate (per 1,000)	Number of Deaths	Yearly Death Rate (per 1,000)	Yearly Population Increase/ (Decrease) (per 1,000)
Denizli	1 Mart 1263—30 Haziran 1263	3/13/1847—7/12/1847	7,349	41	16.7	15	6.1	10.6
Ezine-i Lazkiye (Denizli)[a]	1 Recep 1261—29 Zilhicce 1261	7/6/1845—12/29/1845	6,182	86	28.6	82	27.3	1.3
Birgi, Ödemiş, and Kilas	1 Muharrem 1247—29 Zilhicce 1247	6/12/1831—5/30/1832	15,012	231	15.8	264	18.1	(2.3)
Birgi	1 Kanun Sani 1264—30 Nisan 1265	1/13/1846—5/12/1849	7,797	24	9.2	59	22.7	(13.5)
Demirhisar (Paşa)	1 Recap 1258—29 Cemayizelahir 1260	8/8/1842—7/16/1844	4,593	135	15.1	—	—	—

Source: BA (KK)/6502, 6505, 6417, 6299/15, 6469, and 6536, and BA (C)/(D)8321; the birth death figures in these four tables were compiled from data scattered throughout these documents.

Notes: The localities listed in tables 3 and 4 were principally in Aydin Province, those with (Denizli) following the name being neighborhoods attached to the capital town of the kaza Demirhisar (Paşa) was, however, a *kaza* of Serez Sancak in Selanik.

In calculating percentages given in these tables, the shorter Muslim calendar was used.

For an evaluation of these statistics, see Ansley J. Coal and Paul Demeny, *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966).

[a] The totals for this locality include non-Muslims.

2 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND THE EVOLUTION OF OTTOMAN CENSUSES, 1800–1914

THE PURPOSE of this chapter is to provide background information about various population statistics appearing in the appendices by means of a periodization and a general analysis of existing censuses and some of the chief population estimates. The reader should keep firmly in mind throughout this discussion that in the Ottoman context the term "census," contrary to the modern usage, does not always imply an actual head count (although it was far from being just a rough estimate). It was, rather, the recording of the population in special registers (*sicils*) on the basis of the best information available. Only in the late nineteenth century did the Ottoman census seek to encompass an actual count of individual citizens.

Population Surveys, 1800–1878

The first period stretches roughly from the end of the eighteenth century to the census of 1844. During this early time the chief sources of information on Ottoman population available in the West were the results of the census of 1831 and the estimates of Europeans, some of whom, such as William Eton, David Urquhart, Georg Hassel, and others, apparently had access to some official information.[1] As was pointed out in Chapter I, the majority of the European estimates were based on unfounded assumptions, erroneous information, and plain, biased imagination, and consequently they must be used with extreme care. Most of the estimates and figures are available and need not be cited at any length here.[2]

The "first" modern Ottoman census was conducted beginning in 1828/29 in both Europe and Anatolia, although it did not count the population in all the *kazas* of the empire. The historian Lutfi has noted that after the abolition of the Janizaries in 1826 "many of the old customs and procedures changed, and the population survey, which is the basis of the administration, was carried on in the capital, but the advent of the war [with Russia in 1828–1829] prevented its generalization."[3] Both Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839) and Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876–1909), the two outstanding rulers of the nineteenth century who attempted to reform the empire's institutions by adhering to the old Ottoman traditions of government and administration, were deeply involved in practically all matters concerning the population surveys. They personally ordered the establishment of population registers and supervised the conduct of censuses. They looked upon the gathering of population data and all related matters as major reforms likely to restore sound practices in government, such as those obtaining in the days of past glory.

The census of 1828/29–1831 is commonly known as the "first" census because that is what it was called in the title of the book by Professor Enver Ziya Karal in which the summary of its results was first published; Professor Karal transcribed into the Latin alphabet the contents of the register (*defter*) containing a consolidated and corrected summary of the results of that census.[4] The essence of hundreds of individual registers produced by the census officials in 1831 is contained in this summary register, known as "1247 senesinde memalik-i mahruse-i şahanede mevcut nüfus defteri" [Register of the population present in the

1. See Eton's *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*, 2d ed. (London, 1799); Urquhart's *Turkey and Its Resources, Its Municipal Organization and Free Trade* (London, 1833); and Hassel's *Statischer Umriss der Sämtlichen europäischen* (Braunschweig, 1805), *Geographisch-statistisches Handwörterbuch* (Weimar, 1817), and *Lehrbuch der Statistik der europäischen Staaten* (Weimar, 1822).

2. See Nikola V. Mikhov, *Naseleniento na Turtsii i Bulgarii prez XVIII–XIX v.*, 5 vols. (Sofia, 1915–1968).

3. *Tarih-i Lütfi*, vol. 3, p. 142.

4. *Osmanli Imparatorluğunda Ilk Nüfus Sayimi 1831*, General Directorate of Statistics Publication no. 195, Research Ser. no. 8 (Ankara, 1943). The author provided a succinct but informative introduction (translated in Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey, 1800–1914* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980], pp. 19–22) and included, as well as the material from the register itself, the consolidated list of the census tables of 1831 compiled by the General Directorate of Statistics through the efforts of Celal Aybar, the general director, who was keenly interested in Ottoman statistics.

year 1247 in the (divinely) protected realm].[5] Careful scrutiny of the original register of 1831 and, especially, of the various official documents pertaining to this census throws new light upon the Ottoman population registers and population problems at the beginning of the century.

Although the census of 1831 has been described as being the first one undertaken in the nineteenth century, after a hiatus of almost two centuries, the accuracy of this designation may be doubted: first, because the collection of taxes could not have been carried out without population data of some sort; and second, because correspondence exchanged during the preparations for the census implies otherwise. The *kaymakam paşa*—that is, the official at the Porte substituting for the grand vizier and in charge of correspondence—suggested to the sultan that one year might not be sufficient to complete the census, that the population ought to be classified according to age, and that the secrecy of the census ought to be done away with.[6] On the suggestion of Hüsamettin (the judge of Izmit assigned to conduct the census in Kütahya), the *kaymakam* proposed that all males below the age of eight be classified as *asgar* (smallest), those between eight and fifteen as *sagir* (small), those between fifteen and forty as *şabbi-emred* (beardless), those between forty and sixty as *sinni vusta* (middle aged), and those above sixty as *pir* (sage, old men). He noted that "nobody will understand anything of this."[7] This may have been an allusion to the new terminology differing from that used by the population speaking the vernacular Turkish or to the census itself as a new undertaking. In response to the suggestion, Sultan Mahmud II himself wrote angrily that the census of Rumili (Rumelia—European side) and Andolu (Anatolia) was a matter deserving special attention and care ("dikkat ve itina") and that it should not be conducted by deviating from the old method ("bunu usul-u sabikasindan çikarmağa gelmez"). He expressly ordered that each official be instructed to conduct the census based on the old method ("usul-u sabika").[8]

The old method referred to by the sultan was probably a classification that did not divide the population into age groups but merely mentioned their suitability for military service or tax payment. On the other hand, it may be that what the sultan was reluctant to abandon was the traditional Ottoman division of the *ciziye* taxpayers into three categories according to their wealth: *ala* (good), *evsat* (average), and *edna* (low). The three categories had been devised in order to achieve an equitable distribution of the tax burden. In the past the government had repeatedly refused to accept one uniform *ciziye* tax, despite the fact that this would have brought more revenue to the treasury. Two seventeenth-century documents give evidence of the opposition to a single rate for the head tax: when at one point the number of *ciziyé* taxpayers in a locality decreased from 2,956 to 2,450 families, the government refused to spread the loss over the remaining families by levying an equal (*ales-seviye*) amount on each, regardless of differences in wealth, but retained instead the three-layer system as being more equitable; and in Kayseri the government refused to combine all three categories into a single one designated *ala* (highest), ordering that the taxpayers be classified into three categories as before.[9] It appears also that the classification of a Christian in one of the three tax categories was based on his own declaration of wealth before the local judge (*kadi*) and the chief notable (*ayan*), although at times the government asked the taxpayer to provide a witness or guarantor (*kefil*) to support his declaration. In any event, the fact that in 1830 everybody, including the sultan, knew of this "old method" indicated that, whatever it was, it had been repeatedly used in a not too distant past, apparently in census taking.

The population office and the population registers, which were the precursors of the similar administrative devices in the Balkans and the Middle East, were created in the period from 1829 to 1831. A memorandum addressed by the Porte to the sultan indicates that registers containing the results of the census had begun to arrive in the capital and that the maintenance and administration of these registers was a difficult and time-consuming task, requiring the employment of a full-time official assisted by a number of secretaries. The Porte suggested, and the sultan agreed, that Sait Efendi, a member of the correspondence offices of the Porte, be placed in charge of population affairs, assisted by five to ten secretaries.[10] (This was a promotion for Sait, who was paid an annual salary of 7,500 *kuruş*.) The newly formed population office was called the Registrar's Office, or Office for Supervision of Registers (*Defatir Nezareti*).

The sultan subsequently declined to appoint population officials for all the *kazas*, as had already been done for the *kazas* of Mahmutpaşa and Hayrabolu.[11] He found the idea generally acceptable but left the making of the appointments to a later date when population registers for the entire realm would be completed, that is, until approximately one year later. The sultan also expressed his objec-

5. IUKTY D-8/8867. Karal refers to this as being in the Istanbul "Universitesi Kütüphanesi, Istatistik Defteri, B 29" (*Osmanli Imparatorluğunda*, p. 12, n. 6). Some other documents cited by Karal also appear now under different catalogue numbers in the Başbakanlik Arşivi; I have been unable to locate at all some population statistics for Kastamonu, probably because the document was recatalogued under a different number in a different section. Presumably the many discrepancies between Karal's references and the current catalogue numbers of these documents are the result of a reclassification of the sources without reference to their old numbers. I give throughout this volume the current registration numbers of the sources.

6. BA (MH)/(HH)/19217, "About the instructions to be issued for the officials who will conduct the census in Anatolia and Rumili," possible date 1246 (1830).

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. These documents for the seventeenth century may be found in BA (KK)/3508, dated 1101 (1698) and BA (M)/Yeni ser. 769, dated 1092 (1681); both were supplied to me through the courtesy of Professor Halil Inalcik.

10. BA (MH)/(HH)/19210, possible date 1246 (1830).

11. Ibid., 19263, possible date 1246 (1830).

tion to the title Chief of Registers (*Defatir Naziri*) given to Sait Efendi, and he asked that the office be *Ceride Nezareti* and that all population registers be assembled there.[12] (*Defatir* and *ceride* both mean "registers," but *ceride* had at the time a more modern connotation; the census office was the *Ceride-i Kalemi*.)

The population registration system established in 1829 functioned fairly regularly until about the beginning of the Crimean War in 1853 (at which time the drive for Europeanization led to the neglect of Ottoman institutions in favor of European models). The population officials in the *kaza*s were required to register all births, deaths, and migrations and to report several times a year to the central office in Istanbul. The *kaza* was the main unit of population registration (a system similar to that adopted in 1881/82, to be discussed later). The system produced a large number—possibly about 21,000—population registers, thus giving a relatively good indication of the size and composition of the Ottoman population in the early nineteenth century.[13]

The census of 1831 counted only males. Its purpose, according to the official explanation, was to correct the tax inequities which had resulted from the change in property values, from transfers of land and use of old land deeds, and from the continuation of tax exemptions given in the past to *derbend*s for the maintenance of roads and bridges now no longer in existence.[14] The government also wanted to determine the number of Muslims eligible for military service and to reassess the *ciziye*. This head tax, levied on non-Muslims, usually those between the ages of fifteen and sixty, for military protection, later came to be known as the *iane-i askeriyye* or *bedelat-i askeriyye*, that is, the "donation" or "cost" in lieu of military service. It is known that Sultan Mahmud II planned to use the revenue from the *ciziye* to finance the modern army which, after the abolition of the Janizaries in 1826, became the mainstay of the Ottoman military.

The census was "secret." Census officials were recruited from among judges and scholars, that is, from the prestigious religious establishment, in order to allay the suspicions of the Muslim public already tired of lengthy periods of military service (between 1774 and 1829 many men, mostly Muslim Turks, had to serve twenty or more years in the army) and to inspire confidence in the respondents, so that they would give correct information. The importance attached to the census of 1831 is attested by the fact that approximately eighty-five high officials, assisted by a number of secretaries, were sent out into the field (Appendix B.1 following this chapter gives a partial list of the officials involved in the census effort).

Each census official was assigned a number of *kaza*s. Only very general guidelines were issued, and the census takers used various methods in their classification of the population. The census register at our disposal shows that the officials remained faithful to the old, classical Ottoman procedure, classifying the population according to the religion as Muslims, Christians (Orthodox), Armenians, Jews, and gypsies. They also introduced innovations dictated by the specific purposes of the census and stemming as well from a certain awareness of linguistic differences. Muslims were classified in general as *matluba muvafik* and *matluba gayrimuvafik* ("suitable to the purpose" and "unsuitable to the purpose," i.e., to military service). Because of the lack of uniform procedures, some officials classified some of the Muslims as well as the Christians according to age (1–12 or 1–14; 12–40 or 14–40; 40 and above); others simply divided them into "young" and "old"; and still others used classifications such as *tuvana*, *sibyan*, and *amelmande* ("strong," "children," "retired, incapable of work").[15] It is interesting to note that in some areas such as Hirsova and Kostenje in Dobruca (Dobruja) the Muslims were referred to occasionally by their ethnic names (e.g., Kabail-i Tataran), while the gypsies (*kipti*) were always classified separately, with a indication also of their religion.

The Christians, as pointed out above, were divided into categories according to their wealth: good (*ala*), medium or average (*evsat*), low (*edna*); and, occasionally, "incapable of work" (*amelmande*—destitute, old, or handicapped and hence exempt from tax). Children were not counted. The three main *ciziye* categories had been maintained almost from the inception of the Ottoman state. In 1831 the tax rates were 48, 24, and 12 *kuruş*, respectively, for the three categories of wealth, but soon afterwards they were raised by 20 percent to provide additional revenue for the sultan's modern army. Hamid Hadžibegič indicates that the rates began to climb shortly after the turn of the century and that the increases became progressively greater throughout the first third of the nineteenth century (see Table 2.1).[16]

There is no doubt that at this date the head tax was generally paid individually (*neferen*), rather than as one lump sum levied upon a community (*maktu*), a system that had been widely used before and was also used afterwards, but there were a few places in Anatolia that still paid a

12. Ibid.

13. Of the individual population registers of 1831 only a few are presently available; see BA (KK)/6299, 6417, 6502, and 6505, and BA (C)/(D)8–321. It has been recently ascertained that there are some 21,000 population *defter*s, with a two-volume index, in the Başbakanlik Arşivi—all as yet uncatalogued. A register for Ankara that was located and subjected to a careful analysis shows the usefulness of such data (see n. 24), and it is to be hoped that more of this material will become available soon.

14. See Karal, *Osmanli Imparatorluğunda*, pp. 189–90.

15. For example, the Muslims of Petriç were registered in three categories: *ihtiyaran* (old), of whom there were 1,088; the 12 to 40 age group, which numbered 1,255; and *sibyan* (children under 12), numbering 1,550.

16. "Dzizja ili Harac," *Prilozi* 5 (Sarajevo: Oriental Institute, 1954–1955): 102. It is interesting that as early as the sixteenth century the well-known *şeyhulislam* Ibn Suud, who played an important role in bringing Ottoman legislation into conformity with Islamic law, declared that the *ciziye* should be 48 *kuruş* for the rich, 24 for the middle class, and 12 for the poor; see *Budin Kanunnames* (Istanbul, 1973), p. 84. A detailed study of the *ciziye* levy is in Cevdet Küçük, "Tanzimat 'in Ilk Yillarinda Erzurum 'un Ciziye Geliri ve Reaya Nüfusu," *Tarih Dergisi* 31 (1977): 199–234.

Table 2.1. Head Tax Rate Increase, 1804–1834

Year	Wealth Category and Rate in *Kuruş*		
	Ala	*Evsat*	*Edna*
1804	12	6	3
1816	16	8	4
1824	24	12	6
1827	36	18	9
1829	48	24	12
1834	60	30	15

Source: "Dzizja ili Harac," *Prilozi* 5 (Sarajevo: Oriental Institute, 1954–1955): 102.

maktu ciziye, and this was duly noted by the officials. (The *ciziye* was collected on a per-household basis until late in the seventeenth century despite the *shariat*'s prescription that this tax be an individual levy. In 1691, however, probably because of the need for more revenue for the prosecution of the war with the Habsburgs, the collection of the *ciziye* reverted to the original Islamic principle and was levied individually.)[17]

In some cases the Christian groups were mentioned by their ethnic names. Thus the Bulgarians (*taife-i Bulgar*) are specifically mentioned in the census of Filibe (present-day Plovdiv), as are the Armenians; special reference is made to the Paulicians (Pavlikian). The general name for Orthodox Christians was *reaya*—a term used until the nineteenth century to designate all the land cultivators regardless of their religious affiliations. Jews were listed separately, as had been the practice throughout the previous centuries.

According to the (uncorrected) census results, the total male population of the Ottoman state in 1831 was 3,722,738. This figure, if doubled to give a count including women, would put the total Ottoman population at about 7.5 million, which was far below the actual number. The quite substantial undercount in this case was attributable to several factors. The one-year time period, given the inexperience of the officials, was exceptionally short, while the territory to be covered was extensive. It is quite clear that few officials went out to the villages or even to the remote towns; thus it must be said that there was no real attempt to count a substantial part—probably close to 50 percent—of the population. In Kars and Adana the counts were, respectively, only 19,741 and 92,619; these figures are by every indication very low. Moreover, the officials seemed to be most interested in counting the Christians as accurately as possible in view of the importance the sultan attached to the head tax. Despite the government's interest in knowing the potential number of its soldiers, the officials appeared to have paid only limited attention to the registration of Muslims, for conscription based on the registers was hardly an established procedure. That the census of 1831 did not serve the military ends envisaged by the government is clearly indicated by the fact that thirteen years later, in 1844, a new census was taken under the direction of a military officer especially for the army's purposes. Eventually, in 1855, general conscription for Muslims was introduced in Anatolia and Rumili, that is, in the areas where the Muslims were mostly Turkish.

Despite the gross undercount of Muslims the figures show them to have been in the majority in the region as a whole; Christians are shown as the majority in Rumili, an area where the census of Muslims was especially nonrigorous. Table 2.2 shows the ethnic and religious distribution of the population.[18]

17. See Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 80–82.

18. See Fazila Akbal, "1831 Tarihinde Osmanli Imparatorluğunda Idari Taksimat ve Nüfus," *Belleten* 15, no. 60 (1961): 628. There are differences between Akbal's totals and those shown in the statistical appendices (I.1), the appendix figures being based on recalculated totals for some areas and on corrected lists.

Table 2.2. Religious Distribution of the Ottoman Population, 1831

Administrative District	Muslims		Christians		Gypsies		Jews		Armenians		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Rumili (Rumelia)	217,227	0.29	505,760	0.67	20,313	0.02	7,780	0.01	368	0.0005	751,448
Silistre	273,936	0.51	251,579	0.47	8,151	0.015	2,353	0.005	1,755	0.004	537,774
Anatolia	1,044,925	0.87	138,463	0.11	485	0.0004	1,361	0.001	3,727	0.003	1,188,961
Sivas	270,820	0.84	49,593	0.15	60	0.0001					320,473
Karaman	228,942	0.87	34,461	0.13							263,403
Adana	81,166	0.88	2,762	0.03	5,865	0.06			2,826	0.03	92,619
Trabzon (Trebizond)	125,119	0.92	11,431	0.08							136,550
Kars	17,580	0.90							2,161	0.10	19,741
Çildir	73,272	0.93	105	0.002	191	0.002	318	0.004	4,887	0.062	78,773
Cezayir-i Bahri-i Sefid (Aegean Islands)	148,754	0.44	176,531	0.53	910	0.002	3,659	0.01	3,142	0.01	332,996
Total	2,481,741	0.66	1,170,685	0.31	35,975	0.01	15,471	0.004	18,866	0.005	3,722,738

Source: Fazila Akbal, "1831 Tarihinde Osmanli Imparatorluğunda Idari Taksimat ve Nüfus," *Belleten* 15, no. 60 (1961): 628 (Figures have been rounded off.)

There is no question but that the size of the Ottoman population was rather limited, being considerably below the number necessary for a viable economy and defense. (Today approximately 40 million people live in the area subject to the census in 1831.) However, students familiar with the population of the Balkans during this period have given much higher figures than the census of 1831. Urquhart, who was by far the best informed student of Ottoman affairs, had the following to say about the government's efforts to collect statistical information and about the size of the Balkan population in the 1830s:

> Previous to the last Russian war [1828] the Porte entertained the most extravagant notions as to the population of the country. It trusted to its old registers or admitted inscrupulously the swollen estimates. . . . But the passage of the Balkans has quickened their sight, and awakened energy with apprehension, statistical details have been demanded throughout the whole country, and these can easily be collected from the municipalities. The governors and pashas of late appointment . . . seem to have taken up statistics with spirit. I can bear testimony to the readiness with which they have communicated to me all the information they themselves possessed.[19]

Apparently on the basis of this information and other sources Urquhart gave the population figures for the Balkans (adjusted according to religion and ethnic origin) shown in Table 2.3.[20]

Table 2.3. Population of Ottoman Balkan Territories, 1831

Muslims		*Christians*	
Turks	700,000	Greeks (excluding Greece)	1,180,000
Albanians	1,066,000	Slavs	4,000,000
Bosnians, Tuleman Pomaks	2,000,000	Albanians	530,000
		Vlahs	600,000
Total Muslims	3,766,000	Total Christians	6,310,000
		Others (Jews, Armenians, etc.)	600,000
			6,910,000
GRAND TOTAL			10,676,000

Source: David Urquhart, *Turkey and Its Resources, Its Municipal Organization and Free Trade* (London, 1833), pp. 272–73.

It is highly desirable that the census of 1831 be studied further in order to determine the extent of the rural area that remained uncounted and the reasons for this neglect. This can be achieved only after the complete registers for at least fifteen or twenty *kaza*s are located and properly catalogued.

The census register for 1831, in addition to the numerical information on various religious and ethnic groups, provides excellent insights into the social, economic, and cultural characteristics of the Ottoman population at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A large number of Christians apparently were not paying the head tax at all, for they did not possess the customary receipts. The majority of Christians seemed to have possessed enough property to place them in the *evsat* category, that is, the middle range of taxpayers. A table showing the tax status of Christians in various *kaza*s in Rumili is included as Appendix B.2 following this chapter.

It is interesting to note that the proportion of the Christians in the three *ciziye* categories remained more or less constant. Hadžibegić calculated that throughout the eighteenth and into the early nineteenth century the *ala* comprised roughly 7.5 to 8 percent of the Christians; the *evsat*, 65 to 68 percent; and the *edna*, 24 to 27.5 percent.[21]

The amount of the *ciziye* was theoretically the equivalent of one *dirham* of silver, as decreed in the early Islamic laws.[22] Christians in the *ala* category were paying approximately the equivalent of one *dirham*, while the others paid less—an indication of the Ottoman adherence to Islamic practices. Mahmud II, who raised the rate several times during his tenure, claimed that he did so because the currency had become debased in value and that in real terms the tax remained constant.

The true size of the head tax and its relative impact can be ascertained only if we know the annual income and the amount of property owned by the taxpayers of each category. This is indeed essential if the social effect is to be determined at all. The summary results of the census for 1831 do not contain any information on the subject. There are, however, a number of indicators which should permit one to form an opinion about the relative burden of the *ciziye*. The results of a study conducted in Bulgaria are rather suggestive. This study concerns the economic status of the Bulgarian peasants in the 1870s; however, one can say that the situation in the 1830s, although admittedly less favorable, could not have been too different from the prevailing some forty years later. According to L. Berov and Nikolai Todorov, peasants possessing up to 30 *dönüm*s (one *dönüm* being equal to 919.3 square meters) of land were considered "poor"; those possessing 31 to 100 *dönüm*s were considered "middle" or "average"; and those possessing 101 to 150 *dönüm*s were deemed "rich." The average income per *dönüm* was calculated to be 54 *kuruş* (12.9 French francs). Consequently, the average annual income of a poor peasant was about 700 *kuruş*; of the average peasant, 700 to 2,000 *kuruş*; and of the rich farmer, 2,000 to 3,750 *kuruş*.[23] The three categories defined by the Bulgarian scholars were not the same as those used for *ciziye* purposes; nevertheless, if the total annual income of the Christians in all the three categories is compared to the tax paid, the latter

19. *Turkey and Its Resources*, pp. 271–72.

20. Ibid., pp. 272–73.

21. "Dzizja ili Harac," p. 42, no. 1.

22. On the background of the *ciziye*, see *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Djizya"; for the practice in the Ottoman era, see the section written by Halil Inalcik.

23. The figures, supported by extensive bibliographical data, are cited in Slavka Draganova, "Différenciation de fortune dans les village de la Bulgarie du nord-est durant les années 60 et 70 du XIX^{e} siècle," *Bulgarian Historical Review*, no. 2 (1980): 68–70.

amount appears to be rather low, despite change in the value of the currency.

The summary register of 1831 contains also a variety of information on the names of tribes and their subdivisions, the number of immigrants and seasonal workers, the number of houses and land estates in a *kaza*, the number of *fellahin* as differentiated from Arabs (in Tarsus), and the like. In sum, the census of 1831 (reproduced in the statistical appendices I.1) is an exceptionally valuable quantitative source for the study of Ottoman social history, and it deserves far more attention that hitherto given it.[24]

Estimates of the Ottoman Population from 1831 to 1853

The size of the Ottoman population in Europe was the subject of numerous estimates after the census results became available and, apparently, left most of the interested parties dissatisfied. Table 2.4 gives the average figures from a number of these estimates; Serbia (population 95,000) and Wallachia and Moldavia (population 1,500,000) are excluded.

The difference of about 1.2 million between the two totals in Table 2.4 probably stems from the fact that the figures not broken down into ethno-religious categories are estimates for the beginning of the century, while the others describe the situation in the 1830s. Both sets of figures underestimate the European population (as a comparison with the much more reliable figures covering the period after 1882 clearly reveals). Estimates of the population of the Asian and African provinces during this period ranged from 6 to 15 million. Thus the estimates of total Ottoman population during the early part of the nineteenth century varied from 14 million to 23 million. By all accounts, the highest of the figures underestimated the total by 10 to 12 million.[25]

New information on the Ottoman population became available after the census in 1844. The Ottoman government apparently did not publish the results of this important census, and the archives have not yet yielded any related statistical material; fortunately, Ubicini and Eugène Boré seemed to have had access to these figures. Ubicini, in his summary of the census results, claimed that his population tables "if not rigorously exact . . . are at least as correct as it was possible to render them. They are compiled from the general census taken in 1844 throughout the empire, when Riza Pasha, the Minister of War, undertook to reorganize the army by altering the method of recruiting."[26]

Table 2.4. Population of Ottoman Territories in Europe, 1820–1840

A. By Province

Province	Average Figure
Istanbul	600,000
Thrace	1,700,000
Bulgaria	1,500,000
Bosnia	820,000
Albania	350,000
Macedonia	700,000
Thessaly and Epirus	700,000
Livadia	550,000
Morea	420,000
Crete	250,000
Other (inc. Islands)	400,000
Total	7,990,000

B. By Composition

Ethnic-Religious Composition	Average Figure
Muslims	
Turks	1,700,000
Albanians	1,000,000
Bosnians (inc. Herzegovinians)	1,100,000
Pomaks	200,000
Total	4,000,000
Christians	
Greeks	2,050,000
Slavs (mainly Bulgarians)	1,650,000
Albanians	300,000
Vlahs	600,000
Armenians	80,000
Total	4,680,000
Jews	280,000
Gypsies	200,000
GRAND TOTAL	9,160,000

Source: Compiled from statistics given in E. Akarli, "Ottoman Population in Europe in the 19th Century: Its Territorial, Racial, and Religious Composition" (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1970) and from various documents.

24. A great deal of information may be gleaned from some of the 1831 census registers. Musa Çadirci points out in a detailed study of one of the basic registers, namely the census register for Ankara, that some of the *vilayet* censuses in 1830/31 included extensive information about the age, occupation, religion, and even the geographic origin of the respondents. Studies of the individual *defters* for the entire realm similar to the register for Ankara would indicate the age and occupational structure of the Ottoman population at that time; see "1830 Genel Sayimina göre Ankara şehir merkezi nüfusu üzerinde bir araştirma," *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 1 (1980): 109–32.

25. For a compilation of statistics from sixteen major sources on the Ottoman population, see Engin Akarli, "Ottoman Population in Europe in the 19th Century; Its Territorial, Racial, and Religious Composition" (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1970). Ami Boué, who gave extensive statistical information of his own, placed the total Ottoman population at about 15 million (of whom 11.5 million were in Europe) and gave the total number of Turks in Europe as 700,000 and of Slavs, as over 7 million; see *La Turquie d'Europe* (Paris, 1840).

26. *Letters on Turkey*, trans. Lady Easthope (London, 1856; reprint ed., New York; Arno Press, 1973), pp. 23–24; see also Eugène Boré, *Almanach de l'Empire ottoman pour l'année 1849/1850* (Constantinople, 1849/50), and A. Viquesnel, *Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe* (Paris, 1868). For the census order, see "Traduction d'un mémorandum de la Sublime-Porte, adressé aux missions étrangères à Constantinople, et relatif au recensement général décrété par S. Hautesse," *Le Moniteur universel*, no. 248 (4 September 1844).

Actually the census that was started in 1844 continued well beyond that date, for the government tried also to count the nomadic tribes, appointing census officials in the *vilayets* of Aydin and Menteşe in 1851 and making efforts to expand further the census taken in Cyprus in 1857. The census of the nomadic tribes in these two provinces was carried out by army officers belonging to the units stationed in the area.[27] It appears from official correspondence that the census of the Muslim population in Cyprus was concluded by 1861 and that a census of the non-Muslim population was ordered in 1862, with the purpose of reforming the tax system. The census of the non-Muslims was carried out by four teams, each consisting of one Muslim and one Christian official plus a secretary. It was expected that the census of the non-Muslims living in villages and towns would take four to five months. The Porte debated at length whether the expenses of the census should be covered from the general treasury, raised through a tax levy of one *kuruş* per person, or deducted from the annual tax collected from Cyprus.[28]

Ubicini reproduced the results of the Ottoman census with apparently only minor adjustments. He was the chief source for many Ottoman population studies that in turn supplied material for other studies. His figures have been used, intact or with some modification, by a variety of people ranging from the British consular agents (an exact reproduction appears in the House of Commons *Accounts and Papers* of 1860) to J. L. Farley, Emile Isambert, Sir James Porter, H. von Boehn, F. W. Reden, E. H. Michelsen, C. Molbeck, and others whose works served as sources of information for a variety of almanacs and other popular publications. The results of the census of 1844, as published by Ubicini and Boré, were criticized by some Europeans as being partial to Muslims, although Boré, in fact, exaggerated the number of Slavs while minimizing the number of Turks. (Ubicini's figures are reproduced in the statistical appendices, I.2.)

The Tuna Province Census and Population Statistics to 1878

The religious-ethnic composition of the Ottoman population in the Balkans became an important issue after the *Islahat Fernuani* was issued in 1856. The chief purpose of this edict prepared by European powers was to introduce "reforms" for the benefit of the non-Muslim subjects of the Porte; in fact, the edict accelerated the introduction of a capitalist economy among the non-Muslims and prepared the ground for the emergence of the new entrepreneurial groups which, as was mentioned in Chapter 1, began to monopolize the internal and external trade, as well as the newly created professions. This occupational shift worked to the detriment of the Muslim population, which became the agricultural sector of the emerging capitalist order. In general the Muslims managed to retain their hold on the land; but even there the situation became precarious, because many big landowners—as well as the small farmers who were without legal protection against usurers, often non-Muslims—began to sell their land to the Christians.

Contrary to a variety of uninformed opinions, the economic status of the Christians, particularly the Bulgarians, improved rapidly after the 1830s, and especially during the 1850s, thanks to special political conditions created at first by the Tanzimat reforms in 1839 and then reinforced by the Ferman of 1856. The economic improvement experienced by various Christian ethnic groups was accompanied by vital cultural and political changes that increased their national consciousness, as clearly indicated by the establishment of national churches and the emergence of nationalist movements (see Chapter 3).

The census of 1866 in Tuna (Danube) Province (a partial census was carried out also in Iraq) was required because of the profound changes which had taken place in the ethnic, religious, economic, and social composition of this vital area. Tuna Province was comprised of Rusçuk, Vidin, Sofia, Tirnova, Varna (northern Bulgaria), Niş (Serbia), and Tulça (Dobruca-Romania). Carried out over the period from 1866 to 1873 under the supervision of Mithat Paşa, the governor, this census was probably the most comprehensive of all Ottoman censuses, registering the occupations and properties of the respondents in addition to the usual data (although females still were not registered). Multiple registers were used, and these eventually were reduced to a single one. Officials went from house to house to note the number of people in a household, their ages, marital status, occupations, and real estate holdings. Special lists indicated the number of household heads, their real estate holdings and rents, their occupations, and their total incomes. All these data were summarized in still other lists showing the total number of the taxable population and its ethnic composition, the number of dwellings, the total income of the population, the total value of real estate, and the amount of tax collected. One of the purposes of the census of 1866 was to issue to all Ottoman subjects a *tezkere-i osmaniyye*, or Ottoman identity card, which could then be used to register changes in an individual's status. Preparations were made to print and distribute 5 million card in the Tuna *vilayet* and, in anticipation of a countrywide census, another 15 million for the rest of the realm.

The information in this census material is so ample and unique as to make it a primary source of information on the social and demographic history of the European possessions of the Ottoman state.[29] Professor Nicolai Todorov, a member of the Bulgarian Academy, who was the first to use this census material in detail, in conducting his study of the Balkan towns and their social structure, has explicitly acknowledged its value and reliability.[30] A succinct summary of the 1868 census data for Tuna Province is given in Table 2.5. (Data from the Tuna Province yearbooks of 1869 and 1874 are included in the statistical appendices, I.3, 4, and 5.) It is clear that the total population of the Danube province was over 2 million people; a more comprehensive analysis of the original surveys could yield additional clues for arriving at more accurate (and possibly higher) figures for the whole population of this important province.

27. See BA (I)/(D)/14855, letter of 7 Safer 1268 (2 December 1851); see also Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1875), and *La Bulgarie danubienne et le Balkan: Etudes de voyages, 1860–1880* (Paris, 1862).

28. See BA (I)/MV)/21366, letter of 28 Safer 1279 (25 August 1862).

29. See the Tuna Vilayet Salname of 1285 (1868); the census material, under the serial number PC 79/8, is found in the Oriental Section of the National Library of Bulgaria in Sofia.

Table 2.5. Population of Tuna Province, 1868 (H. 1285)

Sancaks	Number of Villages	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Rusçuk	833	138,692	95,834	234,526
Varna	391	56,689	20,769	77,458
Vidin	434	25,338	124,567	149,905
Sofia	711	24,410	147,095	171,505
Tirnova	453	71,645	104,273	175,918
Tulça	252	39,133	17,929	57,062
Niş	549	54,510	100,425	154,935
Total	3623	410,417	610,892	1,021,309

Source: Tuna Vilayet Salname of 1285 (1868) and census material under file no. PC 79/8 in the Oriental Section of the National Library of Bulgaria in Sofia.

Ten years after the publication of the census for the Danube province, the Ottoman government published in the imperial Salname of 1294 (1877/78) the first complete list of the entire population of the realm. The list was not based upon a full population count, despite preparations, made as early as 1873/74, to conduct a general census. Although the population of a few districts was actually counted, the list apparently was based on information in the provincial *salnames* and on data provided by the provincial administrations.

This first complete population list published by the Ottoman government has been reproduced in the statistical appendices (I.8) because of its historical as well as its intrinsic value; it employs the new administrative divisions adopted in 1864 and 1871. The population was not categorized according to religious faith, as the newly published constitution (1876) prohibited such division. Nomads were not listed. Soldiers and the police were not included either. Figures published in a second state *salname*, issued in 1295, differed only slightly from the first set of statistics.[31]

30. "The Balkan Town in the Second Half of the 19th Century," *Etudes balkaniques* 2 (1969): 31–50; see also *Balkanskiat Grad, XV–XIX vek* (Sofia, 1972), *La ville balkanique sous les Ottomans XV–XIX s* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), or *The Balkan City, 1400–1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983).

31. A version of the census list for 1877/78 was published by Ubicini, who complained that in some cases the figures did not add up; see *Economiste français*, 28 July 1877, and *Journal de la Société de statistique de Paris* 18, no. 9 (1877): 235–41. Actually Ubicini's complaint was not justified, because the population of Gatzko, which he gave as 19,459—not sufficient for Herzegovina's stated total—was actually 92,632; Ubicini's own notes apparently were in error on this point, but instead of checking and correcting his figure he blamed the Ottomans.

Table 2.6. Population of the Ottoman State According to Salaheddin Bey (1867)

Vilayet		Muslims	Christians	Others
Europe				
Edirne (including Istanbul)	3,900,000			
Danube (Bulgaria)	3,000,000			
Prezerin, Tirhala, Rumelia	2,087,000			
Bosnia	1,100,000			
Yanina and Salonica	2,700,000			
Islands, including Crete but not Cyprus	700,000			
	13,487,000			
Serbia	1,000,000			
Wallachia-Moldavia	4,000,000			
Total	18,487,000	6,103,000	12,100,000	284,000
Asia				
West and Central Anatolia and Cyprus	10,907,000			
East Anatolia (Erzurum Kurdistan, Harput)	1,906,000			
Syria, Baghdad	2,750,000			
Hejaz, Yemen	900,000			
Total	34,950,000	13,223,000	3,160,000	80,000
Africa				
Tunisia, Egypt, Tripoli	5,050,000	5,050,000	—	—
GRAND TOTAL	40,000,000			

Source: Salaheddin Bey, *La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* (Paris, 1867), pp. 210–14.

The imperial Salname of 1294 had been preceded ten years earlier by a semi-official population tabulation prepared for the Paris International Exhibition by Salaheddin Bey, a high Ottoman official (see Table 2.6).[32] Salaheddin Bey's population figures, although somewhat inflated, were reproduced with modification by Élisée Reclus, the well-known French geographer, and became standard information for a large number of students of Ottoman population, chiefly in Europe.[33] At about the same time, Vladimir Yakshity, the head of the statistical department in Belgrade, stated that the Ottoman population in Europe consisted of only 8 million people, of whom 4.5 million were Christians, the rest being Muslims and a few (70,000)

32. See *La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* (Paris, 1867), pp. 210–14. The figures in the table have been condensed. It has been claimed that Salaheddin Bey's figures were taken from Viquesnel (*Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe*), who in turn had taken them from Ubicini; see Ernest Dottain, "La Turquie d'Asie d'après le Traité de Berlin," *Revenue de géographie* 3 (1878): 209.

33. *Nouvelle géographie universelle, la Terre et les hommes l'Europe méridionale* (Paris, 1875). Reclus, who relied on several secondary sources, gave the probable Ottoman population in the Balkans as 11,480,000. There is no evidence to support this figure. See also Georges Castellan, "Peuples et nations des Balkans à la veille du Congrès de Berlin (1878) d'après Élisée Reclus," *Revue des études sud-est européenes* 15, no. 2 (1977): 279–93.

Jews;[34] Yakshity claimed that he had worked with information and documents obtained directly from Ottoman administrators in Europe. E. G. Ravenstein, the English statistician, using the main literature available at the time, gave the total population of European Turkey as 9,561,000 (excluding the army) and that of Asia (including the Arabic-speaking areas) as 6,483,000, to make a total of 16,325,868 for the entire realm.[35]

More complete and comprehensive than the tabulation of Salaheddin Bey was the work of A. Ritter zur Helle von Samo, the Austrian military attaché in Istanbul, who compiled a series of statistics based on the Ottoman provincial yearbooks for 1871–1876. His work stands as some of the best of its kind, not only for its critical handling of the data in the *salnames* and other sources but also for its broad understanding of the Ottoman administration and peoples.[36] Helle von Samo's statistics for 1872 and 1874 are reproduced in the statistical appendices (1.6). The population statistics of 1844 should be read in connection with these figures, which give the total population of the Ottoman empire as 40,512,111.

Evaluation of Ottoman Censuses and Statistics of 1831–1878

One can continue for many pages citing authors who showed great interest in the Ottoman population in the period from 1865 to 1878. During those years the Ottoman state and Russia and, as well, the European powers that stood ready to exploit what Russia had secured by the sword, were fast approaching a showdown in the Balkans. The outcome was to depend on the ethnic and religious allegiances of the population. As was pointed out in Chapter 1, at the Istanbul conference of December 1876 the ethnic-religious distribution of the Balkan population had already become the basis for proposed "reforms," including autonomy for the various ethnic groups. At that conference the Russian delegates produced population tables compiled by "expert statisticians," including Heinrich Kiepert, who, it turned out, had compiled his statistics strictly in accordance with Russian wishes. These Russian-sponsored statistics purported to show that most of the eastern and central part of the Balkan peninsula was inhabited by Bulgarians, thus supporting and legitimizing the Russian effort to establish a large Bulgarian state bordering on the Aegean Sea.

This political manipulation of demographic and ethnographic data had a rather beneficial effect on Ottoman population studies. Primarily the Greeks, but also Albanians and other Muslims who felt threatened by the prospect of inclusion in a Greater Bulgaria; engaged in a frantic rebuttal of the Russian and Bulgarian figures through the publication of their own population statistics. England, a supporter of the Greeks, came to the rescue, delegating several of her officers trained in cartography to conduct field investigations among the population of the Balkans. The reports of these officers, although tending to throw light on the ethnic composition of some areas in the Balkans, are too numerous and too incomplete to be of use for this study. However, at the Berlin Congress in 1878 England used these reports on the population composition of the Balkans in her argument in favor of limiting Bulgaria's territory and was successful in getting Macedonia and Thrace (given to Bulgaria under the San Stefano treaty signed just three months earlier) detached from the new state.

Before discussing the Ottoman population censuses taken in the last quarter of the century, it is essential to elucidate the inconsistencies in various population figures issued in the period from 1844 to 1878. Leaving aside a great number of works on the Ottoman population published from 1860 to 1878,[37] one can divide the tabulations and the opinions expressed by the compilers into two groups, which I call *minimalist* and *maximalist*. The minimalist group includes practically all of the Ottoman imperial and provincial yearbooks and the tabulations based on them, such as those of Ubicini, Yakshity, Kutschera (who was Austrian consul in Rusçuk),[38] Helle von Samo, Synvet, Steinhouser, and others. These European minimalists, it must be emphasized, included the leading experts on the Ottoman population, scholars who accepted the data in the *salnames* and other official figures as sound and reliable. They estimated the Ottoman population as ranging between 8 and 10 million in Europe and between 9 and 15 million in Asia. They regarded the Ottoman official figures as being rather low, but they failed to present a reliable yardstick for correcting them.

The maximalist school, of which the most notable representatives were Salaheddin Bey and Reclus, came close to an agreement about the total Ottoman population but they differed on the details of its demographic-ethnic distribution. Their figures (with the exception of those of Reclus) are higher for Europe than those of the minimalists, but lower for Asia and Africa. The differences between the minimalists and maximalists may in fact indicate knowledge in the minds of some insiders of the important demographic factors of internal migration, immigration, and settlement, factors overlooked by the official registers. After 1856 the expanding capitalist relations, which increased the sphere of small individual enterprises and services mostly in the growing urban areas, attracted large numbers of *bekars* (single males; see chapters 4 and 5) to the cities. External migrations meanwhile became a major factor (as it had been in earlier times: in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for example, Serbians and Bulgarians emigrated to Austro-Hungary and to the area north of Danube; and during the period from 1774 to 1783 the Turkic peoples had immigrated to Ottoman lands from Crimea and southern Russia as these areas were annexed by Russia).[39] Beginning in 1862, and continuing through the first decade of the twentieth century, more than 3 million people of Caucasian stock, often referred to collectively as Çerkes (Circassians), were forced by the Russians to leave their ancestral lands, which lay between the Black and the Caspian seas, and came to settle and swell the population of Ottoman lands in the nineteenth century. In addition, large numbers of nomadic tribesmen were settled throughout Anatolia, Syria, and Iraq and began to farm the land while still maintaining, to a large extent, their pastoral habits.

The Ottoman official statistics failed for most part to reflect promptly the presence of the immigrants and the newly settled population, largely because these people did not at once begin to pay taxes or provide men for the army but appeared to be transitional, unstable, and, in some instances, at odds with the established population. It is true that once the immigrants became engaged in productive occupations they were subject to registration, but this did not take place for a considerable period of time. The Ottoman government recruited many immigrant Çerkes for military and police duties—the *zaptiye* (policemen) in towns were often Çerkes—but this was achieved in many instances through the intermediary of the leaders of the tribes rather than through conscription based on the population registers. A considerable number of the seasonal workers, immigrants, and tribesmen remained unregistered despite the provision designed to result in the inclusion of the itinerant population in the registers. Some lists of statistics occasionally had a column for immigrants (*muhacir*); this was the case with the Danube census of 1866 (which gives extremely low figures for immigrants), but it was not the usual practice throughout the realm. By the late 1890s some Ottoman officials and British agents began to report the population of an area by citing, in separate columns, the numbers of the established residents, Muslim and non-Muslim, and of immigrants. These reports were incomplete but nevertheless showed that some Ottoman officials, chiefly those I have called maximalist, were aware of the effect of internal and international migration and strove to take this factor into consideration.

Salaheddin Bey was the first to give a rather accurate estimate of the number of Circassian newcomers in the Ottoman state. He mentioned a total of 1,008,000, including recent arrivals from Crimea, whose number was around 100,000; he claimed that 595,000 Circassians were settled in Europe and 413,000 in Asia Minor.[40] If one considers the fact that these figures were put forth in 1867—that is, well before the Caucasian immigration ended—then the enormous impact of this demographic factor becomes clearly evident. (The few European statisticians who mentioned the Circassians placed their maximum number at 200,000, indicating that they were unaware of the magnitude of this migration.)

The status of population censuses and estimates before the Berlin Congress in 1878 can be summarized as follows:

(1) The Ottoman government itself, wishing only to register its male population for purposes of tax assessment and military conscription, considered ethnic or national distribution of no importance and did not record it; religious distribution was important, however, because personal taxes were assessed against Christians, while the duty of military service was demanded of Muslims. (A decision had been made to include the Christians in the army after general conscription was introduced in 1855, but the Christians objected and were exempted, for which privilege they continued to pay the *ciziye*, now called the military tax.) The original census, therefore, had separate categories for Muslims, Christians, Jews, gypsies, and, in some cases, nomads, although in most cases persons in the latter two categories were neither conscripted nor taxed. Some Muslim areas (Syria, Bosnia) were subjected to census only after the scope of conscription was extended to cover them. The population of regions such as Arabia that did not supply troops was never subject to a full census count.

(2) The Europeans, except for a few persons such as Reclus and Ravenstein who pursued special professional ends, were interested in the population of the Ottoman state largely for political reasons. Consequently, their inquiries centered on the ethnic distribution of the Christian population and, chiefly, on the European provinces—that is, the areas with the heaviest Christian concentration where rising ethnic nationalism was expected to culminate in political independence. The Europeans generally showed no interest in the number and the ultimate fate of the Muslim population in the Balkans. They often inflated the number of the non-Muslims in their tabulations, claiming that Muslims accounted for only 20 to 30 percent of the total. Serious students, on the other hand, stated otherwise; for example, Ubicini and Yakshity stated that approximately 43 percent of the Ottoman population in the Balkans was Muslim, 54 percent Christian, and the rest Jewish and others.

(3) The Ottoman population was consistently undercounted. The number of immigrants and emigrants was not properly reflected in the records. Moreover, once the cen-

34. First published by Ernst Behm and H. Wagner, *Die Bevölkerung der Erde* (Gotha, 1874); see also later editions of this work, which are numerous.

35. "The Populations of Russia and Turkey," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 40 (1877): 449.

36. See *Die Völker des osmanischen Reiches* (Vienna, 1877) and *Das Vilajet der Inseln das Weissen Meeres, das Priviligirte Beylik Samos (Syssam), und das selbständige Mutessarflik Cypren (Kybris)* (Vienna, 1878).

37. These are reproduced by Mikhov in great detail and need not be repeated here. However, special mention should be made of A. Synvet's much-cited *Traité de géographie générale de l'Empire ottoman* (Istanbul, 1872); and see Carl Sax, *Ethnographische Karte der europäischen Turkei und ihrer Dependenzen zur Ziet des Kriegsausbruches im Jahre 1877* (Vienna, 1877), and "Bevölkerung der Turkei," *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, no. 7 (1877).

38. Much of Kutschera's work was published in the *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* of the years 1875 to 1878.

39. See my article, "Population Movements in the Ottoman State in the Nineteenth Century: An Outline" in *Contributions à l'Histoire Économique et Sociale de l'Empire Ottoman*, Collection Turcica, vol. 3, ed. Jean-Louis Bacque-Gramont and Paul Dumont (Istanbul, Paris, London, 1983).

40. See *La Turquie à l'Exposition*, chapter 5.

sus began to register women as well as men, the Ottoman statistics consistently showed men to be significantly more numerous than women. (This may have merely been a reflection of the census takers' inability to register all the women properly or it may have revealed a real impact of factors such as work conditions, age of marriage, family size, etc., upon the number of women. Ravenstein was the only European who, to my knowledge, mentioned these demographic aspects of the Ottoman population studies carried out during his time; but instead of proposing measures for correcting Ottoman figures, he indulged in subjective criticism.)[41] The shortcomings of the Ottoman censuses results may easily be remedied through a critical study of the Ottoman population registers found in various provincial centers, as has been pointed out;[42] these registers contain entries concerning births and deaths, from which one may extrapolate fertility rates, family sizes, and other demographic data.

The Population Register System, 1831–1878: Effects of the Berlin Treaty

The Berlin Congress of 1878 was a watershed in the history of the Ottoman state. The peace treaty itself deprived the state of its major possessions in Europe. The old *vilayet* of Tuna was partitioned between Serbia (which took Niş) and the principality of Bulgaria (which was created out of the five *sancak*s of Rusçuk, Vidin, Tirnova, Varna, and Sofia) and Romania (which received Tulça [Tulçu]; Romania, consisting of Wallachia and Moldavia, had already become fully independent). A substantial part of the *vilayet* of Edirne (Adrianople) became an autonomous province under the name Eastern Rumelia, and in 1885 it was annexed by the principality of Bulgaria. Bosnia and Herzegovina (except for the Novibazar *sancak*) were occupied by Austro-Hungary; Montenegro and Greece took sections of Işkodra (Scutari in Albania), Tirhala, and Prevesa; and Russia occupied important sections of the Caucasus. It was estimated that the Ottoman state lost approximately 4.5 million people with these ceded territories. Thus the majority of the Christian population was removed from Ottoman control, leaving the Ottoman state an overwhelmingly Muslim country whose main territory lay in Asia Minor and the Middle East.

The actions of the French and the British in occupying, respectively, Tunisia (1881) and Egypt (1882) spurred the Ottoman government to institute reforms in its effort to survive. Moreover, the Berlin Congress had expressly charged the Ottoman government with the carrying out of reforms in the eastern provinces inhabited by Armenians.[43] The reforms made after 1878 by Abdulhamid II were concentrated on the practical, rather than being directed towards mainly cosmetic changes in the administrative and political spheres, as had been the custom since the Tanzimat edict of 1839. The Ottoman officials considered that the successful improvement of material conditions in the country required a thorough knowledge of its human and natural resources, so that development could be concentrated in the most densely populated areas. They opted eventually for the total reorganization of the population registers and the methods of census taking and initiated the first comprehensive Ottoman population census of 1881/82–1893.

In the 1830s the Ottoman government had, as mentioned, established the Office of Population Registers (*Ceride-i Nüfus Nezareti*) as part of the Ministry of Interior.[44] By 1839 the census responsibilities were decentralized. Various officials—inspectors of population (*nüfus naziri*), population officials (*nüfus memuru*), and registrars (*mukayyid*)—were appointed to the provinces and smaller administrative districts and charged with recording births and deaths and periodically compiling lists (*cedvel*s) indicating the total number of people in each district. These officials were originally attached to the Office of Population Registers in the capital; but, owing to a variety of internal causes, this office was soon abolished and the provincial population offices were reassigned, first to the Office of Property Surveys (*Tahrir-i Emlak Idaresi*) and then, for a short period, to the Military Affairs Office. During this period interest in the maintenance of the registers languished, reviving only with the renewed concern for population censuses in the late 1860s. After the Council of State (*Şuray-i Devlet*) was established in 1867, it assumed jurisdiction of all population matters, issuing reports and regulations through its Tanzimat bureau or its general council.[45] In 1874 the Council introduced a series of measures for taking a census and establishing a registration system; and in 1881/82 it engineered the establishment of a General Population Administration (*Nüfus-u Umumi Idaresi*) attached to the Ministry of Interior (where it remained until the end of the empire). In the later 1880s a statistical office attached to the Ministry of Trade and Construction (later reorganized as the Ministry of Trade and Agriculture) was established; it issued population statistics on the basis of information supplied by the Population Administration.

After 1870, census taking and the establishment of an accurate, permanent registration system became a matter of priority for both the sultan and the office of the prime minister, as attested by their frequent orders to the offices concerned. These officials recognized that the old permanent population registers had become useless. Throughout the years when official interest was lacking they had suffered from neglect. The great movements of people into and within the realm had gone unrecorded; furthermore, the promulgation of the Vilayet Law of 1864 and its amendment in 1870/71 had led to the abolition of the positions assigned to population officials and to the diversion of the funds formerly allocated for their salaries to other purposes. This produced further disorder in the deteriorating situation of the population registers and undermined the collection of taxes and conscription. The Council of State appointed a special committee to study the possibility of taking a new census and establishing a new register system. The committee reported that the synchronization, updating, and correction of the existing population registers would take a very long time; it commented that the influx of bona fide foreigners (*ecnebi*) and the rapid increase in the number of Ottoman-born non-Muslims who held passports from European powers and served as native protégés aiding foreign interests (*mahmi*) aggravated further the woes of the registration system. Consequently, the committee recommended, and the Council agreed, that the best solution was to conduct a new census and to establish new registers to cover the entire country, except for Hejaz and Yemen.[46] In 1874 the Council issued an order and three regulations for the carrying out of a new census and the establishment of a new registration system. The first regulation concerned the census methods; the second provided for the establishment of a system based on three types of registers; and the third dealt with the appointment of population officials.

The census was to be taken by a committee established in each *kaymakamlik* (*kaza*, or district). The committee was to consist of one government official (a Muslim), one non-Muslim chosen from among community leaders, a secretary, and his assistant.[47] Old population registers were to be used when possible, but the census was to be conducted mainly by going to each village and town quarter (*mahalle*) in the area. All male inhabitants, including children, had to appear before this committee and the village council of elders (*ihtiyar meclisi*) to register their ages, nicknames (*künye*), color of eyes and complexion, and special physical disabilities "which will not fade with age"; and the census committee members were instructed to see "with their own eyes" even newborn babies, to study each claim to exemption from military service, and to see to it that nobody remained "hidden" and unregistered.[48] Each family had to be registered as a unit. The resulting roster of the village census was to be verified by the elders' council and a copy of it given to the population office at the *kaza* center; the *kaza* official in turn would send a cumulative list of the number of males in his district to the superior administrative unit, which would convey the lists to the ultimate authority at the center, the Ministry of Property Records (*Defter-i Hakani*). Officials in each *kaza* were obliged to send copies of the registers of Muslim males to the regional army offices and to serve as the repository of all village population registers.

The census committee was empowered to use force to bring before the registration officials those who refused to appear; however, it was instructed to act with tolerance and respect toward villagers and to refuse any gift offered by individuals.[49] The census instructions contained a series of provisions concerning the registration of those absent from the locality, of foreigners, and of "protected" people, the latter two groups being listed in special registers.

A census system based on the use of three types of population registers was envisaged.[50] The basic register (*esas defter*) was to list all males living in villages and town quarters (the Vilayet Law of 1871 defined a town quarter as a cluster of at least fifty houses), numbering individuals consecutively in the first column and, in the second column, listing the families and their respective members. This register, to be kept by the official in the *kaza* center, included columns for registering the individual's age and changes in his military and personal status. The second register, the summary (*icmal*), listed the total number of people found in the villages and towns of the *kaza*, and it

41. For example, he sought to explain the discrepancy between the number of males and females by saying, "When females lead a life of seclusion and ease, not conducive to health, as in an Oriental harem, their life will naturally be shortened, and the immoral practices carried on there, and generally speaking amongst most Orientals, must lead to the same result" ("The Populations of Russia," p. 446).

Obviously the author was influenced by the western vision of a "decadent Orient" mired in sex and general debauchery and thus ripe for cleansing reform—i.e., occupation by "civilized" Europeans. Ravenstein showed his strong anti-Turkish bias elsewhere also; while discussing the population figures for the Balkans, he wrote: "The intervention of little Serbia [in the war in 1878] was as wise as it was chivalrous. It has brought about a state of things which will force Christendom, for very shame, to abate the Turkish nuisance . . ." ("Distribution of the Population in the Part of Europe Overrun by Turks," *The Geographical Magazine* 3 [1876]: 259).

42. See, e.g., Justin McCarthy, "The Muslim Population of Anatolia, 1878 to 1927" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1978).

43. Henry D. Barnham, a British consular official in eastern Anatolia, reported in 1880 that a census was planned for the Armenian-inhabited Diyarbekir Province; he believed that this census would meet a need for better and more complete statistics, the data in the hands of the government and Christian clergymen being so unsatisfactory that both sides wanted a new census. See HCAP 100/44 (1881), pp. 235–36.

44. See Stanford J. Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population 1831–1919," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9 (1978): 325–36. The name *ceride*, given originally to some of the land and population registers, came later to mean "newspaper." The name *ceride-i nüfus* (population register) was later changed to *nüfus sicili* and *nufus kütüğü* to indicate its role as the source of all population information.

45. Some information on the history of Population Administration is found in Council report no. 438 of 21 Cemaziyülevvel 1298 (21 April 1881) in BA (I)/(SD)/3148 and in a letter of 7 Safer 1268 (2 December 1851) in BA (I)/(D)/14855.

46. See BA (I)/(MM)/2086, Council report no. 695 of 29 Zilhice 1290 (17 February 1874); all the reports concerning the census of 1874 are in one folio.

47. See BA (I)/(MM)/2089, "Tahir-i Nüfusun Suret-i Icraiyyesini Mutazammin Talimattir" [Instructions concerning the conduct of the population census], 1 Rebiyülevvel 1291 (18 April 1874).

48. Ibid., article 2.

49. Ibid., arts. 8–10. Boys under the age of three, the sick, and others who had valid excuses could be registered by proxy.

50. Ibid., "Tahrir-i Nüfus için Ittihaz Olunacak Uç Türlü Defterin Suret-i Istimalini Mübeyyin Tarifnamedir" [Information concerning the use of the three registers to be created for conducting the population census].

was to be compiled on the basis of information derived from village and *mahalle* registers. One column in the summary register provided for the listing of Christians according to their *millet* (religious and ethnic affiliation) and for the separate recording of Muslims, Greeks, Bulgarians, Armenians, Jews, and others. A third register, daily events (*yevmiye vukuat*), was to be kept in the *kaza* for the recording of births, deaths, migrations into or out of the district, and changes in an individual's military status. Every six months, the total number of these "daily events" was to be entered in the *icmal* register. A model for each of the new registers was drafted by the Council; reproductions and translations of these model registers are presented in Appendix B.3 following this chapter.

The administrative officials of the census and register system planned in 1874 included a population minister-inspector (*nüfus naziri*) at the provincial level, a registering official (*mukayyid*) at the *kaza* level, and two secretaries for each official.[51] These officials registered all the births, deaths, and other changes as reported to them by the local leaders on special information certificates (*ilmuhaber*s) supplied by the government. The population officials were obliged to take trips into the countryside to study the situation on the spot and to report all changes to their superiors and, eventually, to the Office of Imperial Registers (*Defter-i Hakani Nezareti*—the new name given in 1871 to the old *Defterhane*) in the capital. A copy of the registers kept in areas inhabited by Muslims was to be sent to the proper military authorities. Those failing to report births, deaths, and changes in personal status were subjected to various penalties.

The instructions issued by the Council were submitted by Premier Hüseyin Avni Paşa to the sultan, who approved them and issued a special order for their execution.[52] Preparations were made, but the census and registration system devised in 1874 could not be carried out. The revolts in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1875, the abdication and suicide of Sultan Abdulaziz, the proclamation of a constitution and accession to the throne of Sultan Abdulhamit II in 1876, and, especially, the disastrous war with Russia of 1877–1878 and the resulting loss of territory substantially upset Ottoman internal order. In addition, the influx of large numbers of Muslim refugees from the Balkans in 1877/78 and, thereafter, and the need to settle them, created demographic problems not foreseen in 1874. The census was therefore delayed until these problems would be worked out.

51. Ibid., "Memaliki Mahrusa-i Şahanede Tahrir-i Nüfus Icra Kilinan Mahallerde Istihdam Olunacak Nüfus Nazirlari ve Katipleri ile Mukayyitlerin Suret-i Tertip ve Tayinleri ile Vazifeleri Hakkinda Talimattir" [Instructions concerning the organizations, appointment, and responsibilities of the population inspectors, secretaries, and registrars to be appointed in the localities of the realm where census has been decreed].

52. Ibid., correspondence of 8, 9 Rebiyülahir 1291 (25, 26 May 1874).

The Census and Registration System of 1881/82

As soon as the political situation stabilized, the sultan issued an order for a new census. He complained through his secretary that as the country did not possess registers indicating the exact number of soldiers available for active and reserve duties he could not carry out a planned reorganization of the army. In 1881 the Palace charged the War Ministry with the duty of counting Muslim males; officials in the Ministry of Interior were to count the non-Muslims.[53] As usual, the issue was referred to the Council of State. This modern-minded office, eager to adopt advanced techniques of organization, debated the issue and came out with a series of recommendations which were based in large measure on the 1874 regulations.[54] These recommendations and the resulting regulations (which were broader in scope and different in essence from the sultan's directives) became the basis for the census and registration system used after 1881. The Council acknowledged that the census of 1874 could not be carried out because of internal problems, although the knowledge gained in devising it was very useful in planning the new one. It agreed with the military authorities that the division of the Muslim population into age groups was a matter of vital practical importance. It stressed also the necessity of providing each Ottoman citizen with an identity card (*tezkere*) to be used in the increasingly frequent contacts between the government and individuals. The Council recognized that population statistics were useful for administrative as well as for military purposes, especially for the assessing of the tax instead of military service (*bedelat-i askeriyye*) on non-Muslims. As mentioned, the tax had been levied in the past as a lump sum on each community without ascertaining the exact number of its numbers; but as the number of non-Muslims was higher than indicated in the tax rolls, there was a significant loss of revenue, so once more then government endeavored to put the collection of the head tax on the individual basis that was prescribed by Islamic law.

A new census was clearly necessary. However, the Council pointed out that a "census shows the size of the population at a given moment. The population changes being continuous and . . . natural, it is necessary to device a sound basis, a new system which would record all population changes and thus derive the utmost benefit from a census."[55] In other words, the Council no longer regarded the census as a sufficient goal in itself, but now considered it a provisional measure necessary to the establishment of the statistical foundation for a permanent register system to record continuously all births and deaths and to provide general statistical information on the entire population. The importance of statistical data was strongly emphasized.

53. BA (I)/(D)/65276, order of 15 Recep 1297 (23 June 1880).

54. BA (I)/(SD)/3148, Council report no. 438 of 21 Cemaziyülevvel 1298 (21 April 1881).

55. Ibid.

Indeed, during the 1870s the Ottoman government became increasingly interested in modern statistics, beginning to publish some statistical information and eventually establishing a separate statistics office. Statistics on foreign trade were compiled regularly beginning in 1878 (R. 1294).[56] The statistical system was formed in 1879 on the recommendation of Küçük Sait Paşa for the purpose of providing the central administration with sound information for decision making. In 1891 the Statistical Council of the Sublime Porte was created. The statistics office worked in collaboration with the General Administration of Population and came to be headed largely by high-ranking professionals, many of whom were non-Muslims or foreigners. The degree of continuity of directors and their rank indicates, I believe, the degree of professionalism among the collectors of statistics and the importance attached to such data and, hence, the quality of the statistics. Yearbooks published between 1892 (H. 1310) and 1916 (H. 1334) give the names and ranks, and I have compiled that information into a list given as Appendix B.4 following this chapter.

In considering the basis for the new system it deemed desirable, the Council proposed to unify and consolidate all the elements involved in population management, including census taking, population registration, and administrative organization. All provisions concerning the census and registration system were therefore combined into a single "Regulation for Population Registers."[57] The regulation was debated and approved by the general committee of the Council and promulgated by the sultan in 1881.[58]

In addition to expressing strongly the desirability of obtaining accurate population statistics, the Council boldly affirmed that it was necessary to look at the practices of other countries in Europe and America and to take them as models. In a report on the census the Council stated:

> It is a duty to mention before everything else that the interest of a government in the compilation of systematic population statistics does not stem solely from military considerations. To know the exact number of its own population is a great achievement in matters of order and regularity for a government interested in law, property safeguards, financial stability, and municipal order and security. The European States attach great and continuous care to the collection and distribution of information on the [entire] population. It is imperative, urgent, and essential for us to accomplish this important task [census and registration] in a perfect fashion.[59]

56. These statistics, published by the General Directorate of Statistics, are available in their entirety for the period 1878–1900 and in less complete form for 1900–1913; see *Osmanli Imparatorluğunun Ticaret Muvazenesi, 1878–1913*, nos. 123–73 (Ankara, 1939).

57. See BA (I)/(SD)/3148, "Sicill-i Nüfus Nizamnamesi" of 8 Şaban 1298 (5 July 1881); all reports and correspondence concerning the census of 1881/82 are in one folio.

58. Ibid., "Şuray-i Devlet Umumi Heyeti Mazbatasi" of 8 Şaban 1298 (5 July 1881). Of the twenty committee members who participated in the debate, only two voted against the proposal; all the three non-Muslims voted for it.

59. Ibid., Council report no. 438 of 21 Cemaziyülevvel 1248 (21 April 1881).

The keen interest of the Ottoman government in the adoption of modern statistical methods and its willingness to look to other countries for guidance was shown also during a reception given for the American ambassador in 1886. Ambassador Samuel Sullivan Cox (who replaced in that post General Lewis Wallace, the author of *Ben Hur*) mentioned that the United States had compiled new population statistics which were of great use to his country and suggested that such statistics would be useful also to the Ottoman government. He was told that an actual census (the one under discussion here) was being conducted, and the sultan then asked him for a statistical review available in the American embassy. Eventually, the ambassador sent with the interpreter of the embassy two volumes of the review for translation into Turkish. The sultan told the ambassador that he was greatly interested in such works and pointed out that it was his high hope to have compiled a complete and systematic statistical record of the entire population in his realm, and that he had issued an order to carry out his intention.[60]

Cox, who as the chairman of the census committee was instrumental in passing the census legislation in the United States Congress, confirms this story. In his memoirs he writes:

> In some meetings which I had with the Sultan, and in reply to his curiosity as to the miraculous growth of our own land in population and resources, I told him that the only way in which he could possibly understand our advancement would be to take the salient points out of our Census reports, and especially the Tenth Census (1880), have them suitably translated, and apply them to his own land. He would thus see what an advertisement a good census would be of the vast resources of his own empire.[61]

According to Cox, the sultan was presented later with copies of the United States census data and concluded that with such data available for use in formulating administrative policies, the Americans could not be other than prosperous.

> The Sultan with intelligent grasp, comprehends their [the census data's] utility, and the need of their application to his own country. Then he reminds me of our conversation about a census for his own country, and said that he had directed his Grand Vizier, Kiamil Pasha, to organize a commission to begin the work. He was anxious as to its costs. He asked me if I would aid it by my advice, when the commission was formed. To which I responded that, consistent with my duties to my country and health, I would do so, if the President did not object. The law, the instructions to superintendents, enumerators, and blanks for returns, and the modus operandi of special experts, were fully detailed by the printed papers in the envelopes which were in the box. These envelopes he sealed with his

60. For the sultan's orders concerning the American statistics, see BA (I)/(D)/77419, letter from the sultan's private secretary, Sureyya, of 21 Cemaziyülevvel 1303 (25 February 1886).

61. See *Diversions of a Diplomat in Turkey* (New York, 1887), p. 37.

own hand, and gave them direction at once. So that probably Turkey may, if peace prevail, have a census of her own.[62]

The population census and registration regulation issued by the Council of State consisted of fifty articles divided into nine sections. The first thirty-eight articles, constituting eight sections, were devoted to the organization of the register system, while the last twelve, assembled under the heading "provisional regulation" (*ahkam-i muvakkate*), dealt with the census itself. In accordance with the Council's previously discussed reasoning, the regulation treated the census as an ad hoc project, while its by-product, the register system intended to be comprehensive and permanent, was given great attention.

The census proper was to consist essentially of registration in the *sicil*, to be carried out by committees established in each *kaza*. Each committee consisted of one member from the *kaza* administration council, one from the municipal council, the population official, and a reserve military officer (*redif*). In the *kaza*s that had various religious groups, one additional member was selected from the most numerous non-Muslim group; a population secretary and his assistant accompanied the committee (arts. 39–40). The registration information was to include the respondent's name and nickname, his or her father's name, and his address, age, religion, occupation or profession, electoral status, physical disabilities, and civil status. Non-Muslims were registered in a separate register so as to facilitate the tax levy. The information was to be supplied directly by the person involved; but legitimate exceptions were recognized, and in such cases a third person accompanied by two witnesses over the age of twenty-one could register for an absent party. (This provision apparently was intended to excuse women from appearing before the census committee, as this was to be their first experience with the registration system.) At the end of the census of a village or town quarter, the accuracy, completeness, and authenticity of the result was to be certified by the *imam*, the *muhtar*, and the community council. The *kaza* population official was obliged to compile, within three months after the end of the census, a list of all inhabitants in his district and to send it to the province capital, which sent it ultimately to the General Administration of Population (*Nüfus-u Umumiyye Idaresi*).

Compliance with the census registration was ensured in the following manner. Each registered individual was issued an official "population bulletin," or identity card (*nüfus tezkeresi*) giving all the relevant register information about the bearer (in the Republic this card came to be known as the *nüfus cüzdani*—"population card"). The card had to be shown to the authorities before buying, selling, or inheriting property, before being accepted in an occupation or profession, for obtaining travel documents, or for conducting any official business. A person without such a card, besides being virtually unable to conduct business, was punished by a stiff fine and a jail term (which might be twenty-four hours or as long as one month) if he could not present to the court an acceptable excuse for his lack of identification (art. 5). Anyone who had failed to register in order to avoid military service was to be immediately conscripted.

The Population Administration consisted of a central administration with a director general and a secretariat attached to the Interior Ministry (*Dahiliye*). Each *kaza* had a population official, while the special districts had population administrators (*nüfus naziri*); each of these was assisted by a population secretary and his assistant.[63] The local leaders and *kaza* population officials were made responsible for the implementation of the permanent register system. Births, deaths, migrations, and marriages occurring in the villages and *mahalle*s after the census were to be recorded by the *muhtar*s in one of four types of standard information certificate (*ilmuhaber*) in accordance with the instructions issued by the population official (arts. 11–12). The latter in turn were obliged to forward the annual summary (*icmal*) of the village and *mahalle* population reports—after due inspection and approval by the *kaza* administrative council—to the superior offices not later than April 1 of each year. Eventually, the reports from all the *vilayet*s reached the capital: "The copies of the registrations reaching the Ministry of Interior will provide the General Administration of Population with [statistical data] necessary to compile the annual general statistics and will be preserved intact. A list of people reaching military age together with the [description] of their identity will be compiled and forwarded to the Military Administration" (art. 14).[64]

The regulation contained other detailed instructions concerning the registration of births (arts. 15–22), marriages (arts. 23–26), deaths (arts. 27–29), and migrations (arts. 30–31). A special section (arts. 32–39) established procedures for the control and supervision of population registers (thus assuring a constant upward flow of information from the villages to the superior population authorities), for registering those missed during the original census, and for correcting the registers' shortcomings, if any. The regulation provided for financing the register system by charging small sums for registering births and issuing travel certificates. All these proposals were accepted by the sultan, who ordered their implementation as soon as possible.[65]

62. Ibid., p. 44.

63. During the debates in the Council of State the general committee suggested that, as some non-Muslim community leaders could not speak Turkish and consequently faced difficulty in filing the birth certificates, the population officers sent to these areas should be selected from those who spoke the native languages. In other words, instead of compelling the citizens to learn Turkish, the language of the administration, the Ottoman government sought at this date to get its own officials to speak the regional languages; this custom remained long in practice.

64. BA (I)/(SD)/3148, "Sicill-i Nüfus Nizamnamesi" of 8 Şaban 1298 (5 July 1881).

65. Ibid., correspondence between Porte and Palace and the sultan's orders, 7 Şevval 1298 (1 September 1881) and 8 Şevval 1298 (2 September 1881).

The system of registration, the identity card requirement, and the administrative organization promulgated in 1881/82 were implemented, with certain expansions and modifications, and remained in effect throughout the rest of the existence of the Ottoman Empire. A law issued in 1318 (1900/1) broadened considerably the registration provisions of the regulation of 1881/82 and was in turn superseded in 1320 (1902/3) by another law with accompanying regulations that further clarified the process of census taking and registration. (The taking of a census under this newest law was apparently begun in 1321 [1903/4]; see the following section.) The basic elements of the system survive to the present day in a variety of forms in Turkey and other places in the Middle East.

Implementation of the 1881/82 Population Census and Registration

Because of the time needed for preparation, the census and registration committees established at *kaza* level were unable to begin their work until sometime in 1882. The census itself—that is, the registration of all the inhabitants in the villages and town quarters and the issuance of the identity documents—took far longer than expected because of physical difficulties such as lack of transportation and bad weather. The first results from the more accessible areas came in during 1884/85. Some of these preliminary statistical results were published in various places, such as the *salname*s, but they have been used by only a few writers, and only recently. Many provinces apparently did not complete their censuses or establish their register systems until 1886/87; for instance, even the city of Istanbul, which had conducted five censuses during the century and was given priority in this one, barely completed its new census by 1885.[66]

In 1881/82 the census committees, and especially the local population officials, had the double task of conducting the census in villages and of keeping up to date the registers of districts in which the census was already completed. In addition, the population officials had to file their yearly reports. Consequently, the census progressed rather slowly. In order to expedite the work, the establishment of new province census teams, called *kol*, was decreed late in 1884. As the work in some of the *vilayet*s appeared near completion, the government decided, late in 1885, to send specially qualified teams of inspectors to control the census results, to compile general population statistics, and to take whatever measures seemed necessary to ensure a continuous and accurate registration of all population changes.[67] Inspectors were sent to Hüdavendigar (Bursa), Edirne, Trabzon, Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid (Aegean Islands), Adana, Sivas, and Karesi (Balikesir). About three months later, Trabzon informed the government that it had completed its census, and it was placed in the category of the first-class *vilayet*s.[68] The Palace showed constant interest in the census and issued deadlines for its completion and the drafting of empire-wide population statistics.[69] It is safe to assume that the censuses of most of the Ottoman territories in the Balkans, Anatolia, and Syria (inclusive of Jordan, most of Lebanon, and Palestine) were almost finished by 1888/89. There still remained a few people not registered, even in the areas where the census was declared to be complete. In a few inaccessible areas the populations, particularly the nomadic tribes, were not counted at all, but were estimated on the basis of information supplied by tribal leaders and local officials.

It is impossible at this stage to state precisely when the census endeavor that began in 1881/82 ended, if, indeed, it ever actually ended at all. However, on 5 Safer 1311 (17 August 1893), Premier Cevat Paşa submitted the census records in a bound manuscript to the sultan, who had so consistently pressed for their accurate completion.[70] These population records issued in 1893 represent the most complete and reliable Ottoman population figures compiled in the nineteenth century. Unlike earlier general population statistics, these gave precise and detailed information on the population of all areas, noting the districts and regions where the census was not completed and providing estimates for the areas not subjected to individual census and registration. The figures in these statistics were considered definitive and reliable and were used as a basis for official statistics concerning the Ottoman population and for subsequent administrative measures.[71]

66. A report giving some estimates for 1882 by the head of the census committee (*nüfus tahrir komisyonu*) indicated that this was the fifth census of the city but that the lists for the first two censuses could not be found. It appears that these were conducted after 1265 (1848) when the government empowered the *Ihtisab* (the Office of the Censor of Morals—later becoming first the *Zaptiye* [gendarmerie] and then the Interior Ministry) to maintain population lists to be completed every year according to the deaths and births occurring in the country; this measure was abandoned and then revived after the Crimean War. See IUKTY 89 and BA (I)/(D)/24 and 402. See also Chapter 5, and Section III of the statistical appendices, which includes the first census (1830) of the city.

67. BA (I)/(D)/760006, letter from premier's office, 20 Zilkade 1302 (31 August 1885).

68. BA (I)/(D)/80019, Palace letter of 9 Rebiyülahir 1304 (5 January 1886).

69. In 1886 the *vilayet* of Halep (Aleppo) demanded at least nine more months to finish its census, and the indications are that it took much longer than that; see BA (I)/(D)/77419, correspondence of 19 Cemaziyülevvel 1303 1303 and 25 Cemaziyülahir 1303 (23 February 1886 and 31 March 1886).

70. The accompanying letter states that the register was prepared by the Population Administration following the sultan's orders and that it included the number of the Muslim and non-Muslim population and of the foreigners; see BA (Y)/(P)/115 311/215, Bab-i Ali, Dairey-i Sadaret, Amedi Divan-i Hümayun, no. 333.

71. See IUKTY 9184, Ministry of Trade and Construction, General Directorate of Statistics, *Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniyyenin Binüçyüzonüç Senesine Mahsus Istatistik-i Umumiyyesi* [General statistics of the Ottoman State for the year 1313] (Istanbul, 1316 [1898]); this publication was compiled by the statistical office on the basis of information supplied by the Population Administration.

The final concern is the margin of error, that is, the number of unregistered people in the statistical tables for 1881/82–1893. It is impossible to provide a definitive answer. My own view, stemming in part from insights gained by working with such materials, is that the margin of error for established communities located in the relatively developed areas with reasonably good communications is low, possibly between 2 and 5 percent. The need for an individual to produce an identity card in all his dealings with the government forced practically everyone in such areas to register. The margin of error in remote areas probably increased to between 6 and 12 percent; but even here the need for tax revenues and for personnel for the army forced the government to be as thorough as possible.

The population in some areas such as Işkodra (Scutari) in Albania opposed the census for religious reasons; the nomadic tribes in eastern Anatolia remained, as usual, elusive; some of the population in some *vilayet*s could not be registered for a variety of internal reasons. The Ottoman statistical office was careful to mention the specific *vilayet*s, *sancak*s, and tribes left out of the count and to give population estimates for these areas; the "supplementary statement" attached to the census (see the statistical appendices, I.8.C) must be read in conjunction with, and regarded as an integral part of, the census report. For instance, the basic statistical table does not show the number of women or the nomadic tribes living in Basra and Baghdad; however, the supplementary statement gives the estimated total of women and nomads in Basra and Baghdad as 900,000. The supplementary statement also reveals that an estimated 3 million people living in various *vilayet*s under direct Ottoman administration were left out of the census. Adding this figure to the total of 17,388,562 persons actually counted, we get a total Ottoman population in Europe, Anatolia, Syria, and Iraq in 1893 of 20,488,562. The overwhelming majority of those left out of the regular count were Muslims, thus increasing the percentage of Muslims to slightly above 80 percent of the total. There is no question that the Ottoman officials did their utmost to produce the best population record possible under the circumstances prevailing at the end of the nineteenth century. The end product of their efforts compares favorably with the statistics produced by some of the technically more advanced countries.

The validity of the census results compiled in 1893 can be tested against some other reliable figures. Fortunately, we have a number of estimates on the population of various important *vilayet*s in Anatolia and Rumili. For example, the British consulate collected eight different population estimates for the population of Sivas. One of these was that issued by the Armenian patriarch, whose figures were grossly wrong for both Muslims and non-Muslims. The remaining seven estimates, made by the Armenian bishop in Sivas, by foreigners, and by Ottoman officials acquainted with the local situation, do not differ greatly from the figures obtained by the Ottoman government in 1893. The government figures, which included births registered after 1880, gave the total population of Sivas as 926,671, of whom 160,113 were Christian and 766,558 Muslim. The Armenian Catholic Patriarch Hassoun IX showed the Christians to be 62,000 in number to the Muslims' 80,000, for a Christian-Muslim ratio of 1:1.3 (he also claimed that there were 10,000 Armenians, while the Ottoman figure was only 3,052); however, the other estimates of the total population of Sivas in 1881 run from 708,550 to 895,682 and place the Christian-Muslim ratio at from 1:3.4 to 1:5.01, exclusive of 50,000 Circassians. These various estimates are shown in Table 2.7.[72]

Table 2.7. Comparative Statistics of Population of Sivas Province

Source of Statistics	Christians	Christian-Muslim Ratio	Muslims	Total
Supplied by the Armenian Patriarch to Majesty's Ambassador	62,000	1:1.3	80,000	142,000
Supplied by the Armenian Bishop of Sivas to Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, Jan. 1880	201,245	1:3.4	694,437	895,682
Supplied by the Armenian Bishop of Sivas to Lieutenant Chermside, Aug. 1880	201,245	1:3.4	694,431	895,676
Supplied by Abedine Pasha to Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, Jan. 1880; statistics obtained by doubling the males	143,174	1:4.0	584,604	727,778
Supplied by unknown to Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, Jan. 1880; statistics obtained by doubling the males	136,432	1:4.2	578,166	714,598
Supplied by Government to Lieutenant Chermside, Aug. 1880; statistics obtained by doubling the males	143,176	1:5.1	729,872	873,048
Sivas Almanac for 1878; statistics obtained by doubling the males	131,586	1:3.9	711,264	892,850
According to Baker Pasha; statistics obtained by doubling the males	140,732	1:4.0	567,818	708,550

Source: HCAP 100/44, p. 99.

The pattern of agreement between informed and relatively unbiased estimates and the Ottoman statistics is more or less the same for other *vilayet*s. In sum, the census of 1881/82–1893, the first comprehensive and relatively sophisticated Ottoman population survey, can be used, with minor adjustments, as a sound quantitative basis in studying Ottoman demography. These statistics, when properly used, may give a picture of the Ottoman state different from the stereotype hitherto presented.[73]

72. See HCAP 100/44, p. 99.

73. See Vedat Eldem, *Osmanli Imparatorluğunun Iktisadi Şartlari Hakkinda Bir Tetkik* (Ankara, 1970), pp. 49–65; Eldem mentions the fact that the Ottoman government took a census in 1882–84 but does not elaborate further. However, Vital Cuinet also seems to have relied on that source; see *Syrie, Liban et Palestine: géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée* (Paris, 1896). For some information on the population of Palestine, see Moshe Ma'oz, ed., *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975).

The Last Ottoman Census, 1905/6

The census of 1905/6, the last Ottoman population count, was undertaken for reasons both technical and political.[74] From a lengthy unsigned and undated memorandum (probably drafted about 1903) it appears that the Ottoman officials were unhappy with the results of the earlier censuses. They mentioned in particular the fact that the population of certain areas, such as Iraq and the Arabian peninsula, were undercounted; they complained that in Iraq some 2 to 3 million people remained unregistered and that this was detrimental both to the Muslim cause and to the state treasury. Thus the Ottoman officials are shown to have taken their census duties seriously and been concerned to correct their errors. The political reason for the decision to carry out a new census stemmed from the nationalist struggle among Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, and, to a much lesser extent, the Vlahs in Macedonia and Thrace to secure the appointment of their own conationals as heads of particular Christian communities and, especially, as priests of the local Orthodox churches. The establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870 led to increased competition between the Greek and the Bulgarian clergy to control the Orthodox churches. The issue was seen as of vital national importance because the priest could be instrumental in deciding the "nationality" of a given group. If an individual or a group was affiliated with the Greek church, it meant that the individual or group had decided to be "Greek," regardless of language and background. The breakdown of the universal Orthodox community in the age of nationalism had made nationality a matter of individual preference. The fierce struggle between the nationalist leaders of the Bulgarian, Greek, and Serbian communities centered on the manipulation of population statistics, with each side claiming to possess numerical superiority over the other. The fiercest struggle took place in the Balkans, where most of the Orthodox Christians lived. In order to put an end to this battle of population statistics, the Porte decided to conduct a new census, enlisting the support and participation of the representatives of the local communities. It was believed that the results thus obtained would not be contested, and the ethnic group in the majority was to be entitled to appoint the priest (or "despot," as the Ottomans called him). In cases where ethnic communities were equal in size, each would appoint its own priest.

The Porte decided to finish the census in three months instead of taking several years as in the past. Each individual registered was to receive a *tezakir-i osmaniyye*, that is, an identification card similar to if not identical with the *mürur tezkeresi*, or travel card, issued during the 1840s. It was estimated that the census would cost 4,565,700 *kuruş*, a sum to be retrieved by charging a fee for each identity card. There is as yet no further information available concerning the details of this census. I have in hand, however, one undated population register from approximately 1906, which contains results from the 1905/6 census, and a detailed table for 1914 expressly stating that its basis is the 1905/6 census. The figures in these documents are included among the statistical appendices (I.16, 17).

74. The information in this section on the census of 1905/6 was extracted from a series of documents concerning the preparations for the census and the reasons for deciding to conduct it; see BA (Y) pt. 9/2631, 2632, folder 4, envelope 72, and BA (I)/(D)/30, nos. 321 and 17.

Appendix B.1. Some 1831 Census Officials

Divan-i hümayun kaleminden Ibrahim Nabi Efendi	(Member of the imperial secretariat)
Divan-i hümayun Mühimme nüvisanindan Naili Efendi	(Imperial secretariat, important affairs)
Divan-i hümayun Mühimme nüvisanindan Ata Efendi	(Imperial secretariat, important affairs)
Divan-i hümayun ketebesinden Tayfur Bey	(Secretary of the imperial secretariat)
Divan-i hümayun ketebesinden Tahsin Efendi	(Secretary of the imperial secretariat)
Müderrisinden Sitkizade damadi Arif Efendi	(High ranking member of the ulema, or religious establishment)
Hacegandan Osman Efendi	(Bureau chief)
Seyit Mehmet Ragip Efendi	(Probably same rank as above)
Ruznamçe-i evvel Arif Efendi	(Chief finance official in charge of daily accounts)
Mevaliden Ahmed Efendi	(High ranking *ulema*; *mevali* is the plural of *molla*)
Mektubi hulefasinden Sadullah Efendi	(Correspondence clerk)
Kapicibaşi Sirri Bey	(Chief of the imperial guard)
Kapicibaşilardan Hakki Paşazade Izzet Bey	(One of the chiefs of the imperial guard)
Müderrisinden Seyit Mehmet Raşid Efendi	(High ranking *ulema*)
Remzi Paşazade Izzet Enver Bey	(Member of the Ottoman bureaucratic aristocracy)
Hacegandan Osman Ferit Efendi	(Bureau chief)
Hacegandan Ragip Efendi	(Bureau chief)
Mektubi Hulefasindan Haci Ahmed Efendi	(Correspondence clerk)
Bursa muhtesibi Hafiz Ağa ve şeriki Hüseyin Bey	(Weights and measures clerk of Bursa)
Reaya sayimini yapan Mevali-i devriyyeden Hüsnü Efendi	(High ranking *ulema* in charge of Christians' census)
Mevaliden Mustafa Paşazade Osman Bey	(High ranking *ulema*)
Mevali-i devriyyeden Ilyaszade Seyid Ibrahim Efendi	(High ranking *ulema*)
Müderris Ahmed Nazif Efendi	(High ranking *ulema*)
Mevaliden sabik Belgrat kadisi Ibrahim Efendi	(Former judge of Belgrade, member of the *ulema*)

Appendix B.2. Number and Economic Status of Some Christians in Rumili in 1831

Kaza	Rich (*ala*)	Middle (*evsat*)	Poor (*edna*)	Taxpayers	Non-Taxpayers
Tikveş[a]	131	2,369	1,475	—	—
Berkofça[b]	234	5,978	1,124	2,379	4,957
Sofia[c]	1,589	12,794	12,794	15,732	11,445
Uzuncaabat, Hasköy, and Sultanyeri	268	5,163	280	5,711	466
Radovişte	122	2,593	777	—	—
Vardar	(2,133 subject, 1,668 not subject to *cizîye*)				
Perzinek	148	2,101	169	—	—
Avrathisar	55	4,593	14	—	—
Doniçe[d]	747	6,050	231	2,797	4,614
Radomir	544	3,425	175	2,435	1,709
Ivraca	629	6,898	738	2,148	6,117
Perlepe	238	7,697	2,066	—	—
Köprülü	569	6,839	1,024	—	—
Keşriye[e]	303	4,428	934		

Source: Compiled from the register of the 1831 census (but not exhaustive of all such figures in the register).

Note: "Taxpayers" are those found to possess receipts for the head tax; "non-taxpayers" are those who did not have receipts. There is no correlation between the numbers of taxpayers and non-taxpayers and the numbers in the three wealth columns.

[a] Tikveş is shown to have had a population of 2,131 children and 3,975 taxable persons.

[b] Of the 234 persons in the "rich" category in Berkofça, only 3 had previously paid the head tax.

[c] The numbers for Sofia contain some error which could not be corrected because of our inability to find the actual material used to compile this figure. It should be noted that the numbers of taxpayers in the "middle" and "poor" categories are equal; usually the latter would be 22 to 27 percent of the total, or roughly 3,600 people. Of the 1,589 persons in the "rich" category, only 250 had previously paid the head tax.

[d] The totals exclude several hundred people subject to a variant of the *cizîye*.

[e] The official taking the census indicated that 305 Christians of all ages had come to Kesriye from other *kazas*. Of the new arrivals, 44 were working outside the locality. Figures for newcomers are given for several other *kazas* too, indicating the existence of a certain degree of demographic mobility.

Appendix B.3. Samples of Population Registers Developed by the Ottomans in 1874: Reproductions of Original Registers with Transliterated and Translated Versions

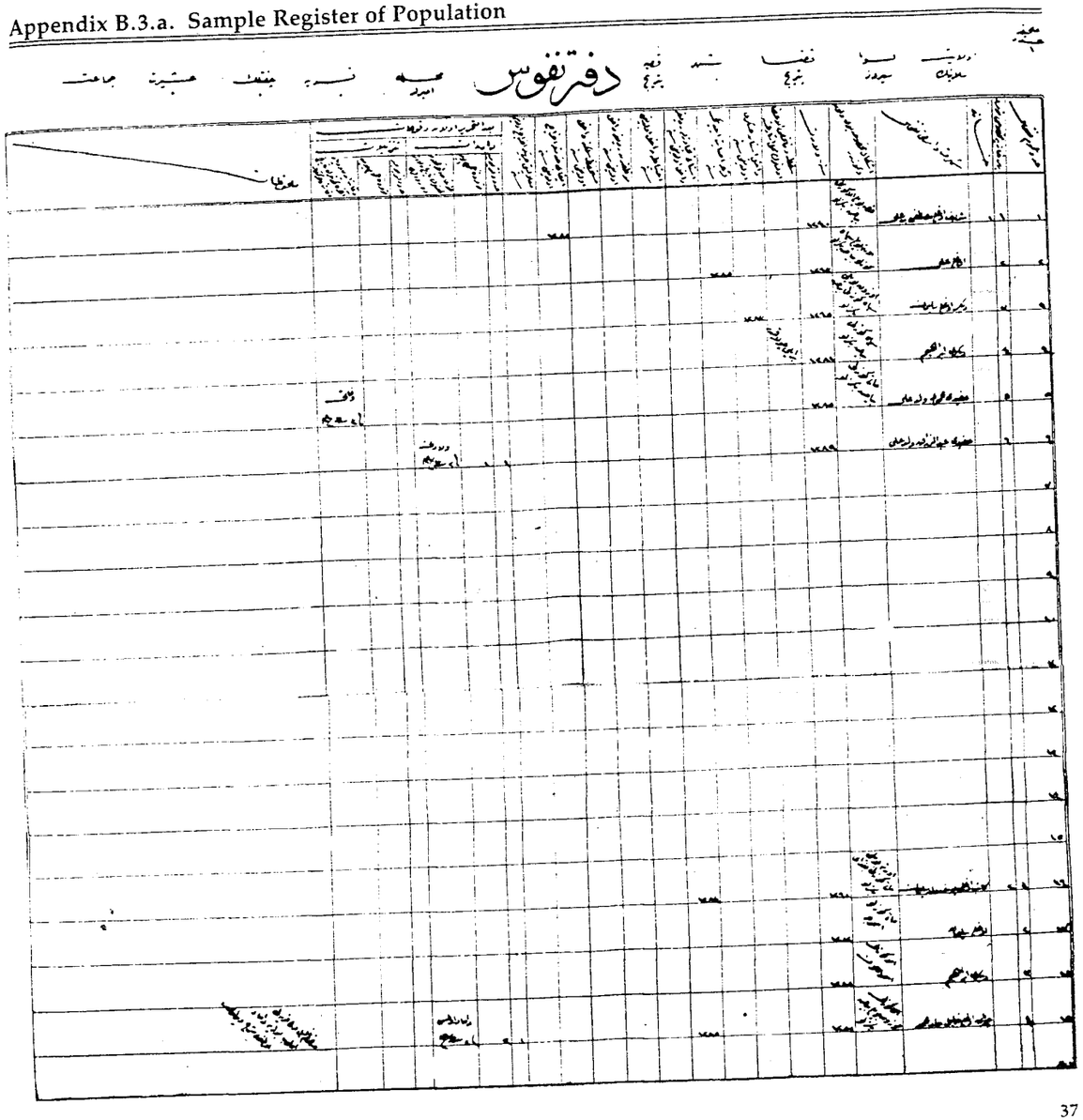
Note: While I have sought to make the English translations as literal as possible, thereby allowing some awkwardness, I have also given quite free translations where required for sense. For example, the word "*hane*," commonly translated "family," is translated as "household," as that is closer to the sense in which it was used in these registers.

In the translated versions of the registers I have conserved space by deleting lines 7–15 and 20 in Appendix B.3.a and lines 4–12 in Appendix B.3.b, where there are no entries in the original.

Note that persons and households are numbered consecutively in cols. 1–3 of Appendix B.3.c. The last figures in cols. 1 and 3 when registration was complete would be the total of persons and households in Petriç; subtotals in col. 2 show the number of persons in each of the numbered households. As this register was designed for the use of the military in the draft system, only males are noted.

Nefer translates as "person" or "individual," or simply "number"; to save repetition, it is not translated in the column headings of Appendix B.3.c.

Appendix B.3.a. Sample Register of Population



Appendix B.3.a. Sample Register of Population (continued)

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1

DEFTER-I NÜFUS
REGISTER OF POPULATION

Vilayet Province: Selanik
Livâ District: Siroz
Kaza Township: Petriç
Şehir City:
Kasaba Town:

Aded-i umum nufus General population number	*Beher haneye mahsus numara* Number per household	*Hane* Household (number)	*Şöhret ve esami-i nufus* Title and name of persons	*Eşkali-i mahsusa Boy ve levn ve gözdür* Personal description. Height, complexion, eye color	*Sene-i veledat* Birth year	*Sakat ve nakis-ulaza mahal-i işareti* Serious defects and missing limbs, location of stigma	*Dahil-i esnan-i askeri olduğu sene* Year of reaching military service age	*Kura isabet eylediği sene* Year of selection by lottery [for conscription]	*Esnanı tecavüzle redife dahil olduğu sene* Year of reaching first reserve age	*Ihtiyata dahil olduğu sene* Year of reaching second reserve age
1	1	1	*Şerif oğlu Mustafa bin Ali* Serif oğlu Mustafa, son of Ali	*kısa boylu* short *ela gözlü* brown eyes *beyaz benizli* white complexion	1240 1824/25					
2	2		*Oğlu Ali* son, Ali	*orta boylu* medium height *siyah gözlü* black eyes *beyaz benizli* white complexion	1263 1846/47			1285 1868/69		
3	3		*Diğer oğlu Süleyman* other son, Suleyman	*uzun boylu* tall *siyah gözlü* black eyes *Beyaz benizli* white complexion	1265 1848/49		1283 1866/67			
4	4		*Diğeri İbrahim* other son, Ibrahim	*siyah gözlü* black eyes *beyaz benizli* white complexion	1281 1864/64	*bir eli çoklakdir* one hand crippled				
5	5		*Hafidi Mahmud veled-i Ali* nephew Mahmud, son of Ali	*mavi gözlü* blue eyes *beyaz benizli* white complexion	1285 1868/69					
6	6		*Hafidi Abdürrezzak veled-i Ali* nephew Abdul-Rezzak, son of Ali	*mavi gözlü* blue eyes *beyaz benizli* white complexion	1289 1872/73					
16	1	2	*Katib oğlu Yusuf veled-i Süleyman* Katipoğlu Yusuf, son of Suleyman	*orta boylu* medium height *mavi gözlü* blue eyes *buğday benizli* wheat-colored (light brown) complexion	1260 1844					1284 1867/68
17	2		*Oğlu Süleyman* son, Suleyman	*mavi gözlü* blue eyes *esmerce* somewhat dark	1282 1865/66					
18	3		*Diğeri İbrahim* other son, Ibrahim	*ela gözlü* brown eyes *esmer-ülevn* dark complexion	1285 1868/69					
19	4		*Çoban oğlu Halil veled-i Mehmed* Cobanoğlu Halil, son of Mehmed	*ela gözlü* brown eyes *uzun boylu* tall *beyaz benizli* white complexion	1255 1839/40					1285 1868/69

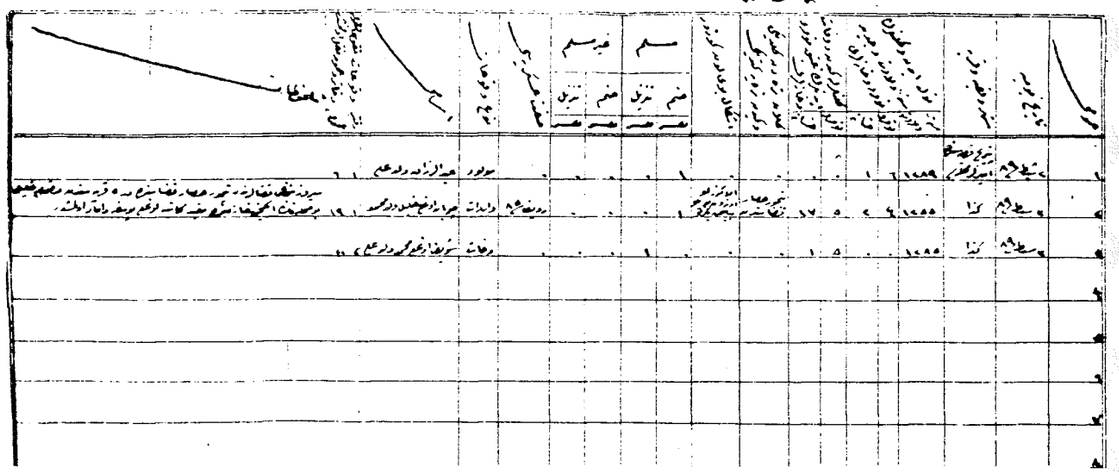
Appendix B.3.a. Sample Register of Population (continued)

Mahalle Town Quarter
Karye Village
Çiftlik Farm
Aşiret Tribe
Cemaat Community

Bad-et-tahrir olan Vukuat
Events after registration

Varidat Additions
Tenzilat Subtractions

Muvazzafdan redife dahil olduğu sene Year of transfer to first reserve	*Mustafhiz silkine dahil olduğu sene* Year of joining militia	*Ifa-i hizmetle ihraç olduğu sene* Year of discharge from duty of service	*Maluliyyeti cihetiyle ihraç olduğu sene* Year of disability discharge	*Aded-i defter-i yevmiye* Daily register number	*Numara-i umum yevmiye* General daily number	*Doğan ve ahar mahalden gelenlerin tarih-i veladet ve vürudları* Dates of birth and arrival of those coming from other places	*Aded-i defter-i yevmiye* Daily register number	*Numara-i umum yevmiye* General daily number	*Vefat edenlerin ve diyar-i ahara gidenlerin tarih-ı vefat ve hareketleri* Dates of death and departure of those dying or moving to other places	*Melhuzat* Remarks
		1285 1868/69								
									Velati death 3 Şubat 89 3 February 1289 (1872)	
				1	1	*Veladeti* birth 2 Şubat 89 2 February 1289 (1872)				
				1	2	*Damad olmuş* Became son-in-law 2 Şubat 89 2 February 1269 (1872)				*Merkum Halil Dere karyeli olup buraya damad olmağla şerh verildi* The atoremention Halil is from Derekay village and was married here



YEVMİYYE-I VUKUAT-I NÜFUS
DAILY POPULATION EVENTS

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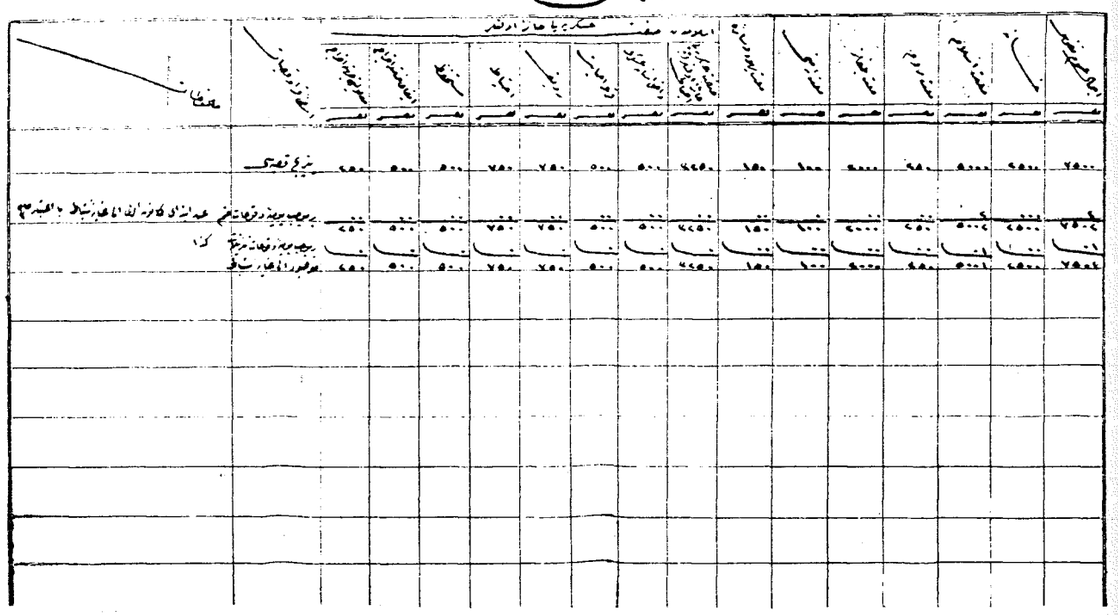
Liva-i Siroz
District of Siroz

Umumi General number	*Tarih-i yevmiyye* Date of the day	*Şehir, kasaba ve karye* City, town, and village	*Tevellüd eden ve gelenlerin sene-i veladet ve cedid numara ve haneleri* (New) births and birth dates of new arrivals and their arrivals new numbers and families			*Gelenlerle giden ve vefat edenlerin atiyk numara ve haneleri* Families and old number of the deceased, the [new] and the departed		*Gelenlerin nereden geldiği ve giden nereye gittiği* Place of origin of those arriving and destination of the departed	*Eşkal Boy levn ve gözdür* Marks: height, complexion, eyes color
			Sene-i veladet Birth year	*Numara* Number	*Hane* Household	*Numara* Number	*Hane* Household		
1	2 Şubat 1289 2 February 1872	*Petriç kasabasında Emirler mahallesi* Quarter of Emirler in the town of Petriç	1289 1872/73	6	1				
2	3 Şubat 1289 3 February 1872	*keza* same	1255 1839/40	4	2	5	17	*Timurhisar kazasından* from Timurhisar township	*ela gözlü* brown eyes *uzun boylu* tall *beyaz benizli* white complexion
3	3 Şubat 1289 3 February 1872	*keza* same	1285 1868/69			5	1		

Kaza-i Petriç
Township of Petriç

Müslim Muslim		*Gayr-i Müslim* Non-Muslim		*Sifat-i Askeriyyesi* Military status	*Nev'-i Vukuat* Type of event	*Esami* Names	*Vukuat-i nüfus ve makule delatir ve umuma naklolunmuştur* The register ang general register where the population events were noted		*Melhuzat* Remarks
Zam Add	*Tenzil* Subtract	*Zam* Add	*Tenzil* Subtract				*Defter* Register	*Umum* General	
Neler Number of persons	*Neler* Number of persons	*Nefer* Number of persons	*Nefer* Number of persons						
1					*mevlud* birth	*Abdurrezzak veled-i Ali* Abdurrezzak, son of Ali	1	6	
1				*redif sene* reserve year 1285 1868/69	*varidat* arrival	*Çoban oğlu Halil veled-i Mehmed* Çobanoğlu Halil, son of Mehmed			*Siroz sancağı kazalarından Timurhisar kazasında Dere karyesinden mekum Halil bu mahallenin ikinci hanesinde mukayyed Katipoğlu Yusufa damad olmuştur* The atorementioned Halil from the village of Dereköy, Timurhisar township, Siroz district, became the son-in-law of Katipoğlu Yusuf, registered in the second household of this quarter.
	1				*vefat* death	*Şerifoğlu Mehmed veled-i Ali* Şerifoğlu Mehmed, son of Ali	2	10	



İCMAL
SUMMARY

Vilayet-i Selanik
Province of Salonica

Liva-i Siroz
District of Siroz

İcmal-i umum nüfus Summary of general population	*Hane* Household	*Millet-i İslam* Muslim community	*Millet-i Rum* Greek community	*Millet-i Bulgar* Bulgarian community	*Millet-i Ermeni* Armenian community	*Millet-i Yehud ve saire* Jewish and other communities
Nefer	*Nefer*	*Nefer*	*Nefer*	*Nefer*	*Nefer*	*Nefer*
7,500	2,500	5,000	250	2,000	100	150
2	000	2	00	00	0	00
7,502	2,500	5,002	250	2,000	100	150
01	00	01	00	00	00	00
7,501	2,500	5,001	250	2,000	100	150

Kaza-i Petriç
Township of Petriç

Sınıf-i askeriye haiz olanların icmali Summary (of classifications) of those qualified for military service	*Dahil-i esnan-i askeri* Those in military service	*Kura isabet* Those selected by lottery	*Redif* First reserve	*İhtiyat* Second reserve	*Müstehfaz* Local militia	*İla-yi hizmetle ihraç* Discharged on completion of service	*Malulıyetiyle ihrac* Released (from obligation) of service on account of disability	*Esami-i kura ve kasabat* Names of towns and villages	*Melhuzat* Remarks
Islamdan sıfat-i askeriyyeyi haiz olanlar Muslims qualifying for military service									
Neter	*Neter*	*Neter*	*Neter*	*Neter*	*Nefer*	*Nefer*	*Neter*		
3.250	500	500	750	750	500	500	250	*Petriç kasabası* Town of Petrç	
00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	*Ber musıb-i yevmiyye-i vukuat zam* Daily events addition as required	*An ibtida-i Kanun-i evvel ila gaye-i Şubat ba-itibar 3 mah* From the beginning of December to the end of February, 3 months
3.250	500	500	750	750	500	500	150		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
								Ber mucib-i yevmiyye-i vukuat tenzil Daily events subtraction as required	*keza* same
3.250	500	500	750	750	500	500	250	*Mevcud ila gaye-i Şubat* Total at end of February	

Appendix B.4. Directors of the Ottoman Statistical Office, 1892–1916 (R. 1308–1332)

Year				
Hicri	*Rumi* or *Mali*	*Miladi* or A.D	General Director of Statistics	Assistant to the General Director
1310	1308	1892	Nuri Bey	
1311	1309	1393	Fethi Bey	
1312	1310	1894	Fethi Bey	
1313	1311	1895	Fethi Franko Bey	
1314	1312	1896	Fethi Franko Bey	
1315	1313	1897	Migirdiç Sinabyan Efendi	
1316	1314	1898	Migirdiç Sinabyan Efendi	Mehmet Behiç Bey
1317	1315	1899	Migirdiç Sinabyan Efendi	Mehmet Behiç Bey
1318	1316	1900	Migirdiç Sinabyan Efendi	Mehmet Behiç Bey
1319	1317	1091	Migirdiç Sinabyan Efendi	Mehmet Behiç Bey
1320	1318	1902	Migirdiç Sinabyan Efendi	Mehmet Behiç Bey
1321	1319	1903	Rober Efendi	Mehmet Behiç Bey
1322	1320	1904	Rober Efendi	Mehmet Behiç Bey
1323	1321	1905	Rober Efendi	Mehmet Behiç Bey
1324	1322	1906	Rober Efendi	Mehmet Behiç Bey
1325	1323	1907	Rober Efendi	Mehmet Behiç Bey
1326	1324	1908	Mehmet Behiç Bey	
1327	1325	1909	Mehmet Behiç Bey	
1328	1326	1910	Mehmet Behiç Bey	
1329	1327	1911	Mehmet Behiç Bey	
1330	1328	1912	Mehmet Behiç Bey	
1331	1329	1913	Mehmet Behiç Bey	
1332	1330	1914	Mehmet Behiç Bey	
1333	1331	1915		
1334	1332	1916		

Source: Salnames of H. 1310–1334 (1892/93–1915/16).

Notes: It should be noted that for fifteen out of the twenty-three years for which precise information is available, the director was a non-Muslim, and for eleven of those years, he was foreign also. Fethi Bey apparently was Jewish. Migirdiç Sinabyan Efendi was an Armenian who had served as assistant director of trade from 1892 until he assumed the statistics post in 1897 and who after 1902 returned to the trade ministry as assistant minister (the statistical office was placed under the jurisdiction of the trade ministry in 1910). Rober (Robert) Efendi was apparently an American.

It is interesting to observe the effort made by these officials to disseminate information about statistics. Mehmet Behiç Bey, who served first as assistant director and then as general director and came to be a good statistician in his own right, produced several works. One of his publications giving demographic, economic, financial, and other data for the Ottoman state in 1310 (1894) begins with a general introduction discussing the meaning and importance of statistics; see IUKTY 9075, *Yevmiye Katibi Mehmet Behiç Tarafindan Tanzim Olunan Istatistik Defteri*.

3 THE RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE OTTOMAN POPULATION: AN OVERVIEW

Introduction

Until the census of 1881/82, despite occasional allusions to ethnic groups (as in the 1831 census), Ottoman official statistics classified the population only according to religious affiliation—except for a few ethnic categories included in some of the provincial *salname*s, chiefly after 1868. Despite the absence of any actual count of ethnic groups, Europeans divided and subdivided the non-Muslim population, chiefly the Christians, in accordance with their national interests and subjective preferences. However, after 1868 provincial yearbooks (*vilayet salnameleri*), although issued somewhat irregularly, began to provide, along with general population statistics for the individual provinces, solid data on the ethnic composition of Christian groups. This new source of demographic information was used properly only by the serious and impartial European scholars and statesmen; the others continued to rely on faulty—often wholly fictitious—data. Thus, for obvious reasons, the population figures presented by those who ignored Ottoman statistics varied greatly from the figures given by the more conscientious reporters. For example, E. G. Ravenstein, despite his outspoken sympathy for the Christians, used statistics from several sources, some of which relied on Ottoman data, to show that the Muslims in the Balkans (excluding Bosnia) constituted about 43 percent of the total population;[1] F. Bianconi, using sources of information that are highly suspect and figures that were apparently imaginary, placed the Muslim population at a mere 16 percent.[2] The report prepared by Heinrich Kiepert for the use of Russian delegates at the Istanbul conference in 1876 relied mainly on Slavic sources and on Bianconi's false statistics and overestimated the Slavic population to the detriment of all other groups.[3] Among the thirty-three sources dealing with the ethnic and religious distribution of the Ottoman population in the Balkans there is astounding variation. The figures given for the proportion of Bulgarians in the European provinces range from 24 to 39 percent; of Greeks, from 9 to 16 percent; of Turks, from 11 to 24 percent; and so on, despite considerable agreement about the total size (10 to 14 million) of the Ottoman population in the Balkans. Table 3.1, which compares the figures given by Ravenstein and by Kiepert and Bianconi, shows the effect of the use of biased and purposely false information about the size of the Muslim population in the Balkans.

Sources of information about the ethnic and religious distribution of the Ottoman population in the Asian provinces are fewer than for the Balkans. They are generally in agreement that Muslims constituted an overwhelming majority in Asia, although there is some disagreement as to the exact ratio of Muslims to Christians, especially in areas subject to political claims.[4]

The problem of nationality in the Ottoman state acquired a new dimension after 1878 as the new independent or autonomous states in the Balkans—Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Romania, and Greece—sought to acquire additional territories, to which they claimed to have historical rights. These states had emerged despite the Muslim preponderance in areas such as Dobruca and the *sancak*s of eastern Bulgaria. Other Christian groups, for example, the Armenians, encouraged by the success of the Balkan Christians in achieving statehood, sought their own independence, again ignoring the wishes of the overwhelming Muslim majority. Some Muslims—e.g., the Kurds (who inhabited more or less the same areas as those claimed by the Armenians), the Albanians in the Balkans, and the Arabs in Syria—began also to advance demands for administrative autonomy. The rising feeling of national consciousness

1. "Distribution of the Population in the Part of Europe Overrun by Turks," *The Geographical Magazine* 3 (1876): 260.

2. *Ethnographie et statistique de la Turquie d'Europe et de la Grèce* (Paris, 1877), pp. 50 ff.

3. See *Das Ausland*, no. 20 (20 May 1878): 393–416. It was common practice for "authorities" on Ottoman population simply to copy, without regard for the authenticity or accuracy of the information, the figures of other "authorities," and it is interesting to see in this article what in general were the sources that Kiepert drew upon and, especially, the manner in which he treated Bianconi as a great authority on the Ottoman population.

4. See Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Anatolia at the End of the Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 1983).

Table 3.1. Ethnic Distribution of the Ottoman Population in the Balkans, 1876–1878

	According to Ravenstein			
	Total Population		Muslims	
	Number	%	Number	%
Turks (Tatars)	1,388,000	17	1,388,000	39
Circassians	144,000	2	144,000	4
Arabs	3,000	—	3,000	—
Greeks	1,120,000	14	38,000	1
Albanians	1,031,000	13	723,000	20
Romanians	200,000	2	—	—
Bulgarians	2,861,000	35	790,000	22
Serbians	1,114,000	13	442,000	12
Russians	10,000	—	—	—
Armenians	100,000	1	—	—
Jews	72,000	1	—	—
Gypsies	104,000	1	52,000	1
Foreigners	60,000	1	5,000	—
Total	8,207,000	100	3,585,000	100

According to Bianconi and Kiepert			
Muslims	Number	Christians	Number
Turks and Tatars	750,000	Pure Greeks	3,000,000
Circassians	200,000	Greeks-Albanians	630,000
Bosnians	150,000	Greeks-Wallachs	70,000
Pomaks	140,000	Bulgarians (Orthodox)	3,000,000
Albanians and Greeks	170,000	Bulgarians (Catholic)	100,000
Total	1,410,000	Albanians (Orthodox)	290,000
		Albanians (Catholic)	80,000
		Croatians (in Bosnia)	75,000
		Herzegovinians	140,000
		Serbians (in Bosnia)	550,000
		Armenians	110,000
		Vlahs (Romanians)	90,000
		Total	8,135,000

Sources: E. G. Ravenstein, "Distribution of the Population in the Part of Europe Overrun by Turks," *The Geographical Magazine* 3 (October 1876): 260; F. Bianconi, *Ethnographie et statistique de la Turguie d'Europe et de la Grèce* (Paris, 1877), pp. 50 ff.; Heinrich Kiepert, *Das Ausland*, no. 20 (20 May 1878): 393–416.

among Christians and Muslims after 1878 stemmed essentially from ethnic and linguistic attachments. Each ethnic group, consciously or not, became interested in its own numerical strength.

Three major areas—Macedonia, eastern Anatolia, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Thrace and western Anatolia—became the battleground of conflicting national ambitions. Population statistics were the first weapons in the battle that was later carried forward with guns and bullets. The population statistics war produced a mass of information not only about the size of various ethnic-religious groups but also about the social, economic, and cultural situation of the Ottoman Empire in general. After 1878 the Europeans' interest in the Ottoman population slackened considerably, as the chief stimulus of this interest, that is, the question of the fate of the Balkan Christian population, had been removed by the Berlin treaty: the "Eastern Question" had always been essentially a "Christian Population Question." With the exception of Felix Kanitz's studies and a few others, the volume and quality of European works on Ottoman population after 1878 is scarcely comparable with that published just prior to the Berlin Congress.[5] The deficiency in European-produced figures was fully compensated for by the improvement in the quality and coverage of the Ottomans' own statistics after 1881 and by the field reports of British consular agents and special military personnel who visited each area and compiled voluminous data. The British remained interested in population figures for the provinces of eastern Anatolia where Armenians claimed to be a large portion of the population because of their responsibility for reforms there.

In this chapter I survey the Greek, Bulgarian, Armenian, and Muslim populations of both Europe and Asia, employing statistics from Ottoman official sources—many unpublished until now—and from the special British reports on Ottoman population.[6]

The Greeks

The Hellenes in the Ottoman state enjoyed, until the Greek uprising of 1821, a privileged position unsurpassed by any other ethnic group—including the Turks, whose claims to national supremacy had long since been submerged by Muslim universalism and the Ottoman-Muslim internationalism promoted by the sultan. Because of their historical connection with the Patriarchate, the Greeks came to represent, and to speak on behalf of, the entire Orthodox Christendom in Europe and Asia. The Orthodox Patriarchate, shielded by Ottoman might, enjoyed power and prestige to a degree unknown even during the heyday of Byzantium. As late as the 1840s the Ottoman government still referred to all the Christian Orthodox in the realm as Rum, or Romans. As an ethnic group, the Greeks were the first to be given positions within the high Ottoman bureaucracy without having to convert to Islam, first as interpreters and then, from 1711 to 1821, as rulers (known as phanariots) of Wallachia and Moldavia. The Greeks were also the first to embrace the European capitalist system, and they became its main proponents and beneficiaries.

The rise of a Greek merchant elite in the Ottoman state, and its vital role in the emergence of a secular form of hellenism (which came into conflict sharply with the Istanbul Patriarchate's religious dream of a Byzantine national revival), resulted from economic forces generated by the expanding European capitalism. Both the English and French, who had discovered the cultural roots of the West in the ancient civilization of Greece, were interested in the economic role which an independent Greece could play in distributing to the East goods manufactured by their indus-

5. A good source was the *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, which continued to publish articles on Ottoman population, many written by pre-1878 authors such as Hugo Kutschera (see his "Geographisch-ethnographische Ubersicht," *Österreichische Monatsschrift* 8 [1882]: 149–52).

6. For bibliographical references, see my "Population Movements in the Ottoman State in the Nineteenth Century: An Outline," in *Contributions à l'Histoire Économique et Sociale de l'Empire Ottoman*, Collection Turcica, vol. 3, ed. Jean-Louis Bacque-Gramont and Paul Dumont (Istanbul, Paris, London, 1983).

tries. The western infatuation with ancient Greece thus sprang not only from historical romanticism but also from strong economic considerations. As the beneficiaries of this combination of historical, national, and economic forces, and aided by a privileged position in the Ottoman hierarchy, the Greeks were able to create a fast-expanding middle class which, in turn, caused an increase in the size of the Greek-speaking population and of groups that identified with the Greek Patriarchate, regardless of their ethnic origins.

Before the middle of the eighteenth century the Greek population of Anatolia apparently was rather insignificant in size. In 1830 the population of Izmir was estimated to have consisted of 80,000 Turks and 20,000 Greeks; however, in 1860 there were 75,000 Greeks to 41,000 Turks (Muslims). Because of the favorable conditions created by the edicts of 1839 and 1856, the Christian population of the Aegean Islands had begun to increase rapidly. Unable to find employment, many migrated to western Anatolia and settled there. A British consular agent estimated in 1880 that the number of these migrants was as high as 200,000 over a period of not quite twenty years.

The Greek immigrants were favored by economic conditions. They were not subject to conscription or various other heavy obligations. While the Muslim, hard pressed by economic difficulties, kept his family small by every possible means, including abortion and, in some cases, infanticide, the Greeks, free of military obligations and paying insignificant taxes in proportion to their incomes, could afford to raise large families. According to a British consular report, everywhere in western Anatolia the Greeks replaced the Turks in the following manner:

> A Greek arrives in a Muslim village and commences life as a small tradesman. He gradually grows rich whilst the peasants become poor; eventually he is joined by friends or relatives and the poverty of the peasant increases, until a succession of bad harvests forces them to part with their lands and move further inland. Amongst the wealthy Moslems the process is much the same . . . in nearly every town Moslems are now to be found, in a state of poverty, who a few years ago were comparatively wealthy men.[7]

The influx of Greek colonists was not confined to seashore towns such as Ayvalik (which in a matter of thirty years had become a major Greek cultural and industrial center inhabited by 40,000 people, and dotted with hospitals and schools and harboring 2,000 ships); the Greeks also settled in the interior towns such as Manisa, Akşehir, Aydin and many other places benefiting from the Greek-managed economic boom. In the northern part of Asia Minor, Greeks from the interior moved to the seaports of Trabzon and Giresun to create in these cities a small economic revolution based on free enterprise and foreign trade. The displacement of Muslims by Greek migrants changed the ethnic composition of entire towns and villages in a few years' time in a process which involved no predetermined plan of colonization (although such a scheme did eventually take shape) but merely the exploitation of economic opportunity. In towns near Izmir the proportion of Muslims decreased considerably. For example, in a period of nineteen years from 1305 to 1326 (1887–1908), the Muslims went from 19.1 percent of the population of Çeşme to only 16 percent; from 20.6 to 12.4 percent in Urla; and from 64.5 to 58.6 percent in Seferihisar. This pattern prevailed throughout most of the *kaza*. During the same nineteen-year period and in the same area, the proportion of the Turkish population is also shown to have decreased: in Çeşme, from 12 to 10.9 percent; in Urla, from 34.9 to 24.7 percent; and in Seferihisar, from 82.1 to 74 percent.[8]

Meanwhile, rich Greeks sent their children for education to higher institutions of learning from which

> these young men returned as doctors, merchants, or schoolmasters to stimulate others by their example. They have an ardent love and yearning for liberty, a deep-seated intolerance of foreign rule, and, if the present movement continues for another fifty years, a political question of the highest interest and importance will arise for solution.[9]

Indeed, some thirty-five years later the success of the Greek migration into Anatolia culminated in invasion by Athens and the bloody Turko-Greek War of 1919–1922.

The Greek population of the Ottoman state in the period from 1860 to 1870 was estimated at about 1 million in Europe (Greece proper excepted) and about 1 million also in Anatolia; the figure for Europe was obviously somewhat low. The opposite was true for the pre–Berlin Congress statistics designed to show that Greeks formed a large part of the Ottoman population of Thrace, Macedonia, and eastern Rumelia, all scheduled for inclusion in Bulgaria. The publication *Golos* was able, through many sensational articles, to convince the British that the Greeks were about to suffer a great injustice. The inflated statistics submitted to the British to show the size of the Greek population as compared with that of other religious-national groups in the European domains of the Ottoman state are reproduced in Table 3.2.[10]

A. Synvet conducted a survey of the Greek population based partly on the Greek community registers but mostly on the population statistics accumulated by the syllogues. Synvet did not trust the community registers because they gave only the number of houses and the number of married people and because, in addition, there were many people who avoided such registration in order not to pay taxes to the ecclesiasts. The syllogues were ostensibly literary and

7. HCAP 100/44 (1881), pp. 389–90 (Wilson to Goschen).

8. See Tuncer Baykara, "XIX Yuzyilda Urla Yarimadasinda Nüfus Hareketleri," in *Social and Economic History of Turkey 1071–1920*, ed. O. Okyar and Halil Inalcik (Ankara, 1980), p. 283.

9. HCAP 100/44 (1881), p. 287 (Wilson to Goschen); for a more detailed view of this process, see my *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes, from Millets to Nations*, Research Monograph no. 39, Center of International Studies, Princeton University (Princeton, 1973).

10. FO 78/2784.

Table 3.2. Greek Population in European Turkey, 1878

	Thrace (including Istanbul, chiefly Edirne *vilayet*)	Macedonia (Salonica, Drama, Serres, Monastir)
Greeks	743,900	705,500
Bulgarians	315,520	140,500
Muslims	558,300	349,000
Others	223,000	100,000
Foreigners	132,000	35,000
Total	1,972,720	1,330,000

Source: FO 78 2784.

scientific organizations designed to promote education among the Greeks; they were supported by rich Greek merchants, including such prominent Ottoman financiers as Christaki Efendi, Zographos, and G. Zarifi. Actually they were political-literary organizations aimed at awakening a national consciousness among Greeks and at providing support for the Patriarchate's endeavor to hellenize the Bulgarians, Serbs, Romanians, and other Orthodox Christians. Synvet, whose statistics drew sharp rebuttal, gave the total number of Greeks in the entire Ottoman realm as over 4 million; see Table 3.3.[11]

Table 3.3. Greek Population in the Ottoman State in 1878 (According to Synvet)

Thrace	728,747
Macedonia	587,860
Epirus	617,892
Tessaly	247,776
Other European areas	70,000
Aegean Islands	724,000
Asia	1,188,094
Syria	125,000
Greek Catholics	35,000
Total	4,324,369

Source: A. Synvet, *Les Grecs de l'Empire ottoman* (Paris, 1878), p. 8

However, H. Synge, a military officer sent especially by the British embassy in Istanbul to find out the exact number of the Macedonian population, stated in a preliminary report that the total Greek male population of Selanik, Manastir, Serez, and Drama amounted in 1878 to only 166,964, as against 116,024 Bulgarians, 50,152 Vlahs (Romanians), and 25,043 Albanians (who also recognized the Greek Patriarchate in Istanbul). A total of 67,042 Bulgarians had already opted for the new established (1870) Bulgarian Exarchate. (Soon many other Bulgarians were to shift their religious and also national allegiance to the Exarchate, church affiliation and nationality having come to coincide.) Thus, according to Synge, the total number of Christians (males) living in Macedonia was 425,225, as against 310,441 Muslims and 28,122 Jews.[12]

As usual, there was not much attention paid to the Muslims, although Synge reported that the population of Drama consisted of 112,487 persons, of whom 88,620 were Turks and the rest were Greeks and Bulgarians. Actually

11. See *Les Grecs de l'Empire ottoman* (Paris, 1878), p. 8.
12. See FO 424/99, p. 226.

the British vice-consul Stanislas Recchioli had already reported that in 1878 the Drama *sancak* had a population of 314,747 (males and females), of whom 270,998 were Muslims (249,165 of these being ethnic Turks) and only 43,549 Christians.[13]

The Ottoman census of 1881/82–1893 gave the first truly comprehensive account of the Greek population still living in the Ottoman state. It showed, first, that Synvet's statistics were wrong. It also showed that the Greek population was spread throughout the Ottoman domains, its heaviest concentrations being in the *vilayet*s of Yanya, the Aegean Islands, Edirne, Selanik, Manastir, Trabzon, and Istanbul. The total Greek population, consisting of 1,234,550 males and 1,097,641 females, was 2,332,191. (Another total figure of 2,666,628 was obtained by rounding off the total for females and adding 8 percent for error.) Later the Ottoman official population figures for 1895 showed that the Greek population had risen to 2,377,343 (unadjusted). Finally, the census figures for 1914, after Yanya (Janina), Epir, Macedonia, Thrace, and the Islands were lost to Serbia and Greece (1912–1913) and Albania had become independent, show that the Greeks still numbered 1,729,657 (unadjusted figures), or roughly about 9 percent of the total population of the Ottoman state. At that time most of the Greek population (that is, over 50 percent) was concentrated in the *vilayets* of Edirne, Aydin (Izmir), Trabzon, Canik (Samsun), Karesi, and Istanbul, which were the most prosperous and commercially active provinces (see the statistical appendices, I.8 and 14).

The final page in the book of Turkish-Greek political relations involving issues related to population was written in 1926—that is, after the Greek invasion of Anatolia was repelled in the bloody war of 1919–1922. There was an exchange of population, the Greeks of Anatolia being exchanged for the Turks of that part of Macedonia which became part of Greece (Salonica) and of eastern Thrace; the Greeks inhabiting Istanbul and the Muslims of western Thrace were not included in this exchange.

The Bulgarians

A Slavic-speaking people with Turanic roots, the Bulgarians inhabited chiefly a quadrangle of territory sandwiched between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains and, as well, the southern slopes of those mountains, which extended southward to Thrace and to Macedonia, the ethnic character of the latter being disputed by Serbians and Greeks.[14] Thus the Ottoman Danube province contained a

13. FO 78/2787 (Recchioli to Barker, 21 April 1887).
14. The literature on the Bulgarians during the Ottoman era is too rich to be cited in detail. For bibliographical references, see Nikola V. Mikhov, *Naseleniento na Turtsii i Bulgarii prez XVIII–XIX v.*, 5 vols. (Sofia, 1915–1968); Peter Sugar, *Southeastern Europe Under Ottoman Rule, 1354–1804* (Seattle; University of Washington Press, 1977); and my review in *American Historical Review* 84 (1979): 798–80; see also Stanley Lane Poole, *The People of Turkey*, vol. I (London, 1878), and Daniel Panzac, "La population de l'Empire ottoman et de ses marges du XV^e^ au XIX siècle: Bibliographie (1941–1980) et bilan provisoire," *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 31 (1981): 119–37.

substantial part of the Bulgarian-speaking population. A large number of Bulgarians in the Rhodope Mountains had accepted Islam in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but continued to speak their native tongue. Known as Pomaks ("Helpers"), they were regarded by the Ottomans as part of the Muslim group; but later, after Bulgaria became independent and acquired most of the areas inhabited by the Pomaks, they were considered "Bulgarians" and subjected to a massive process of "national rehabilitation," that is, Bulgarization—at times Christianization—and their Muslim names were changed to Christian names. (This process still continues and has been extended to the Turkish-speaking Muslims.) A hard-working and frugal people with strong group loyalties, the Bulgarians lived mostly in agricultural communities but also engaged in trade and crafts in the towns. A group of cattle merchants (known as *jelep*) had been active as early as the sixteenth century in supplying meat and dairy products to the markets in Istanbul.

Beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century, the Bulgarian communities underwent a profound internal economic and demographic revolution; and in the nineteenth century the Bulgarian middle classes, benefitting from their proximity to the Ottoman capital and from the reforms introduced by the Ottoman government (these include a variety of measures concerning land tenure), developed rapidly and acquired considerable economic power, while the peasants secured, directly and indirectly, control of much of the land.[15] The progressive measures introduced by Mithat Paşa in the Danube province during the second half of the nineteenth century increased agricultural production and improved administration, while massive government military expenditure in the area added to its prosperity. This further stimulated the migration of Bulgarians from mountainous areas, first into the valleys (a process that had begun earlier in the Rhodopes, having been caused initially by the Kirjali revolts) and then into the towns. Thus, during the nineteenth century some sections of the Bulgarian population were transformed, becoming urban and developing a merchant elite which became active in Istanbul and even in Russia, as well as in the Danubian ports in Romania. Meanwhile, in the countryside there emerged a native petty landlord class (sometimes referred to as *Çorbaci*) consisting of communal leaders and notables who bought up much of the land held by Muslim peasants and landlords. By the 1870s the Bulgarians had a well-rounded middle class of merchants and producers who did not rely solely on the exchange of goods and a little manufacturing, as did most of the Greeks in Anatolia, but chiefly on the production and exchange of their own products. Moreover, much of this fast-developing Bulgarian middle class lived on lands which they had inhabited continuously and to which they had historical claims.

15 See Slavka Draganova, *Materials on the Danube Province* [in Bulgarian] (Sofia, 1980).

Again differing from the Greeks, who, after a period of friendship with the Czar, had opted for the patronage of the British, the Bulgarians from the beginning pinned their hopes on Russia. The Pan-Slavic movement originating in Moscow found ready adherents among the Bulgarian nationalist intelligentsia, many of whom had been educated in Moscow and other Russian cities—often as the recipients of special fellowships established by the Russian Pan-Slavists. The national movement, which at first had a limited following in Bulgaria, came to sudden fruition in 1877/78 after Russia, without real cause, declared war on the Ottoman government and the czarist armies swept across the Balkans, stopping at the gates of Istanbul. During this march Russian soldiers and Bulgarian bands killed outright some 200,000 to 300,000 Muslims and uprooted more than a million who were living in an area stretching all the way from the Danube to Istanbul. The uprooting of the Muslims from the Danube and Edirne provinces in 1877/78 is described in the grimmest detail in the reports of the British consular agents stationed in Philippopolis, Rusçuk, Varna, Burgas, Edirne, etc. These reports are available in the British Public Records Office.[16] (See also Chapter 4.)

With the signing of the Berlin treaty in 1878, which occurred after the displacement of a substantial part of the Muslim population, the Bulgarians were officially recognized as having numerical superiority in the autonomous Bulgarian principality and in eastern Rumelia (the latter was annexed in 1885 in outright violation of the treaty). People speaking a dialect of Bulgarian remained under Ottoman rule in Macedonia after 1878 and subsequently became the subject of disputes between Bulgaria, Serbia (Yugoslavia after 1918), Greece, and the Ottomans. The Ottomans ceased to be a party to the dispute in 1913, having been defeated in the Balkan War and relinquished authority over Macedonia and most of Thrace.

The statistical history of the Bulgarians is a rather peculiar one, as the Ottoman government regarded them as part of the Orthodox *millet* and did not classify them as a separate ethnic group until the second half of the nineteenth century (although the census of 1831 occasionally refers to them by their ethnic name). This was despite the fact that travelers in the Balkans in the previous centuries had repeatedly referred to the Bulgarians as a separate nationality. After the church of Ohrida, considered to be the symbol of Bulgarian identity, was closed in 1767 (largely through the efforts of the Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul), the Bulgarians became subject to intensive hellenization efforts by the Greek schools and churches. The hellenization process came to a standstill after the Bulgarian community in Istanbul, led by merchants and with the approval of the sultan, initiated in the 1850s a movement for a national church. The movement culminated in the establishment of a Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870. Henceforth, the Bulgarian communities were free to choose the Exarchate or to remain with the Greek Patriarchate, making in effect a political declaration of Bulgarian or Greek nationality. Most of the

16. See FO 78 and 242, correspondence for 1877–1879.

Table 3.4. Macedonian Population (According to Various National Statistics)

Ethnic Groups	Bulgarian Statistics	Serbian Statistics	Greek Statistics (excluding Kosova)
Turks (including many non-Turkish Muslims)	499,204	231,400	634,017
Bulgarians	1,181,336	57,600	332,162
Greeks	228,700	201,140	652,797
Albanians	128,711	165,600	not indicated
Vlahs (Romanians)	80,767	69,665	25,101
Serbs	700	2,048,320	not indicated
Jews	67,840	64,645	53,147
Gypsies	54,557	28,730	8,911
Others	16,407	3,500	18,685
Total	2,258,222	2,870,600	1,724,820

Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Enquête dans les Balkans* (Paris: Centre Europeen de la Dotation Carnegie, Edition Georges Cres et Cie, 1914), pp. 9–10.

Orthodox Christians in Tuna Province and close to two-thirds of those in Macedonia opted for the Exarchate. (After most of the Bulgarians had chosen to affiliate with their national church, the Patriarchate came to represent chiefly the Greeks in the Ottoman state, while an independent Greek Church was established in Greece itself.)

As one would expect, there was a great deal of confusion in national and religious identification. Some Bulgarian-speaking groups, especially in Thrace, remained with the Patriarchate in Istanbul and were regarded as "Bulgarian-speaking Greeks," while a few Greek-speaking groups opted for the Exarchate and became "Greek-speaking Bulgarians." The Romanian-speaking Vlahs largely remained with the Patriarchate and were in good part hellenized; those choosing the Exarchate were bulgarized. There were also a few Catholic Greeks and Bulgarians, who were classified in accordance with their linguistic affiliation.

This confusion and controversy over the nationality of the Orthodox Christians in Macedonia was manifested in the three different sets of statistics submitted to the Carnegie mission charged with investigating the atrocities of the Balkan War of 1912–1913; these statistics are reproduced in Table 3.4.[17]

The exact number of the Bulgarian population for the period from 1800 to 1878 probably will never be known because of the extraordinary circumstances accompanying the emergence of the Bulgarian nation-state. Some pro-Bulgarian sources (such as A. N. Moshnin, Vladimir Teplov, and Kiepert) are too subjective, their figures being too greatly exaggerated and lacking scientific bases (as is recognized today by some Bulgarian scholars), to deserve detailed study. Kanitz' work, although very useful, does not rest on an actual population count except insofar as he used official Ottoman sources.[18] For estimating the number of

17. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Enquête dans les Balkans* (Paris: Centre Européen de la Dotation Carnegie, Édition Georges Crès et Cie, 1914), pp. 9–10; for the controversy over nationality, see my "The Memoirs of N. Batzaria: The Young Turks and Nationalism," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6 (1975): 276–99.

Table 3.5. Population of Eastern Rumelia before and after the War of 1877–1878

		Before the War	After the War
Muslims	Turks	210,000 to 220,000	80,000 to 90,000
	Pomaks	20,000 to 25,000	20,000 to 24,000
	Tatars	5,000 to 10,000	5,000 to 8,000
	Circassians	6,000 to 10,000	. . . . .
	Gypsies	24,000 to 25,000	15,000 to 16,000
	Jews	8,000 to 9,000	7,000 to 8,000
Christians	Bulgarian Catholics	8,000 to 9,000	8,000 to 9,000
	Bulgarian Exarchists	380,000 to 400,000	370,000 to 380,000
	Greek Bulgarians	25,000 to 35,000	25,000 to 30,000
	Greeks	25,000 to 35,000	24,000 to 30,000
	Greek Vlahs	1,000 to 2,000	1,000 to 2,000
	Greek Albanians	1,000 to 2,000	1,000 to 2,000
	Armenians	1,000 to 2,000	1,000 to 2,000

Source: FO 424/75 (Drummons-Wolff to Salisbury, 26 September 1878).

Bulgarians, the Ottoman official statistics are the best source, even though they do not distinguish ethnic-national groups but refer only to Orthodox Christians.

One may attempt to determine the total number of the Bulgarians by taking into account their geographical distribution. It is certain that the overwhelming majority of the Orthodox Christians living in the Tuna *vilayet* were Bulgarians: the Salname of 1285 (1868) placed the total number of Christians (males) in this province at 610,892 and of Muslims at 412,417. If one excludes Niş (in which a good part of the population was Serbian) and the approximately 21,000 Greeks in Varna, one can use this *salname* to estimate that the total number of male Bulgarians in Tuna Province was 490,467, as opposed to 359,907 Muslims. (In fact, the number of the Muslims is grossly underestimated because most of the 200,000 to 300,000 Circassians and Crimean migrants who were settled along the Danube in the period from 1862 to 1878 were excluded from the count.) A sizable Bulgarian-speaking population also lived in Edirne, especially in the northern section also known as eastern Rumelia; of the total population of this province (given by A. Ritter zur Helle von Samo as 1,304,352 in 1878), 810,294 were Christians and 503,058 were Muslims. Roughly 65 percent of the Christians living in Edirne Province could be counted as Bulgarians. An estimate given in a British counsular report on the population of eastern Rumelia before and after the war of 1877–1878 is reproduced in Table 3.5.[19]

After rounding off the number of males and adjusting for error, one reaches an estimate of about 1,800,000 as the total number of Bulgarians in the Ottoman state (exclusive of Macedonia) in 1878. The Salname of 1295 gave the population of the areas that became part of Bulgaria proper

18. See *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan* (Leipzig, 1875) and *La Bulgarie danubienne et le Balkan, Études de voyages* (Paris, 1882).

19. See FO 424/75 (Drummons-Wolff to Salisbury, 26 September 1878). The report notes that there was great loss of life during war and that a large group of Muslims fled, only few of whom subsquently returned to their homes. "Greek Albanian" means a Christian Orthodox Albanian recognizing the Patriarchate in Istanbul.

as 1,914,638 (without adjustment). A lengthy and detailed Ottoman memorandum prepared for the Berlin Congress used the registers of the Bulgarian Exarchate (counting five people per house) and also the total figures given by the Russian Teplov to estimate that Bulgarians were in the majority in a proportion of 2:1.60 in the *kaza*s of Vidin, Tirnovo, Niş, and Sofia but were in the minority in Ruşcuk, Varna, Tulça, Islimiye, and Philippopolis;[20] these areas (except for Tulça) were all made part of Bulgaria.

Reliable information about the Bulgarian population was provided by an official census conducted by the Bulgarian government itself in 1888, that is, ten years after autonomy. The census showed that the population of Bulgaria proper was 2,193,434—an increase of 9.4 percent over the total shown in the 1881 census—while that of eastern Rumelia was 960,941, for a grand total of 3,154,375. Of these, the Turkish-speaking Muslims numbered 607,372; the Greeks, 58,326; and "others," 162,453; in addition there were at least 200,000 Bulgarian-speaking Muslims.[21] Thus it is shown that the total number of ethnic Bulgarians in Bulgaria proper and eastern Rumelia in 1888 was approximately 2,130,000. These figures are in line with the earlier estimates based on Ottoman figures.

The Ottoman census of 1881/82–1893 put the total number of Bulgarians still living in the Ottoman state at 962,288 (figure adjusted). These were distributed chiefly in the provinces of Edirne, Selanik, Manastir, and Kosova. They did not form a majority in any of these areas, being outnumbered in each case by the combined total of Muslims and Greeks. In Kosova the Bulgarians were far more numerous than the Greeks but definitely fewer than the Muslims, who were mostly Albanians. The Christian population of Selanik, Manastir, and Kosova was officially described as consisting chiefly of Greeks and Bulgarians, but not Serbians; the Ottoman government did not classify this population as Macedonian, largely in order not to antagonize both the Greeks and the Bulgarians.

In sum, the total Bulgarian-speaking population of the Balkans—both in Bulgaria and outside it—at the end of the nineteenth century was about 3,100,000. As the political battle for Macedonia intensified, so did the effort to issue population statistics exaggerated so as to be favorable to the position of each of the national groups; but the more reasonable figures did not differ too much from the Ottoman official statistics.

20. FO 424/70 (Musurus Paşa to Salisbury, 11 April 1878; list transmitted by Safvet Paşa).

21. See A. Ubicini, "La Principauté de Bulgarie," *Revue de géographie* 5 (1879): 86–91; and (no author), "Population of Bulgaria," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 55 (1892): 674–75. For the population of Macedonia, see the excellent study by Fikret Adanir, *Die makedonische Frage* (Wiesbaden: Skiner, 1979), pp. 1–14 and bibliography; see also Helle von Samo, *Die Völker des osmanischen Reiches* (Vienna, 1877), p. 117; Salaheddin Bey, *La Turquie l'exposition universelle de 1867*, p. V; and E. G. Ravenstein, "The Populations of Russia and Turkey," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 40 (1877): 456.

The Armenians

The Armenians in the Ottoman state were at the head of the *millet* bearing their name and enjoyed a privileged status that was enhanced after 1821 when they began to replace the Greeks in the government's opinion as the most reliable Christian group in the state. The socio-economic development of the Armenians in the nineteenth century followed in the main a course similar to that of the Greeks and Bulgarians, although it differed in scope and intensity. The Armenians were generally more traditional in their social organization and cultural outlook, with sharp differences between refined urban groups and the simple rural folk, the merchants, and the craftsmen. Armenians could be found in all Ottoman areas, but their heaviest concentration was in the six eastern provinces: Erzurum, Sivas, Van, Elaziz, Diyarbekir, and Bitlis. (The administrative boundaries of these provinces were established during the period from 1864 to 1870, then changed in 1876/77.) The Christian population of these six *vilayet*s, which became the subject of political dispute after 1878, was largely, but not exclusively, Armenian.

The statistics on the Ottoman population in Asia Minor prior to 1878 are too few and too general to be of much use. In 1867 Salaheddin Bey placed the total number of Armenians in Europe at 400,000 and those in Asia at 2 million (at that date, Kars, Ardahan, and Batum provinces had not yet been lost to Russia). Ravenstein, relying on what statistics he could find in 1878, estimated the number of Armenians in Europe and Asia to be 112,200 and 760,000, respectively, for a total Ottoman Armenian population of 872,200. Helle von Samo, on the other hand, gave the total Christian population of the Sivas, Erzurum, and Diyarbekir *vilayet*s in 1874 (before they were divided up into six provinces) as 601,244, of whom the majority must have been Armenians.

The scarcity of population statistics on Armenians before 1878 was more than compensated for by the flood of information generated after the Berlin Congress by the struggle between Russia and England for influence in eastern Anatolia. (Batum, Kars, and Ardahan, which commanded the highlands from which a descent upon the Persian Gulf could easily be made, already had gone to Russia.) The Armenian patriarch's statistics purporting to show the Armenians as a substantial proportion, if not the majority, of the population there of eastern Anatolia were soon challenged and exposed as false by British agents stationed in the area.

The San Stefano treaty, signed under Russian pressure, had included a provision (art. 16) that charged the Ottoman government with the responsibility of carrying out reforms in the strategic area separating Russia from the Persian Gulf, thus giving Russia a legal excuse to interfere there. Despite the English liberals' desire to promote the autonomy and, eventually, the independence of Armenia, the British government did not push this cause, feeling that an Armenian government could not withstand the attacks of the Kurds, who were a component of the Muslim population in the area. Consequently, the British sought to revise the Treaty of San Stefano to give themselves the responsi-

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bility for the six eastern provinces. The new treaty, signed after the Congress of Berlin, included a provision (art. 61) calling for reform in the Armenian-inhabited provinces.

Meanwhile, the British induced the sultan to promise to carry out unspecified reforms, which were to be agreed upon at a later date, and they themselves promised to oppose by arms future encroachments of Russia upon Ottoman territory. In exchange for her promise of protection, Britain received the island of Cyprus; hence the Ottoman-British agreement on the reforms in eastern Anatolia is called the Cyprus Convention. As a result of these manipulations, the British found themselves burdened with the responsibility of seeing that the desired changes were carried out—a responsibility that was seen as necessary. The dismantling of the Ottoman territories in Europe was proof that Palmerston's policy, initiated in 1841, of maintaining Ottoman territorial integrity against Russian expansion had failed. England felt that she had to assume, directly or by proxy, control of the areas most vital to her strategic interest. This view became overt policy after Beaconsfield's government fell in April of 1880 and the liberals, headed by the seventy-year-old Gladstone—the sworn enemy of the Turks—took over; and soon after the new government came to power George Granville, the foreign secretary, began to press for execution of the conditions of the Treaty of Berlin.

George Goschen was sent to Istanbul to replace H. Layard (unjustly considered a Turkophile) as ambassador. Soon after arriving in the Ottoman capital on 28 May 1880, Goschen set out to secure enforcement of the clause mandating reforms in the eastern provinces. As the enforcement of the reforms depended first and foremost upon accurate information about demographic and ethnographic conditions in eastern Anatolia, Ambassador Goschen began by asking several of the very capable British military men (now consuls) stationed in the eastern provinces to come to Istanbul to discuss in person "the relative numerical proportions of the different populations inhabiting Asia Minor, and available means for testing the statistics which have been put in by various persons."[22] Those summoned to the capital included Lieutenant Colonel C. W. Wilson and Major Henry Trotter. Ambassador Goschen reported that "Colonel Wilson and Major Trotter are closely examining the figures given by Abedine Pasha and by the Armenian Patriarch respectively by the aid of such data as they have collected at various times."[23]

Major Henry Trotter was uniquely valuable to the British government's effort to secure reasonable population estimates. He enjoyed the highest confidence of the government both as its representative and as a statistician. It was he who had been assigned to obtain reliable figures about the Bulgarian, Greek, and Muslim populations of Thrace and Macedonia. In July of 1879 he was named Consul of Kurdistan, which included the *vilayet*s of Erzurum, Diyarbekir, Harput, Muş, and Van—the area claimed by the Armenians. Trotter was to take an active part in implementing the reforms there and, as an anticipated dividend thereof, securing the friendship of the Armenians for Britain. Thus, in a dispatch to the Marquis of Salisbury, he advocated changing the title of his own office to "Consulate of Turkish Armenia and Kurdistan" as a concession to Armenian sentiment. However, on the question of population, Trotter rejected Armenian claims:

> I cannot however admit the accuracy of the statistics shown in the inclosure which are the same, I understand, as those submitted to the Congress of Berlin. Without entering into details, I may state that, according to official statements the relative number of male Christians and Moslems in the provinces of Erzuroum and Van are as follows: Erzuroum; Moslems 197,768, non-Moslems 55,043, Van; Moslems 126,208, non-Moslems 97,555 (including at least 20,000 Nestorians), while Mr. Taylor, for many years Consul in these provinces, estimated the total population of the vilayets now under my jurisdiction as follows, viz., in the vilayets of Erzuroum, Van, Diarbekir and Kharput:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Turks | 442,500 |
> | Kurds | 848,000 |
> | Kizzilbas Moslems | 200,000 |
> | Christians | 649,000 |
>
> To the first, or official Turkish estimates [for Van and Erzurum] I have good reason to suppose that an addition of about 40 per cent. to the number of Christians would give a result approximately the truth.[24]

Although the chief responsibility for the preparation of reliable population estimates fell upon Trotter and Colonel Wilson, many other British officials also lent their efforts to the attempt to collect all of the available population data; among these were Consul Taylor, Captain Emilius Clayton in Van, and Lieutenant Chermside, who was attached to the Reform Commission but stationed in Sivas. It is to the credit of these officials that they sought to do a careful and impartial job and were offended by devices employed by some interested parties to bias the statistics in a gross manner. They were constantly critical of the Armenian Patriarch Nerces, who supplied figures manipulated so as to maximize the number of Christians while minimizing the number of Muslims. Trotter also deplored the attitude of the committee formed by the representatives of the big powers to supervise enforcement of the reforms. This committee insisted that the census proposed by the Ottoman government (the census of 1881/82) should count only the settled population, that is, the Armenians and "Osmanlis" (Turks), while the "nomadic Kurdish element that lives in the mountains and descends into the plains inhabited by Christians only in order to create disturbances, should not be included in the census by which the majority of the inhabitants of each village will be determined."[25] However, in the same breath in which it advocated the exclusion of nomadic Kurds from the scope of the intended reforms, the committee urged that the reforms "should in common Justice, be extended to the numerous Nestorians" (inhabitants of the central and southern parts of the area), although many of these Nestorians also were nomads.[26] This partisan attitude appeared to be such a flagrant violation of the principles of fairness that Major Trotter felt called upon to point out to Ambassador Goschen that the effort to lay stress on Armenian claims might "propagate the false notion that Her Majesty's government is only interested in the welfare of the Christian subjects of the Porte to the exclusion of the Muslims."[27]

Trotter and Wilson, who apparently were trained in statistics, cartography, and economics, tried to devise the best possible method for reaching reliable estimates of the population in eastern Anatolia. The method they adopted produced the reasonable estimates desired, but at the same time it elucidates the problems involved in the taking of a census in the Ottoman state and is worth examining in some detail. They used a comparative analysis of all the population information available. Their sources for this information were, first, the Armenian patriarch and bishops; second, Ottoman officials and published yearbooks; third, various individual estimates; and, finally, their own observations from visits to all the major communities, with which they had already familiarized themselves. The comprehensive report eventually prepared from this information is probably the best of its kind.

The figures submitted by the Armenian patriarch were regularly challenged. Clayton wrote to Ambassador Goschen in Istanbul that the patriarch had indicated that the population of Van consisted of 252,500 Armenians and 150,000 Muslims, while other Armenian sources in Van itself supplied a list showing that the actual numbers of Armenians and Muslims were 138,559 and 109,640, respectively. He added that

> although these tables come from an Armenian source, the proportion of Mussulmans to Armenians is considerably larger than that given by the Armenian Patriarch . . . . The number of Armenians in these tables is pretty fairly reckoned, but I am inclined to believe that the village Kurds are somewhat underestimated, and I feel pretty sure that the ashiret [tribal-nomadic] Kurds are considerably so.[28]

A major controversy arose over the figures submitted to the Berlin Congress. In his memorandum addressed to the Congress (subsequently used extensively by various writers) Patriarch Nerces placed the number of Armenians in Erzurum, Van (Muş and Siirt included), Sivas, Harput, Diyarbekir, and Halep at 780,000 and the number of Syrians (i.e., Assyrians, or Syriacs) and Greeks at 251,000 and 25,000, respectively, for a total of 1,056,800 Christians. The total number of Muslims in these areas, according to the patriarch, amounted to a mere 770,000, of whom only 320,000 were Turks, the rest being Kurds, Kizilbaş, and Türkmen; of course, the last two groups were also ethnically Turks.[29] The patriarch gave the population of Adana as consisting of only 86,000 Muslims, as against 134,000 Christians; on the other hand, Captain Casper, the former British vice-counsul in Adana, numbered the Muslims at 327,980 and the Christians at 33,780.[30]

The British officers in charge of population statistics were so upset by these inconsistencies that they persuaded Ambassador Goschen to ask the Armenian patriarch to explain his method of calculation, and the patriarch then had to change his original figures. It was pointed out that for Sivas Christians living in areas outside the administrative borders of the province had been counted but that Muslims in some areas within the *vilayet* had not; furthermore, the figures did not include Kurds and Circassians, but listed as Muslims only the Turks.[31] In explanation Nerces wrote that he "had in view only the Armenian part of the vilayet such as the [city] of Sivas, Divrit and its environs" and stated that he had omitted "all the sandjaks of sudest which are not part of Armenia, for example Tokat. . . ."[32] In the case of Sivas the patriarch completely reversed himself, showing the actual number of inhabitants of that province to be 605,065, of whom only 199,245 were Armenians, the rest Muslims.[33] It is interesting to note that Wilson rejected even the revised figures from the patriarch, because statistics supplied by the Armenian bishop of Sivas indicated that the total number of Christians there, inclusive of the Greeks, was only 201,245, whereas the Muslims numbered 694,431, excluding refugees and immigrants, who were probably more than 80,000.[34] The British questioned also the figures supplied by the Armenian Catholic patriarch, Antoine Pierre IX Hassoun of Cilicia, because he inflated the number of the Catholics to the detriment of others.

The British officers' second source of information was the population figures in the Ottoman official publications. Chermside found the government statistics "most vague and unsatisfactory as are all those in the possession of the Turkish government . . . as, however, the conscription list and an important tax are dependent on them, those in the possession of the government are the best."[35] Trotter, who seemed to have developed a keen insight into the Ottoman population matters (although he was very critical of the Ottoman administrative record), indicated that the official lists were compiled from the records existing in the various local governments, "from which, for the Muslims, the lists of men who are liable to conscription are drawn up, and for Christians, the numbers for whom the military exemption has to be paid."[36] He accepted the fact that in some areas

22. HCAP 100/44 (1881), p. 61 (Goschen to Granville, 3 September 1880).
23. Ibid.
24. FO 424/86, p. 109.
25. HCAP 100/44 (1881), p. 144.
26. Ibid., p. 145.
27. Ibid., p. 162.
28. Ibid., p. 158.
29. It is interesting to note that up until as late as 1912 the Armenian Patriarchate listed the Kizilbaş, the Zazas, and the Tchareklis as groups belonging to "other religions," although they all were Muslim.
30. HCAP 100/44, p. 158.
31. Ibid., p. 94 (Chermside to Goschen, 9 August 1880).
32. Ibid., p. 171 (Nerces to Goschen, 10 September 1880); see also ibid., pp. 389–90 (Wilson to Goschen, 23 August 1880).
33. Ibid., p. 172 (Nerces to Goschen).
34. Ibid., p. 98 (Wilson to Goschen, 22 September 1880).
35. Ibid., p. 94 (Chermside to Goschen, 9 August 1880).
36. Ibid., p. 123 (Trotter to Goschen, 7 September 1880).

both Muslims and Christians failed to report their exact numbers in order to avoid conscription and taxes, and for such areas considered that the population figures had to be raised by 20 or 25 percent to account for the unregistered.

> In some districts, however, the lists are very much more carefully compiled than others; in the comparatively settled districts, such as the sanjaks of Karput, Erzerum, Baiburt, I believe the official lists to be comparatively accurate . . . in districts which are in a chronic state of rebellion and semi-independence, the statistics are much less reliable.[37]

The rebellious areas happened to be those inhabited principally by Muslims—nomadic Kurds and Türkmen—but also by Christian Nestorians.

Individual estimates were a third source of information, but the British officers were careful to accept figures only from persons whom they knew to have sound knowledge of the area and its people and considered to be otherwise trustworthy. Their fourth source was their own knowledge, which was intimate and probably quite reliable, of the area, its population, its customs, and, apparently, its languages.

The net result of this arduous team effort, unparalleled in the statistical history of the Ottoman state, was a series of comprehensive and detailed comparative tables of the population in eastern Anatolia (reproduced in their entirety with only a few editorial changes in the statistical appendices, II.1). The number of non-Muslims (mostly Armenians) in the *vilayet*s of Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, Diyarbekir, and Harput was given as about 567,000 and the number of Muslims as about 1,488,000, excluding nomads, refugees, and immigrants. (If the last group had been included, the total Muslim population would have come to nearly 3 million.) Although still understating the number of Muslims, these statistics provide fairly accurate information about the proportion of non-Muslims in eastern Anatolia at the time.

The controversy over the size of the Armenian population continued, carried forward and strengthened by the rising tide of nationalism. A new comparison, compiled by the British in 1896, gave estimates of the Muslim and non-Muslim population in the six eastern Anatolian provinces in 1890 and 1896. According to the later of the two estimates (made by the Control Commission), there were 697,598 non-Muslims in the area and over 2.75 million Muslims (see the statistical appendices, II.6).

A special Ottoman government survey conducted in about 1897, not previously published, indicates that the total population of the area had risen by that year to 3,179,000, of whom about 2.5 million were Muslims, 566,267 were Armenians, and the rest were other nationalities (see the statistical appendices, II.3). The Ottoman census of 1881/82–1893 had given the number of Armenians in these provinces to be about 540,000, while showing the Muslims to be 2,159,000 (rounded-off figures were used for females). The relative change in the population ratio, shown in both British and Ottoman estimates, was caused by the immigration of Muslims, the settlement of nomadic

37. Ibid.

Table 3.6. Armenian Population of the Ottoman Empire, 1882 (Armenian Patriarchate Figures)

Contested Vilayets		Asia		Europe	
Van	400,000	Adana (Cilicia)	280,000	Istanbul and vicinity	135,000
Bitlis	250,000	Aleppo	100,000	Edirne	50,000
Diyarbekir	150,000	Trabzon	120,000	Other areas	10,000
Erzurum	280,000	Bursa	60,000	Total	195,000
Mamuretülaziz	270,000	Aydin (Izmir)	50,000		
Sivas	280,000	Ankara, Konya, & Kastamonu	120,000		
Total	1,630,000	Syria, Musul, Baghdad, Beyrut, & Basra	40,000		
		Izmit (*sancak*)	65,000		
		Total	835,000		
GRAND TOTAL 2,660,000					

Source: Marcel Léart [Kirkor Zohrap], *La Question arménienne à la lumière des documents* (Paris: A Challamel, 1913), pp. 50–59.

tribes, and the emigration of some Armenians and Greeks to Russia and to other parts of Anatolia.

Ottoman official statistics issued after 1881/82 had so improved in consistency and reliability that the British came to rely on them and they were accepted by most of the foreigners with only minor reservations.[38] However, despite overwhelming impartial opinion in support of the merit of the Ottoman official statistics, other subjective and utterly false information concerning the Armenian population continued to be published and republished as various "experts" continued to use such data. Table 3.6 reproduces the figures supplied by the Armenian patriarch as these were issued again as late as 1913 by an often-cited source.[39]

Excessive attention was paid to the size of the Christian, and especially the Armenian, population in the six east Anatolian provinces designated by the Berlin treaty as reform areas and as the territory of an independent Armenia, while the fact that many more Armenians were living in other Ottoman provinces was ignored. The census of 1881/82–1893 showed that there were 1,076,908 (figures rounded for females) Armenians living in Ottoman lands and that areas such as Ankara and Trabzon had large populations of Armenians. Statistics for later years indicate that the Armenian population underwent considerable growth and that by 1914 their total number had reached 1,165,088, despite the fact that a sizable portion had either migrated to Russia or had been detached from the Ottoman state along with the territories lost to other countries in the period from 1897 to 1913. A much-quoted German publication that used Vital Cuinet's rather puzzling statistical work as a basis put the number of Armenians in the six east Anatolian provinces in

38. In 1890, for example, the British reported that the population of the six provinces consisted of 1,233,402 Muslims and 566,297 non-Muslims, while the Porte's own statistics gave the number of Muslims as 1,432,075 and of non-Muslims as 512,372; see HCAP 96/49 (1890), p. 38 (White to Salisbury, 26 May 1890).

39. Marcel Léart [Kirkor Zohrap], *La Question arménienne à la lumière des documents* (Paris: A Challamel, 1913), pp. 50–59.

1896 at 651,134.[40] If the fairly large total of Armenian inhabitants in the provinces of Trabzon, Halep, and Adana (including Kayseri, Kirşehir, and Yozgat) had been added to that for the east Anatolian *vilayet*s, then the grand total for the ten provinces that contained the bulk of the Armenian population would have amounted to about 939,000. The Muslim population of the same ten *vilayet*s numbered, by some conservative estimates, over 5 million.

The Muslims

The Ottoman official population records did not divide the Muslims according to their ethnic or linguistic affiliation. Although the Christians began to be divided into ethnic groups under the pressure of various nationalist claims based upon numerical superiority, the ethnolinguistic categories devised by the Ottoman officials still conformed closely to the confessional divisions that had emerged after the disintegration of the classical *millet* system. The Ottoman state sought to remain, formally at least, a Muslim state, until its final disintegration—which, paradoxically enough, was accelerated by the rise of ethnolinguistic nationalism among its Muslim subjects.

Western students of the Ottoman population, while aware of ethnic and linguistic divisions among the Muslims, generally did not make any serious effort to ascertian the exact number of each group. Many westerners, like the Ottoman government itself, regarded Islam almost as a nationality and therefore were ready to place all the Muslims in one category. Often they were labeled simply "Turks," for "Muslim" and "Turk" had become synonymous. On the other hand, whenever it appeared expedient, the Europeans would subdivide the Muslim population into smaller ethnic or linguistic factions so that it might be asserted that the Muslims did not constitute a single majority group in disputed areas. The general tendency of the West Europeans, and especially of the Balkan Christian nationalists, was, as we have pointed out, to minimize the number of Muslims as far as possible in order to strengthen their own claims of national interest and territorial rights. After acquiring power, many of these governments (e.g., Serbia and Bulgaria) cited their own biased statistics as justification for driving out all or almost all of their Muslim subjects.

Estimates in some eighteen sources show that the Muslims constituted about 35 percent of the total Balkan population during most of the first half of the nineteenth century, while in the second half of the century the proportion grew to at least 43 percent. This increase in Muslim population apparently was caused by a slight increase in the birth rate, coupled with the major movement of Crimean and Caucasian Muslims into various European provinces. The total number of such migrants in the period from 1853 to 1878 reached an estimated 700,000 to 800,000, changing the population balance in the Balkans in the favor of the Muslims. During the last quarter of the century, however, Muslims from the Balkans, including practically all of the Circassians, began emigrating to Anatolia, thus setting in motion a process of acculturation, assimilation, and integration with far-reaching social and political effects.

The total number of Muslim immigrants from the Crimea, the Caucasus, and the Balkans who had settled in Anatolia (and to some extent in Syria and Iraq) by 1908 was about 5 million. An Ottoman official estimate gives the total of immigrants in the Ottoman territories in the nineteen years between 1877 and 1896 as 1,015,015.[41] The Ottoman government derived information about immigrants from special registers of immigration, but a substantial number of migrants who went directly to villages and towns where their relatives were already living or who settled without being registered were overlooked in the official counts. That the Ottoman government's estimates were low can be seen from a quick comparison with other figures. Official Bulgarian statistics, for example, show that in 1893 a total of 11,460 emigrants from that country alone went to Turkey;[42] the semi-official Ottoman statistics give the *total* number of immigrants who entered the country in that same year as only 18,437, although at this time there was major immigration not only from Bulgaria but also from the Caucausus, Crete, and Bosnia.[43] Indeed, a variety of other provincial statistics show that in 1897 at least 65,000 people from Bulgaria, western Rumelia, Russia, Greece, Bosnia, Romania, Central Asia, and other unspecified places entered the Ottoman Empire. Other statistics show that in the period from 1880 to 1900 a total of 239,335 Muslims emigrated from Bulgaria to the Ottoman state.

The numbers of Muslims in Ottoman territory mounted continuously upward in such a way as to transform the empire into a predominantly Muslim state after 1878. By 1880 the Anatolian population was already 80 percent Muslim, and this percentage increased steadily thereafter. Obviously, any estimate of the exact numerical size of various Muslim ethnic and linguistic groups can be only tentative until more detailed studies on migration and settlement are completed. As the Ottoman statistics do not divide the Muslim population into ethnic and linguistic groups, a researcher can only rely on the yardstick of geographical distribution for his estimates. That yardstick is a fairly reliable one; for although in both the Balkans and the Middle East the Muslim ethnic groups lived partly inter-

40. See Dr. A. Petermann's *Mitteilungen aus Justus Peterke's geographischer Anstalt* 24 (1878): 8; and Cuinet's *La Turquie d'Asie*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1890–1894). Cuinet failed to list his sources and did not indicate why his figures differed from those of the Ottoman government; however, the differences were minor.

41. IUKTY 9184, Ministry of Trade and Construction, General Directorate of Statistics, *Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniyyenin Bin[illegible]ic Senesine Mahsus Istatistik-i Umumiyyesi* (Istanbul, 1316 [1898]).

42. Chief Statistical Office, *Statistique de l'émigration de la principauté dans les pays étrangers de 1893 à 1902* (Sofia, 1906); see also K. G. Popoff, "La diminution de la population turque de la principauté de Bulgarie," *Journal de la société de statistique de Paris* 46 (1905): 347.

43. See IUKTY 9184, *Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniyyenin*.

mixed, most had their own special districts and regions of concentration.

The largest Muslim group in the Balkans was the Turks proper, which consisted of the remanents of Turkic migrants who had first come into the territory as early as the sixth century. The major Turkish settlement in the Balkans occurred in the Seljuki and Ottoman periods in the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries. The majority of the Balkan Turks were Sunni Muslims, except for the Kizilbaş of Deliorman and northern Dobruca (many from the latter area being followers of Baba Ishak, a social rebel). One group, the Gagauz, were Christians; they were Seljuki Turks who settled in the Balkans in the thirteenth century and converted to the Orthodox religion but maintained their Turkish language. They inhabited eastern Bulgaria and were classified by the Ottomans as Christians; the Bulgarians claimed incorrectly that they were only linguistically Turkified and classified them as Bulgarians. The Muslim Turks were concentrated in the provinces of the Edirne, Tuna, Selanik, Yanya, and part of Manastir.

The Kosova and Işkodra *vilayet*s were inhabited largely by Albanian Muslims, known also as Skipetars and Arnavut, who were divided into various groups according to region, dialect, and tribe. The Boşnak, that is, the Serbo-Croatian-speaking Muslims, inhabited almost exclusively Bosnia and Herzegovina. These territories were occupied by Austria in 1878, and parts of them were ceded to Montenegro, while the *sancak* of Novibazar was placed under a joint Ottoman-Austrian administration (resulting in a large emigration from Bosnia to the Ottoman state). The Bulgarian-speaking Muslims, that is, the Pomaks, inhabited their original home in the Rhodope Mountains in the *vilayets* of Edirne and Selanik. The Caucasus Muslims, known as Circassians, were only temporarily settled in the Balkans between 1862 and 1878 and need not be considered among the native groups. The Crimeans, the main Muslim group of Turkic origin still speaking a dialect very close to Turkish, were settled in Dobruca and parts of eastern and northern Bulgaria. The average distribution of Muslims in the European provinces in the period from 1864 to 1877, according to figures given by several of the most reliable sources, is shown in Table 3.7.[44]

It is relatively easy to determine the ethno-linguistic classification of the Muslim population in North Africa, Egypt, the Arabian peninsula, and the southern parts of Syria and Iraq, for in these areas an Arabic-speaking Muslim population prevailed. However, the territory in the northern part of Syria and the highlands of Iraq, which became the place of encounter for Arabic, Turkic, Persian, and Kurdish tribes, was a checkerboard of varying languages and social

Table 3.7. Muslims in European Provinces, 1860–1878

A. By Ethic Group

Ethnic Group	Vilayets	Number	%
Turks, a small number of Crimeans, Çerkes, Pomaks, and Albanians	Istanbul	342,200	57
	Edirne	597,100	39
	Tuna	945,600	45
	Sofia	154,200	23
	Selanik	264,800	49
	Yanya	430,500	36
Albanians and Turks (small groups only)	Manastir (Kosova)	860,600	56
	Işkodra	141,100	47
Bosnians	Bosnia and Herzegovina	520,000	40
Turks	Crete	48,400	
	Islands	80,000	50
Total		4,384,500	44.6

B. By Ethnic Total[a]

Turks	2,000,000
Albanians	1,300,000
Bosnians	600,000
Circassians	400,000
Others	84,500
Total	4,384,500

Source: Engin Akarli, "Ottoman Population in Europe in the 19th Century: Its Territorial, Racial, and Religious Composition" (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1970), p. 82.

[a] Approximate totals.

organizations. This checkerboard became more complex as Circassians and other Muslim immigrants were settled around Beirut, along the Hejaz railroad, in the Aleppo and Baghdad areas, and along the Syrian seaboard.[45] In that area there were non-orthodox groups (that is, non-Sunnis—sometimes not considered good Muslims), such as the approximately 150,000 Druzes who inhabited the Lebanon, the 200,000 Nusairis (Alawites) who lived along the Syrian seaboard, and the 150,000 Yezidis (fireworshipers) found chiefly in the northern parts of Aleppo and Mosul.[46]

The ethno-linguistic composition of the Muslim population in Anatolia needs a lengthy and detailed study, which I hope to complete in the near future. I limit myself here to a few general observations intended to throw some interpretive light upon the statistical material presented in the appendices. Anatolia had been relatively homogeneous, at least in the interior, until during the nineteenth century, but it came to present an extremely complex ethno-linguistic picture after the Muslim immigration took place. The plains of the entire area, stretching from the sea of Marmara to Erzurum in the east and to the Adana-Ayintap region in the south, were originally inhabited by Turks; until the middle of the nineteenth century only a few small

44. I have relied on the calculation made by Engin Akarli, "Ottoman Population in Europe in the 19th Century; Its Territorial, Racial, and Religious Composition" (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1970), p. 82; see also Ernest Dottain, "La Turquie d'Europe d'aprés le Traité de Berlin," *Revue de géographie* 3 (1878): 152; and McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities*. (For Ottoman figures, see Appendix I.)

45. See my "The Status of Muslims under European Rule: The Eviction of the Circassians from the Caucasus and Their Settlement in Syria," *Journal of Muslim Minorities* 2 (1980).

46. The Ottoman government, in its drive to register the entire population, found that the Yezidis agreed to register only if their nationality was specified as "yezidi." The government accepted this demand lest the Yezidis become subject to conversion by some Christian missionary groups and cause trouble.

groups of non-Turkish Muslims could be found there. The situation in the mountainous areas was somewhat more complex, but there also the nomadic groups were predominantly of Turkish stock. There were social differences among the Turks, stemming from their differing occupations and settlement patterns, and this induced many Europeans to classify the sedentary folk, rural and urban, as "Osmanli" or "real Turks," while the nomadic and semi-nomadic groups, such as the Türkmen, Yörük, Zeybek, Çetni, Tahtaci, Kizilbaş (Shiites), etc., were placed in different ethnic categories, the fact that they were of the same linguistic group being entirely ignored.

The eastern part of Anatolia harbored, in addition to Turks, Sunni and Shiite Kurds both sedentary and nomadic. The Kurds were divided into two groups—the smaller Zaza and the larger Kirmanji—and also into a Sunni majority and a Shiite minority; the latter was descended probably from the Turkish Kizilbaş tribes that had rebelled against the Ottoman government in the sixteenth century and sought refuge in the domains of the Kurdish lords, where they acquired the language of their protectors. The Shiite Kurds' religious beliefs were identical with those of the Shiite Türkmen. The Zaza and Kirmanji languages were not written; consequently, the Kurdish elites often used Persian as their language of written communication, and many Kurdish tribes, especially the Shiites, therefore considered themselves Persian. The total Ottoman Kurdish population, estimated to be about 1.5 million in the 1880s, a good part of which was nomadic or pastoral, lived in the area comprising what is now southeast Turkey, Iraq, and part of Syria. There were large groups of ethnic Turks, both sedentary and nomadic, living in these areas, including the highlands of Dersim, Harput, and Diyarbekir. As early as the 1880s a small group of Kurdish leaders regarded these areas as their future national homeland, which they tried to secure against the claims of other nationalities—particularly against the Armenians, who regarded most of the same area as the territory of a future independent Armenia. As the immigrations of the years 1862–1900 increased the size of the Turkish population in Anatolia, the proportion of non-Turkish elements, both Christian and Muslim, decreased accordingly.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the northeastern part of Anatolia underwent massive ethnic change. The overland immigration of various Caucasian groups after 1853 began the process; and after 1878, when the northern provinces of Ardahan, Batum, and Kars were ceded to Russia, Daghistanis, Çeçen, Georgians, Lazes, and many other Muslim groups, some of Turkish origin but mostly of Caucasian stock, came to settle in eastern Anatolia. Meanwhile large groups of Muslim immigrants from the Balkans, consisting mainly of ethnic Turks from Bulgaria and eastern Rumelia and of Circassians, were settled throughout western, central, and southern Anatolia wherever there was available land. Later, non-Turkish Muslims such as Bosnians, Pomaks, and, in lesser numbers, Albanians also came to settle in Anatolia, their heaviest concentrations being in the west. After the occupation of Crete by Greece, the Muslims there, mainly Turks but also some large groups of Greek-speaking Muslims, emigrated and settled along the southern shores of Anatolia. In addition the immigration total was steadily augmented by the constant influx of Crimean Muslims, who had begun to settle in very small numbers in central and western Anatolia as early as the fifteenth century.

The demographic structure of Anatolia was further changed through the settlement, both voluntary and involuntary, of nomadic tribes. Indeed, throughout the nineteenth century the Ottoman government succeeded in settling large numbers of Kurdish, Turkish, and Arab tribes in Anatolia (northern Iraq being unsuitable for agriculture). These settled tribes were almost exclusively Muslim, and the majority were Turkish.

Thus the political events that triggered the Muslim emigration from the Caucasus and the Balkans completed both the Islamization and the Turkification of Anatolia. The two processes were in fact complementary and were rooted in the Ottoman culture, identity, and spirit; their culmination was the synthesis embodied in the Turkish nation. Indeed, the Turkish national consciousness, although stirred partly by a sense of ethnic identity, was raised mainly by the powerful forces embodied in the Ottoman political and civic culture. The Ottoman state had created a strong cultural unity among various Muslim ethnic groups subject to its influence in the areas administered directly and intensively by the central authority—that is, Rumili and Anatolia. Thus, the assimilation of the non-Turkish Muslim immigrants into the Turkish majority was not truly "assimilation" in the ordinary sense of the word: rather, it was a melding of all the various Islamic-Ottoman communities, including the Turks, into a new form of political and social organization—the national state. Under this new form of political organization, the various groups were able to maintain their inherited socio-cultural characteristics but were provided with a new national identity and were assured of future survival. To paraphrase Karl Deutsch, a nation is formed when the old forms of association disintegrate and people are compelled to integrate into newer and larger social units with a new political and social orientation and a new collective identity. Migration and settlement played a major role in creating a large group of people with similar backgrounds, out of which the architects of the emerging Turkish national state drew the necessary manpower to oppose the continuous onslaughts of Europe from 1897 to 1922 and, eventually, to affirm the identity of their new nation.

The contention that migration speeded up the Islamization and Turkification of Anatolia is supported by statistical evidence. A summary published by the Ottoman government shows that the Ottoman population increased from 19.8 million in 1875 to 24.5 million in 1885 and to 27.2 million in 1895 (see the statistical appendices, I.14). This population increase (about 40 percent in twenty years) was due chiefly to immigration and the settlement of tribes and was augmented only slightly by an increase in the birth rate (seemingly only about 1 percent annually). Helle von Samo

indicated on the basis of data from the provincial *salnames* that in 1874 the Asian provinces (Arabia excepted) had a population of 10.3 million Muslims and 2.8 million non-Muslims, chiefly Greeks and Armenians, or a total of about 14 million people—a figure accepted by most observers as correct.[47] In 1885, that is, eleven years after the major wave of immigration from the Balkans had been absorbed, the number of Muslims in Anatolia had increased to over 15 million, despite the loss (in 1878) of northeastern Anatolia to Russia. During this period the number of Christians increased only slightly.

The pattern of growth of the Muslim population, both in numbers and in proportion, continued after 1885 but without showing the large increases previously recorded; migration, though steady, had dwindled considerably. In fact, the statistics showed the overall Ottoman population to have increased by only a relatively small number in the period from 1885 to 1914. There was doubtless a real slowdown in growth at that time due to a variety of causes, including losses in the war with Greece in 1897 and the Balkan War of 1912–1913; but also, because birth and death registrations were not satisfactorily carried out some of the decrease in the rate of growth was apparent rather than actual.

The relative slowing of the rate of population growth did not retard the Islamization and Turkification of Anatolia; this process gained new momentum with the mass immigration of most of the remaining ethnic Turks from the Balkans as a consequence of the war of 1912–1913. Half a century of persecution and mistreatment of Muslims by Russia and the newly established states of the Balkans finally forced almost all of them to seek new homes and a new political existence in Anatolia—a search that ultimately resulted in the emergence of modern Turkey.

Social Conditions

Many of the tables in Section IV of the statistical appendices at the end of this book contain statistics that are in fact social indicators describing the Ottoman state's socio-economic position at the end of the nineteenth century. They are taken from material in the library of the University of Istanbul, the section on Turkish manuscripts.[48] A seal mark on one of the interior pages (p. 229) bears the name of that Mehmet Behiç who was assistant director and, later, director of the Ottoman Statistical Directorate (see Chapter 2 and Appendix B.4). Apparently this statistical book was the result of a joint effort carried out under the supervision of the highest authorities in the statistical office; however, there is no indication of the method used in compiling the figures, and one must have reservations about accepting at face value some of the information when one does not know its background.[49] Nevertheless, these statistics, whatever their degree of accuracy, do present a picture of Ottoman state quite different from the dismal portrait of the "sick man" offered by many European writers. Recent documentary research on the Ottoman economy by a number of young scholars has indicated that in the period from 1870 to 1900 agricultural production increased, railroads made the transportation of commodities to the markets easier and more efficient, educational facilities expanded, the public debt was stabilized, and the Ottoman society developed a new political and social awareness. Thus the official Ottoman statistics probably paint a reasonable likeness of the true circumstances in the Ottoman state.

There is no question that the settlement of immigrants had brought new agricultural lands into cultivation and increased farm production. Moreover, the migration was accompanied by a transfer of capital and skills, for a considerable number of the immigrants belonged to well-to-do groups (landlords, high officials, *ulema*) in their countries of origin. One can therefore state that the demographic transformation of the Ottoman state in the second half of the nineteenth century was accompanied by economic growth and social changes as well as by political mobilization.

The statistics relating to literacy (IV.15) give rates that appear, and probably are, rather high. The reason for this can be found, at least in part, in the structure of the Ottoman educational system. The system consisted in the second half of the nineteenth century of both government-financed and controlled "modern" schools and traditional classrooms supported by *vakifs* (pious foundations). The latter were essentially religious schools and could be found even in villages; they taught children how to read and write, and a person graduating from one of these schools could be called literate. It is true that the modern schools, towards which the government officials showed a strong bias, tended to replace the old, but the traditional religious schools still survived in large numbers and produced their own graduates for a long period of time. On the other hand, after the acceptance of the Latin script in Turkey in 1928 there was a tendency to consider "literate" and to register as such only the people who could read the Latin script. Thus the question of the literacy rate must be explored with due consideration for the specific educational conditions and the prevailing definition of a "literate" person in the Ottoman state at a given time. In any case, the statistics on the volume of production and the price of some agricultural commodities (IV.18–23) suggest the existence of the type of socio-economic development that would explain the political development of the twentieth century, including the revolution of the Young Turks in 1908.

The two lists of professions and professionals given in the statistical appendices (IV.9 and 10) are of considerable significance. The first list, describing the occupational scene in Istanbul in 1878/79, illuminates the mode of life and social habits, as well as the economic structure, of the traditional society: a detailed analysis of these professions should indicate the level of sophistication in taste and living reached by the Ottoman society as well as revealing the structure of its complex crafts organization.[50] The second list, issued barely twenty years later, although more general and wider in scope, indicates above all the rapid proliferation of new professions and occupations and the disappearance, or at least the fading away to insignificance, of the traditional professions. Although many traditional professions survived, they became relatively unimportant and unpopular, the professions associated with the "modern" order being more prestigious.

The professions associated with the new order were intimately related to the market-oriented, capital-intensive, western-style enterprises and corporations that had begun to control the Ottoman economy. A good many of these enterprises were the subsidiaries of large European firms or the distributors of goods manufactured by European industries. Listed are a large number of bank employees (there was only one small Ottoman-owned bank—the *Ziraat Bankasi*, or Agricultural Bank) and secretaries, indicating that the administration of capital and of business had gained priority over many other professions. This might be seen as an indicator of strong economic development, but that view is not supported by other evidence. For example, the total number of factory workers was only 186,000—less than the total number of various categories of servants, maids, and secretaries. The Ottoman economy had become in fact a dependent "service" economy whose developing "modern" layer served as intermediary between the productive sector—that is, the traditional infrastructure resting on agriculture—and the top layer of beneficiaries of the new order, consisting of the representatives of European capital (there were large numbers of foreign citizens in Istanbul) and of a rapidly growing native middle class.

In sum, these social statistics, besides providing factual information, suggest the existence of forces that shaped the ultimate destiny of the Ottoman Empire. They offer new insight into—in fact, a profoundly new vista of—the Ottoman society and its internal dynamics. The students of Ottoman history may better understand the rise and downfall of this political entity if they can approach its study with some detailed factual knowledge about its society.

47. *Die Völker des osmanischen Reiches*, pp. 68, 117; see also Dottain, "La Turquie d'Europe," 209–16.

48. See IUKTY, 9184 and 365, *Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniyyenin*.

49. The material has been used in part by some other scholars; see Vedat Eldem, *Osmanli Imparatorluğunun Iktisadi Şartlari Hakkinda Bir Tetkik* (Ankara, 1970), and Stanford J. and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 2 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

50. See Pretextat Lecomte, *Les Arts et métiers de la Turquie et de l'Orient* (Paris, 1902).

4 POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN THE OTTOMAN STATE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Introduction

Any study of the Ottoman population in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—even of such questions as age, family size, and fertility, and birth and death rates that are considered purely demographic—is bound to be incomplete without a study also of emigration and, especially, immigration. The structure of Ottoman society underwent enormous social, ethnic, religious, and linguistic change during the years in which millions of people moved from Europe to the Asian territories of the Ottoman Empire and from Asia to Europe. Every facet of Ottoman demography was affected by these vast migrations; hence it is essential that they be thoroughly considered in population studies of the empire during its last seventy-five years of existence.

The nineteenth century witnessed the gradual disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of independent or autonomous states in the Balkans that claimed statehood and national territory on the basis of often exaggerated claims of historical grandeur. The shapers of these new Balkan entities envisaged their "nations" as homogeneous in religion, ethnicity, and language—a vision that was entirely false. Nevertheless, in the early phase of nation formation the Balkans adopted the centuries-old view (which was the view held by the Ottoman state) that religious ties were primary bonds, strong enough to hold the community together and confer upon it a culture and an identity. The leaders stressed the Christian identity and religious/cultural peculiarities, not only in order to strengthen the cohesion of their followers, but also in order to differentiate them from the ruling authority defined as Turkish or Muslim, two terms that came to be regarded as synonymous. Thus, despite the existence of a variety of other forces, Christianity became the foundation of nationhood in the Balkans; and since the majority of Ottoman Christians in Europe belonged to the Orthodox church, spoke Slavic languages (the Vlahs, or Romanians, and the Albanians were the exceptions), and relied on Russia to further their goal of independence, their nationalism often expressed the conservative, religion-oriented political views of the Russian pan-Slavists rather than those of the liberal West, which only later became a model for reform.

The impact of these developments on the character of the Balkan population was predictable. The leaders of the national movements, although imbued with fervent religious-ethnic nationalism, were not unaware that the territories they defined as their future nations were inhabited by various peoples, among whom the Muslims, or in some cases other Christian groups, formed either the majority or a strong minority. Consequently, even before independence was achieved, some of the leaders of these nationalist movements, such as the Bulgarian George Rakowski, had made plans for bringing about the desired cultural and ethnic homogeneity by solving the "problem" of the Turkish population. The solution called for the eradication or forced exile to Anatolia of all "Turks," that is, Muslims, despite the fact that among them were many Slavic-speaking groups. The Balkan Muslims were about to suffer the same fate as had been inflicted on their coreligionists in Sicily and Spain centuries earlier.

It is apparent, therefore, that population movements in the Ottoman state in the nineteenth century are related to ethnic and cultural factors. In fact, most of the studies made of the Ottoman population during this period were called "ethnographic" studies. This was an apt title, as demographic change—that is, the replacement of one ethnic group by another, the congregation of peoples of the same ethno-religious and linguistic group within the same territory and the adoption of measures necessary to increase the birth rate and lower the death rate of the chosen group—was affected by ethno-political considerations. Indeed, even "pure" demographic developments such as birth and death rates, and "social" events such as economic differentiation and the rise of certain social classes in the Ottoman state, can clearly be linked to cultural and ethnic causes. For example, the relative decline in the number of the Turkish and Muslim population in the Balkans and Anatolia at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century may be attributed to, in addition to natural calamities and epidemics, the fact that the Ottoman army was made up chiefly of Turks: the long wars with Russia between 1768 and 1829 thus caused widespread

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Kütüphanesi

mortality among Muslim males of reproductive age. Meanwhile, the non-Muslims increased in numbers and developed into a prosperous middle class. Their communities remained well integrated; they adopted a modern educational system and health services, and they enjoyed the assistance of Christian missionaries and the support of European powers.

In sum, then, the study of population movements in the Ottoman state in the nineteenth century must adopt concepts and utilize a methodology capable of taking into account not only demographic conditions but also the cultural, religious, and ethnic environment that generated, and determined the course of, demographic change. It is not my intention to deny the importance of economic factors in demographic change but, rather, to emphasize that under certain conditions some non-economic factors must be given their due credit for increasing the scope of economic influence or for creating their own spheres of interaction. Cultural, religious, and political factors played a large part in the demographic changes in the Ottoman state in the nineteenth century. Thus concepts developed in Europe should be applied with extreme caution to the study of Ottoman population movements in general and of migration in particular. The bulk of the western literature on historical demography deals mostly with fertility and mortality rates, family size, and other similar topics;[1] the relationship between politics and ethno-demographic change is not much mentioned, although some efforts in this direction have been made.[2] The newly developing field of political demography, which has been defined as the "study of the interaction between demographic variables," deals primarily with the governmental population policies or with the effect of population growth on government policies.[3]

In view of this, it is imperative that the nature and the scope of population movements in the Ottoman state be defined in accordance with the forces that engendered them and conditioned their development. Migrations constituted the bulk of these population movements. The migrations affecting the Ottoman empire were predominantly immigrations, although there was also some outward movement, chiefly of Syrians emigrating to the Americas and of Greeks and Armenians who went to Russian territory. In addition there was a movement of mountain and desert tribes into the fertile areas of Anatolia, Syria, and Iraq. These population movements, especially the immigrations, drastically altered the ethnic, religious, and social composition of the Balkans, Anatolia, and portions of the Arabic-speaking countries. In this chapter I present only an outline of some of the migrations that so profoundly affected the Ottoman society; an extensive and detailed study of this topic must be reserved for another volume.[4]

Ottoman Immigration Policy

The Ottoman state was faced at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the problem of scarcity of population. Large areas of fertile land remained uncultivated, both because of the disarray in the land tenure system and because of political-military policy; meanwhile the demand for foodstuffs and raw materials was increasing apace. These demands came mostly from abroad, from the rapidly industrializing countries of western Europe, and had been stimulated greatly by the Crimean War (1853–1856). In fact, freedom of trade, notably freedom to purchase agricultural commodities from Ottoman territories, had been an important condition in peace treaties signed with Austria and Russia since 1718. The Treaty of Edirne in 1829 had freed Wallachia and Moldavia from the obligation to sell the Porte some of their agricultural produce, forcing the Porte to

1. The literature in this field is extensive; therefore, in this reference I list only a few major works and bibliographies. See *Daedalus* 97, no. 2 (1968), and F. F. Mendels, "Recent Research in European Historical Demography," *American Historical Review* 75 (1970): 1065–75. An excellent, and probably the most extensive, source on historical demography is the *Annales de demographie historique*, published by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris; this series, published since 1964, has nine volumes. See also J. J. Spengler and Otis D. Duncan, eds., *Demographic Analyses* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956); David M. Heer, ed., *Readings on Population* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967); Charles B. Nam, ed., *Population and Society; A Textbook of Readings* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968); Roger Mols, *Introduction à la démographie historique: Les villes d'Europe du XIV au XVIII siècle*, 3 vols. (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, Editions J. Duculot, S.A. Gembloux, 1954–1956); and Jean-Pierre Poussou, "Les Mouvements migratoires en France . . . approches pour une synthèse," *Annales de demographie historique* (Paris: Sirey, 1971).

2. David Landes pointed out that most of the general books on the history of Europe, and even of world civilization, written before the Second World War (and many others written after) give little or no space to population problems; see "The Treatment of Population in History Textbooks," in D. V. Glass and Roger Revell, eds., *Population and Social Change* (New York: Crane Russak, 1972), pp. 23–45. For some efforts to assess the role of demography in history, see T. H. Hollingsworth, *Historical Demography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), and E. A. Wrigley, *Population and History* (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1969). The work of Louis Henry also contains useful insights.

3. See Richard L. Clinton and R. Kenneth Godwin, *Research in the Politics of Population* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1972) and *Political Science in Population Studies* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1972).

4. For general reference to migration, see J. J. Mangalam, *Human Migration: A Guide to Migration Literature in English, 1955–1962* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968); J. A. Jackson, ed., *Migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); Clifford J. Jansen, ed., *Readings in the Sociology of Migration* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1970); Hans-Joachim Hoffman Nowotny, *Migration: Ein Beitrag zu einer soziologischen Erklarung* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1970); and Richard Startup, "Sociology of Migration," *The Sociological Quarterly* 12 (1971) 177–90. See also Justin McCarthy, "The Muslim Population of Anatolia, 1878 to 1927" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1978) and "Age, Family and Migration in Nineteenth-Century Black Sea Provinces of the Ottoman Empire," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10 (1979): 309–23.

make up the deficiency in grain production by bringing virgin lands under cultivation.

The Ottoman government came to believe that a large population was the pre-condition for economic development as well as for a strong defense against outside enemies. The government sought to remedy the economic stagnation and to increase revenues by first revitalizing agriculture. Reports submitted by agricultural experts—including Ion Ionescu-Brad, a Romanian considered to be an expert on land tenure—averred that Ottoman agriculture could be improved and state revenues increased substantially only if additional land was brought under cultivation, a recommendation dependent upon there being enough trained manpower for agriculture. The population policy adopted by the Ottoman government shortly after 1856 was designed to meet this need.[5] On 9 March 1857 (5 Cemaziyülahir 1272) the high council of Tanzimat issued a decree on migration and settlement that was sanctioned also by the sultan.[6] It declared that migration into the Ottoman state was open to anyone who was willing to give his allegiance to the sultan, to become his subject, and to respect the country's laws. It stipulated further that settlers would be protected against any infringement of their religious observances and would enjoy religious freedom like all other classes of the empire's subjects (art. 3). If the locality in which the migrants established themselves did not have chapels or churches for their rites, they could request and obtain from the imperial government permission to build the chapels they needed. The government promised to give the settlers, without any charge, the best arable lands owned by the treasury and to exempt them from all taxes and military service for six years, if they settled in Rumelia, or for twelve years, if they settled in Asia (arts. 4–6). The migrants could not sell this land for twenty years, and those who decided to leave the country would have to return the land to the government. Each family desiring to settle in Ottoman domains was asked to compile a list of the names and professions of its members and to indicate the capital or wealth it possessed; the list was to be submitted to the Ottoman government through its legations and consulates abroad. A minimum family capital of 60 *mecidiye* (about 1,350 francs) was required for immigration (art. 13).

The settlement decree was translated and published in the major European journals so that a large number of people would become acquainted with the Ottoman immigration policy. Government representatives abroad received numerous inquiries almost immediately, and had to ask the government for details and precise instructions. Ali Paşa, the foreign minister, in a letter of 9 December 1857 to the Ottoman ambassadors, ministers, and consuls in London, Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Madrid, The Hague, Berlin, Brussels, Turin, Naples, Livorno, and Corfu, advised them that some measures still had to be taken before the decree could be implemented. Nevertheless, he insisted that the government was firm in its decision to implement its original decree.[7]

European response to the decree was overwhelming. Inquiries and applications came from every part of the continent—from as far to the northeast as Prussia and to the northwest as Ireland and from all points south. Alexandre Baggio of Turin asked for a concession of land in Albania, having established a company and even acquired a ship to carry the agricultural commodities produced on his land to European markets.[8] He was offered land near Silistre on the Danube, but the project failed to materialize because he did not have sufficient capital. A number of families from Tuscany showed interest in migrating and asked for information.[9] Philipp Olkonski from Lodz asked about migration to Palestine, having heard that the "emperor" of Turkey offered land and travel expenses to those who wanted to settle in that country.[10] The Compte d'Haussville, president of the Committee for the Protection of the Alsace-Lorrainers, inquired about land on which to establish French colonies in the Ottoman state similar to the German colonies founded in Jaffa and "Caipha";[11] the Committee had already established colonies in Algeria, having been encouraged to do so by Aziz Paşa, the governor of Cyprus. Dormann Gasparini, who submitted official papers to prove his status as a citizen of the canton of St. Galle, as an officer in the Swiss army, and as a former member of the penal court, also showed interest in migrating to Ottoman territory: he expressed the view that Turkey was a rich country that did not have good cultivators of land, and he guaranteed the migration of 2,000 Swiss; but he asked that the term of the prohibition against selling the land be shortened. He proposed various schemes of settlement to be adopted, depending upon whether he had government support or not.[12] Thomas Lames, British consul in Larnaca, Cyprus, demanded some 130,000 *dönüms* of land on the island for the settlement of 300 Irish families;[13] his death put an end to these plans, however, despite his brother's insistence on taking over the project.[14]

Some of those who inquired about settlement in Ottoman domains envisioned large-scale migration. A group of 2,000 families of German origin living in Bessarabia informed the Ottoman consulate in Odessa that they desired to settle in Turkey; moreover, if their demands were received favorably, more than 18,000 families, and possibly half of the German colonies located in southern Russia, would come to the Ottoman state.[15]

The news about Ottoman land grants aroused interest even across the ocean in America. J. Oxford Smith, the Ottoman consul in New York, asked in several letters for information about the liberal immigration policy of the government, about which he had read notices in the *European Times*. He wrote that there were "many industrious, steady men who would like to take up their residence in that land, especially Syria and Palestine, if they can obtain land and be protected in the cultivation of it . . . the cultivation of cotton is one principal object in view." Smith also inquired "whether persons of colour who are natives of this country or others are included in these conditions." Fuat Paşa stated in reply that, as far as blacks were concerned, they would have the same rights as anyone else, as "the imperial government does not recognize any difference of color. . . ."[16]

Applications for permission to settle in certain parts of the empire were less freely granted. For example, in 1869 a number of families from the island of Malta asked permission to settle at Tripoli in North Africa and possibly elsewhere.[17] This request, like others of its kind concerning settlement in North Africa and Palestine, did not receive a favorable answer, it being feared that such migrations would alter the ethnic and religious structure of the area. The government's policy on immigration to Syria, particularly the area of Palestine, had been formulated two and one-half years earlier (1886) when Ottoman officials reported from Jerusalem that a group of about forty American families (there is no information about their religious or ethnic affiliation) had landed in Jaffa with the express intention of forming a colony and settling permanently in Palestine. The officials asked for instructions from the government, which, after receiving additional information from the governor of Jerusalem, rejected the settlement petition because the purpose of this migration was "evidently to colonize a part of the Empire and become owners of its soil."[18] The Ottoman government reasoned that if this initial settlement were to be followed by additional migrations of its kind, the soil and agriculture of one of the most important provinces would pass to foreigners—a development that would be detrimental to the native population.

Syria, including Palestine, was open to settlement by Ottoman subjects, however. Thus, when North Africa, especially the district of Tripoli, was hit by drought and famine in 1871 and 1872, a substantial number of families were transported first to Izmir and then to Damascus, either for the duration of the famine or permanently. Apparently the use of Izmir as a clearing point caused considerable difficulty; in response to a memo from the Tripoli governor, the grand vizier gave instructions for the migrants to be transported directly to and possibly settled in the *vilayet* of Syria.[19]

The liberal immigration policy of the Ottoman government was eventually restricted, but not before some large groups, principally Jews and Bulgarians, had managed to immigrate and settle in various parts of the empire. It is interesting to note that the decree of 1857 did not excite immediate interest in migration among the Jews of Europe. This is especially significant in view of the fact that as early as 1839, at the time of the establishment of the British consulate in Jerusalem (which was the first European representation in the Holy City), the British began making strenuous efforts to stimulate Jewish settlement in Palestine. Afterwards, however, and notably after 1882 when the presecution of Jews by the czarist government intensified, the Ottoman government was subjected to demands not only from the Jews of Russia but also from those from as far away as Central Asia and Yemen for permission to settle in Palestine. After the formal emergence of political Zionism in 1897, the Ottoman government, while still allowing individuals to immigrate, forbade mass Jewish migration to and settlement in Palestine. The prohibition was formalized in a letter signed by the prime minister in 1906.[20]

The Bulgarian Migration

The government adopted a protective policy toward all Slavs and Christians attempting to get away from Russian rule by migrating to Ottoman lands. The Old Believers, or Lipovans, who left Russia in opposition to Peter the Great's reforms, settled in Dobruca in the localities of Jurilofca, Slava, and Tulça, and along the northern branch of the Danube (the Kilia) in the town of Periprava and elsewhere.[21] However, after Dobruca was ceded to Roma-

5. A portion of the following material on Ottoman immigration policies has appeared in my article, "Ottoman Immigration Policies and Settlement in Palestine," in *Settler Regimes in Africa and the Arab World*, ed. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod and Bahu Abu-Laban (Wilmette, Ill.: Medina University Press International, 1974), pp. 52–72.

6. FM (Id) 127. See also Stanford J. and Ezel Shaw *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 2 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

7. FM (Id) 127.

8. FM (Id) 177, 17 November 1859.

9. Ibid., 14 April 1857.

10. FM (Id) 587, 60786/214.

11. FM (Id) 177, 4 June 1876.

12. FM (Id) 177, 10059/99, 4 February 1864.

13. FM (Id) 177, 2283, 23 March 1859. According to an official pronouncement of the high council of Tanzimat, a *dönüm* consisted of 1,600 *archines*, and each *archine* consisted of 7 square centimeters; thus a *dönüm* amounted to 1,200 square meters and was 200 square meters larger than a hectare. Others give the size of the *dönüm* (or *dulum*) as one-third of an acre. In Turkey today the official size is one-tenth of a hectare. (The equivalent usually given is 919 square meters.)

14. FM (Id) 177, 6885/36.

15. FM (Id) 177, 2384/19, 2 March 1872.

16. The communications with Smith are in FM (Id) 177, 2097 and are dated, respectively, 17 August and 7 December 1858, and 2 February 1859.

17. FM (Id) 24971/96, 9 June 1869.

18. FM (Id) 18041/8, 28 November 1866.

19. FM (Id) 587, 32420/12, 11 May 1872.

20. For a general view of Jewish migration, see my "Ottoman Immigration Policies." A good but incomplete collection of British consular reports on the "Jewish question," including the issue of migration to Palestine, may be found in A. M. Hyamson, *The British Consulate in Jerusalem: 1838–1914*, 2 vols. (London: Published for the Society by E. Goldston, Ltd., 1939–41). See also Israel Margalith, *Le Baron de Rothschild et la colonisation juive en Palestine* (Paris: Libraire M. Riviere, 1957); A. C. Eren, *Türkiye 'de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri* (Istanbul, 1966) pp. 50, 90–115; and Neville J. Mandel, "Ottoman Practice as Regards Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1881–1908," *Middle Eastern Studies* 11, no. 1 (1975): 33–46.

21. Some still live there, now under Romanian or Soviet rule. In a recent visit to Jurilofca, a thriving community inhabited by over 3,000 Old Believers, I was told by one of the communal leaders the history of the settlement as transmitted orally from generation to generation. He said that the community had obtained the permis-

nia in 1878 several hundred Lipovans left their villages to join their co-religionists living in Turkey proper. Indeed, a dispatch from the Ottoman foreign ministry to Bucharest ordered its representative there to permit 200 families of Lipovans and Nemoliaks to migrate to Turkey.[22] Those who settled in western Turkey around Lake Manyas continued their old life, although after the establishment of the republic most of them returned to their native land or migrated to the United States, chiefly because the men faced difficulties in finding marriageable girls of their own religion and language.

Among other Slavs who migrated and settled in the Ottoman state there were many Polish political leaders and their followers who had been involved in the uprisings of 1848.[23] Some of these converted to Islam, changed their names, and played important parts in the political, military, and cultural life of Turkey. For example, Mahmud Celalettin Paşa (Constantine Boznecky), whose writings and service to the sultan in the latter's relations with Europe were important in the process of modernization, was a converted Pole; his grandson, Nazim Hikmet Ran, became the greatest leftist poet of Turkey. A Polish army was formed in Turkey during the Crimean War, and Polish officers and regulars fought alongside the Slavic-speaking Muslims of the Rhodope Mountains in the 1877–1878 war against Russian and Bulgarian troops.

There was also an immigration of Magyars, mostly revolutionaries led by Koschutz.

The liberal policy towards Slavic immigration was pursued for some time in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially after it became imperative to adopt measures likely to stimulate demographic growth. As early as the end of 1856 and the beginning of 1857 an issue arose concerning the settlement of soldierś from the second regiment of Cossacks, left over from the 1853–1856 war with Russia, who did not want to return to Russia. They were permitted to settle in the European provinces of Selanik, Tirhala, and Yanya and in Bursa in Asia after they agreed to become Ottoman subjects and to submit to the empire's laws. Most of these Cossacks were farmers and farm workers, and many found immediate employment on the farms of the Grand Vizier Reşit Paşa in the province of Tirhala. They traveled on a ship called the *Tahrir-i Bahrit* to Salonica, and from there went overland.[24] There is no information concerning the fate of these Cossacks who established themselves in what is today northern Greece. It is known, however, that some of these soldiers who had settled in the villages of Mainos (its Turkish name was Eskikazaklar, or Old Cossacks) moved back to Russia after 1910, although at least twenty-seven families stayed on.[25]

The largest wave of Slavic migration into the Ottoman lands in the nineteenth century was the Bulgarian immigration. These immigrants were part of a larger contingent of former Ottoman subjects who had emigrated to Russia earlier in the century to replace the outgoing Tatars and Circassians. According to one document, about 12,000 Bulgarians were settled in Crimea on the land left vacant by the Tatars (who were moving in the opposite direction towards southern Bessarabia, Dobruca, Bulgaria, and Asia Minor).[26] Several thousand of these Bulgarians came originally from the villages of Bela, Reanoviç, Krivobara, Metkoviç, Tatarmahalle, Bayraktarmahalle, Skoma, Medoviç, Baroviç, Belapole, Visiloviç, Hutlom, and Bastoin in the district of Lom, or the province of Vidin in western Bulgaria. By 1861/62 they had become dissatisfied with their life in Russia and expressed the desire to return to the Ottoman state. In a long letter (in Bulgarian) addressed to the sultan, they claimed that they, "being for the most part illiterate persons without education, were ill advised by malicious people who knowing their attachment to their forefathers' religion deceived them to believe that a longer stay in Turkey would make them lose their fathers' faith"; consequently, they asked the sultan now to "allow us to enter our own hearths, and thus depart from this strange land [Russia], where we find ourselves despite ourselves without a guide like a lost sheep . . . , and [thus] regain the lost happiness."[27] A series of other letters in the same vein, full of praise for the sultan and critical of the Russians and the methods they had used to induce emigration, indicate a rather general desire among Bulgarians to return to their original homes in Ottoman lands. (Reproductions of some of these letters are included as Appendix C following this chapter).

One may believe that the Bulgarians' expression of a desire to return to their native villages was part of a planned nationalist uprising in Bulgaria and that the representatives who signed the letters were in truth agents working hand in hand with the Russians. The fact that the Russian authorities did not oppose, but actually supported, the repatriation of the Bulgarians tends to sustain such a view. However, the impression derived from reading these letters—the fact that they were written in Bulgarian and addressed directly to the sultan in line with the traditional petitioning procedure used by subjects in addressing their grievances to the sultan—is that these Bulgarians had a genuine desire not based on any ulterior political motive to return to their native land. Furthermore, the letters simply do not sound particularly nationalistic; indeed, none of the documents related to migration prior to 1870 indicates the presence of strong nationalist feelings among rank-and-file Christians, although they do contain some evidence of religious differences and, occasionally, some vague allusions to "dangerous" persons—possibly intellectuals and Russian agents—disseminating nationalist ideas.

The sultan rapidly acceded to the Bulgarians' request for repatriation. Five ships (the *Alma*, the *Plodd*, the *Calliope*, the *Alexandro*, and the *Ajios Gherasimov*) were chartered by the Porte and soon docked in the ports of Feodosia (Kaffa) and Eupatoria, from which the Bulgarians embarked. Eventually they all were landed in Sulina, a small port on the middle branch of the Danube at its junction with the Black Sea. Other ships, sixteen vessels altogether, were chartered to transport about 7,500 other Bulgarians to northern Dobruca and to Bulgaria proper. The Ottoman consulate in Odessa gave the following information on the number of Bulgarians migrating from his area:[28]

Migrants sent to Galatz	430
Migrants embarked for repatriation under the Consulate's care:	
Men	2833
Women	2794
Male children (less than 10 yrs. old)	979
Female children (less than 10 yrs. old)	972
Children born during migration	122
People dead during migration	1820
People left in villages	500

Most of these Bulgarians went back to their native villages in Vidin, while some seem to have been established in northern Dobruca.

It is appropriate to conclude this section with a quotation from a letter, published in the *Morning Post* of 18 October 1876, which gives in a nutshell the story of the Bulgarian migration. The writer, Mr. C. A. DeCrespigny, was a gentleman who resided for some years in an official capacity at Galatz, and he narrates the history from his own personal knowledge.

> Russia having beaten the Circassians out of Circassia (hundreds of whom I saw parading the streets of Constantinople, whither they had flown), was desirous of inducing the Bulgarians to emigrate to Circassia to take their place, in order to bring about a union of feeling and sentiment between the émigrés thus to be settled in Circassia and their relatives left behind, by which means they hoped to Russianise the feelings of the Bulgarians in their favour. The Russian agent for this purpose was Baron Offenburg, the then Russian Consul at Galatz, a man against whom no one could say a word, as he was a most polished gentleman and a most distinguished official. He was afterwards made Consul-General at Bucharest, and is now Russia's representative in Persia. The inducements for the Bulgarians to emigrate were, that when they arrived in Circassia (where they were taken free of expence), the head of each family should be granted a certain sum of roubles (about 51.), so many arcres [sic] of ground, and, I believe, a cow. Some thousands of Bulgarians came down the Danube in "schleppes," or barges, to Galatz, where I was stationed; they came dressed in their sheepskin clothing, packed like sheep, unwashed, unshaven, and dirty, and they lived, worked, and slept in their clothes for weeks at a time. They brought with them small-pox, to which I was myself a victim, for, although they were put into quarantine and not allowed to land on the town side of the river, the disease spread throughout the town, several funerals taking place daily for a month or two. At Galatz they were transhipped into two steamers belonging to Messrs Morton and Bell, of Constantinople, each making several trips, across the Black Sea—the Blarney being the name of one of them; the name of the other I forget. The bills of health and other papers to these vessels were issued by me, so that I speak from personal knowledge. When these emigrants arrived in Theodosia they were marched into the interior, no money, land, or cow supplied them, and they were expected to take the place of the Circassian serfs. Being destitute, they appealed to the English consular body and to the Turkish government, who, through the instrumentality of the late Lord Dalling (then Sir Henry Bulwer), Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, sent vessels to carry them away; afterwards they were taken to Varna, where thousands of them died from disease and destitution. This is a pretty good proof of Russia's solicitude for the Bulgarian Christians, and yet these poor simple-mined [sic] beings are still led to believe that Russia is now willing to be their benefactor.

The Muslim Migrations: The Crimean and Circassian Immigration

The migration of the Crimeans, or the Tatars, out of their homeland was probably the first Muslim migration into the Ottoman state. It began shortly after Crimea was incorporated into Russia. It is estimated that approximately 80,000 Tatars left Crimea in the year 1783/84 alone and settled in Bessarabia and Dobruca and, eventually, in Anatolia. (The published figures on migration from Crimea do not usually include the migrants from the area north of the Perkop [Orkapi] isthmus.) The migration intensified after the Turco-Russian War of 1812, and continued until major fighting was resumed in 1853. In addition, large groups of Muslins from further north and from areas in eastern Russia, such as Kazan, Orenburg, Ufa, and northern Kuban, migrated

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sion to settle and to fish in Lake Razelm from the "Sultan of Turkey" in the eighteenth century, and that the settlers had developed fishing into a major industry. Interestingly enough, the leader still referred to various points around the community by their Turkish names, but he pronounced them in accordance with Slavic phonetics.

22. FM (Id) 587, 56477, 10 November 1879.

23. See Adam Lewak, *Dzieji emigracji polskiej w Turcji (1831–1878)* (Warsaw, 1935). Three Turkish sources on Slavic migration are Mehmet Eroz, "Türkiyede Islav Muhacirleri ve Kazaklar Etrafinda Bazi Kaynaklar," and F. Z. Findikoğlu, "Türkiyede Slav Muhacirleri" and "Türkiyeden Rusya ve Amerikaya Göç Eden Islav Muhacirleri," in *Sosyoloji Konferanslari* (Istanbul, 1964), pp. 121–36, 1–30, and 56–92, respectively; see also Findikoğlu, "Türkiyede Islav Muhacirlerine Dair," *Iktisat Dergisi* (January–March 1966): 39–55.

24. FM (Id) 177, 6 November 1856.

25. Ibid., correspondence of 1910–1913.

26. FM (Id) 177, 736; this document states that only 6,000 Bulgarians eventually remained in Crimea, the rest having died of "nostalgia and misery."

27. FM (Id) 177, 11 October 1861; the letter was signed by the migrants' representatives, Diadoghieutsza, Dimitri Ilieff, Ignat Bralieff, Hristo Ilieff, Mlodin Tzvetkoff, and Dimitri Christoff. Other villages mentioned as the migrants' places of origin in Bulgaria were Golovitza, Polovitza, Verba, Vertok, Turtzina, Makriče, Vuetček, and Ostrokapci.

28. See FM (Id) 177, communications nos. 834 and 856 of 16 and 21 June and of 30 June and 12 July 1862.

and settled in the Ottoman state throughout the nineteenth century (a subject not thus far studied).[29]

The earliest Crimean migrations were often the result of individual decisions to move; or some were the consequence of a Russian-Ottoman agreement, such as the one in 1803. There is little evidence that the Russians planned during this early period to force all the Tatars out of their ancestral homes, despite the hostile, anti-Muslim attitude of some governors. Forcible eviction became state policy only after 1856 when the Russian official attitude towards its minorities took on a discriminatory bent. (The continuous persecution of the Crimean Muslims culminated finally in 1944 in the total uprooting of the Tatar population; about 300,000 people were expelled to Siberia, where more than half died.)[30] During and after the Crimean War, the Russians began to suspect the Tatars of disloyalty and the Tatars began to fear Russification as well as forcible resettlement in other areas.[31] By 1860 some 100,000 additional "taxable persons" and some 46,000 to 50,000 Nogai Tatars had emigrated, despite being forced to pay heavy taxes and passport dues. These were settled mostly in Dobruca. In the period from 1861 to 1864 the Crimean migration further intensified; one source gives the total of emigrants as 227,627, including 101,605 women and 126,002 men.[32] The migration continued until the end of the century, but in a more limited way after Ismail Gaspirali, the Crimean nationalist educator and publisher of the *Tercüman*, urged his compatriots to stay on in their native places and raise their cultural and economic standards. The total number of Tatars who migrated to Ottoman territories between 1783 and 1922 was probably about 1,800,000.

In 1877 and 1878 a large number of Tatars left Dobruca and Bulgaria and settled in Anatolia. Some settled directly in the Anatolian countryside; others settled in large cities such as Istanbul and Izmir or in smaller towns such as Izmit, Bandirma, Inegöl, and Eskişehir. In the area between Eskişehir and Ankara there still are a substantial number of villages inhabited by Tatars; and in Eskişehir itself, a city of about 200,000 in 1970 and a major commercial center in central Anatolia, they make up a high percentage of the population. Statistics on the total population of Crimean origin in present-day Turkey are not available, for most of the Tatars became fully assimilated. They had close cultural, religious, and linguistic affinities to the Anatolian Turks. (In fact, the term "Tatar" is used mainly by Russians, the Crimeans often referring to themselves as "Crimean Turks.") Furthermore, many Muslims originally from Anatolia, where their culture had developed under the influence of the Seljuki and Ottoman Turks, had settled in the Crimea, especially along the litoral, while it was part of the empire. Various estimates place the present Turkish population of Tatar extraction at somewhere between 1 and 3 million. However, only approximately 200,000 people, mostly in the villages, continue to speak the Crimean dialect, which is very close to Anatolian Turkish.

The forced mass migration of the Circassians from the Caucasus into the Ottoman domain, beginning in 1862/63, was a major population movement that radically affected the social, ethnic, and religious composition of the Ottoman state. The event attracted world-wide attention because of its magnitude and because of the coercive means used by the Russians to achieve it; the literature on this migration is therefore rich.[33] It should be noted there were a number of Turkish-speaking groups inhabiting the Caucasus region as well, although most of the sources do not differentiate between Circassian and Turkish tribes.

The Circassians were one of the major, and oldest, of the non-Turkish groups inhabiting the region along the Black Sea and in the Apsheron Peninsula on the western coast of the Caspian Sea. Organized in tribes with social structures ranging from rigidly differentiated strata of princes, nobles, free peasants, and serfs to truly democratic organizations under chosen leaders, the Circassians had not in the nineteenth century developed a common national political identity. From the sixteenth century onwards some major Circassian groups, such as the Kabardinians and Abkhazians, accepted Islam, largely because of the preaching of the Nogai *mullas* from the north who had the tacit backing of Ottoman administrators in Anapa. Eventually, the Muslim Circassians came to regard the sultan as the Caliph, that is, the supreme temporal leader in charge of the Muslim community. The long (1830–1859) fundamentalist-muridist revolt of Sheik Shamil against Russian occupation, with the egalitarian social philosophy that underlay it, played a major role in the creation of a common identity for the Circassians and other Muslims in northeastern Caucasia and in mobilizing them around it.

The Russians occupied the khanates of Baku and Kuba in 1796, gained Erivan, Nahcivan, and Talish in 1828 through the Treaty of Türkmençay signed with Iran, and finally won Anapa and Poti in 1829 in the Treaty of Adrianople signed with the Porte. However, the Muslim stronghold in the mountains successfully resisted the Russians, and Circassia remained unconquered until the capture of Sheik Shamil in 1859 broke the back of the resistance. The Russians then advanced along the coast of Anapa to Novorossiysk and down to Sukumkale. By 1862 Circassia was occupied; and by 1865 the major resistance in the mountains also was put down, although sporadic fighting against the Russians continued to the end of the decade.

The Russians occupied Circassia for the good military and strategic reasons of the defense and security of the Caucasus, freedom of trade and navigation on the Black Sea, and the need for safe railway communication between the Black and Caspian seas and Persia. In addition, however, strong ideological and cultural considerations deriving from Russia's messianic self-image spurred the conquest and expulsion of the Circassians from their lands. Russia claimed to possess a superior Orthodox Christian culture, and she regarded Islam as the inferior cultural system of a people she had defeated and was ruling with an iron hand. The Circassians and their tribal organization were looked upon as "primitive." Russia sought to "civilize" them by settling them on the swampy plains north of the Kuban (and giving their lands to the Cossacks), by subjecting them to taxes and military service, and by converting them to Christianity. When the Circassians refused to accept this program and continued to fight the Russian invaders, they were simply forced to migrate.

During the early 1850s some Circassians migrated voluntarily on their own initiative or were peacefully persuaded to move. During the Crimean War the emigration became a mass movement that reached a peak in the three-year period from 1862 to 1865 and lingered on into the 1920s, with sporadic periods of intensification in 1877–1878 and again from 1890 to 1908.

There was no formal agreement between the Russians and the Porte concerning the migration of Muslims from Crimea and the Caucasus in 1856; the only agreement at that time was apparently a special "understanding" concerning the migration of some tribes.[34] However, a formal immigration agreement seems to have been signed not too much later. As early as 1859 the Russian government contacted the Turkish authorities about accepting a number of the Circassians; in 1860 Loris Melikov was negotiating the issue on behalf of the czarist government. According to Russian estimates, the total number of immigrants to Turkey would not be more than 40,000 to 50,000. The Ottoman government debated the issue and decided that it could not refuse hospitality to the Circassians who wanted to settle in its domains in order to escape the pressure of Russian troops; the sultan felt that his basic duty as caliph was to extend hospitality and protection to all his subjects who had maintained allegiance to him even after occupation by a foreign power.[35] Moreover, the government expected that the migrants would help to ease the manpower shortage, and it hoped to employ them in the construction of roads, and in the cultivation of cotton, and especially, in the army.

In anticipation of the administrative problems that would be created by the immigration, the government established in 1860 (7 Cemaziyülahir 1276) the General Migration Administrative Commission (*Idare-i Umumiyye-i Muhacirun Komisyonu*) under Hafiz Paşa, the governor of Trabzon, to direct all matters related to migration.[36] The Ottoman government regarded its agreement with Russia as a limited one; it expected that only the 40,000 to 50,000 Circassians mentioned by the Russians would be migrating, and it hoped to bring them into the country in an orderly and gradual fashion. However, by 1862 the Cossack troops were moving towards the sources of the Kuban, and in 1863 they advanced into the Circassian mountaineers' strongholds, forcing the poorly armed Circassians to flee towards the sea or in some cases, southwards overland. The migration became a mass exodus. Russian sources indicate that the total number of Circassians migrating in 1858, 1859, 1862, and in the summer of 1863 came to 80,000, while in the spring of 1864 alone the number went up to nearly 400,000.[37] Departures from various Russian ports in the winter and spring of 1864, according to one source, reached the following figures:[38]

Taman	27,337
Anapa	16,452
Novorosine	61,995
Toupasse	63,449
Sotcha	46,754
Adler, Hoso	20,731
On Turkish ships	20,350
	257,068

Marc Pinson states that the total number of people emigrating from eastern Circassia alone in this period amounted to 522,000.[39]

29. See *Turk Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "göç" [migration]. See also James Barker, *Turkey in Europe*, 2d ed. (London, 1877), and Ahmet Özenbaşli, *Çarlik Hükümetinde Kirim Faciasi, Yahud Tatar Hicretleri* (Simferopol, 1925).For new material that leads to an upward revision of the figures on Crimean emigration, see my article in *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 3, no. 1 (1983).

30. See Alan W. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978), and "The Crimean Tatars, the USSR, and Turkey," in *Soviet Asian Ethnic Frontier*, ed. W. O. McCagg, Jr., and Brian D. Silver (New York: Pergamon Press, 1979), pp. 1–23.

31. See A. F. Soysal, Z. *Dziejon Krymu* (Warsaw, 1938), and also V. K. Kendaraki, *Universal'noe opisanie Kryma*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1875), chap. 8.

32. See Feyzi Gozaydin, *Kirim Türklerinin Yerleşme ve Göçmeleri*, (istanbul, 1948), p. 84; a somewhat lower figure is given by Marc Pinson in "Russian Policy and Emigration of the Crimean Tartars to the Ottoman Empire, 1854–1862," *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştirmalari Dergisi* 1 (1972): 47. See also n. 29.

33. Extensive information on Circassia may be found in the *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Kaukas," "Mürid," "Çerkes," "Abaza," and "Dağistan," and in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, under the same subject heads; see also John F. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1908). On population specifically, see A. P. Berzhe, "Vyselenie Gortsev s. Kaukaza," *Ruskaia Starina* (January–February 1882); HCAP for 1860–1878; V. Minorsky, "Transcaucasia," *Journal Asiatique* 217 (1930); and E. G. Ravenstein, "The Populations of Russia and Turkey," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 40 (1877). The *Caucasian Review*, published in Munich, also has a series of excellent articles and bibliographical references on the Circassians. The fullest and best-documented account in English, although covering a restricted period of time, is Marc Pinson, "Demographic Warfare: An Aspect of Ottoman and Russian Policy, 1854–1866" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1970). My own extensive research on the Circassian migrations from the Caucasus and the Balkans to Anatolia from 1850 to 1914 will be included in another study under preparation.

34. See the telegram sent from the Ottoman foreign ministry to the embassy in St. Petersburg in 1880 after the extent of the migration became an issue in contention. FM (Id) 687, 60852/216, 21 December 1880.

35. See FM (Id) 177, 6513/139, 8 and 21 December 1862.

36. For the text of the order establishing the commission, see Eren, *Türkiye'de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri*, pp. 55–56, 96-113.

37. FM (Id) 175, 23 September and 3 October 1864; the report is translated from the Russian press.

38. Ibid.

39. "Demographic Warfare," p. 122.

The figures available in official statistics usually refer only to those who embarked at ports, excluding those who migrated overland southwards or westwards on horseback or in wagons and those who embarked illegally on scores of privately owned small boats. The Danube province alone is reported to have received slightly over 40,000 families—a quarter of a million Circassians—during this period. It was clear that the Russians, who had already begun distributing the Circassians' land to the Cossacks, had decided to uproot all the tribes that refused their "civilizing" mission and resisted enrolling in the Russian army. For example, the British consul in Sukumkale reported that the Ubikh and Fighett tribes were fast embarking for Trabzon because "after their land having been laid waste by fire and sword, emigration to Turkey is the only alternative allowed to those mountaineers who refuse to transfer themselves to the Kuban steppes and contribute periodically to the militia."[40]

There are indications that the migration began to acquire the features of a small Russian-Ottoman exchange of population, with both Muslims and Christians migrating to areas where their co-religionists appeared to be in the majority. In fact, it *was* an exchange population of the sort that eventually became a method for settling national disputes. Indeed, according to a report from the Ottoman consul in Kerch, Count Sumarkoff, who was the hatman of the Kuban Cossacks and the governor of Caucasia, had agreed to allow all Christians of Trabzon to migrate and settle in Russia, and the Russian consul in Trabzon reported that 600 Christian families were ready to migrate and settle in the Caucasus.[41] Already many Greek Christian families from Anatolia had arrived in Crimea with the intention of settling there; they used certificates issued by their local priests and legalized by the Russian consul as travel documents. However, as in the case of the Bulgarians previously mentioned, a number of the Greek migrant families changed their minds and decided to return to Turkey; some in fact returned illegally to Sinop. In 1869 the Greeks addressed a letter to the sultan asking for permission and assistance for their return to Turkey. Eventually the Ottoman consulates in Crimea were allocated 12,000 rubles to pay for the transportation of Greek families from Crimea back to Samsun.[42]

The war of 1877–1878, considered to be the climax of Russia's pan-Slavist, religiously motivated policy towards the Ottoman state, gave new momentum to Circassian migration. The Ottoman government had drafted into the army 18,000 young Circassians who had landed in Trabzon, and, after the war broke out, another 3,000 Circassians from the same city voluntarily joined the Ottoman army to fight the Russians. Kundukov, a Circassian general commanding six cavalry battalions composed of Circassians, fought on the Ottoman eastern front, while some of the remaining tribes in Circassia and Abkhazia prepared to rebel. Two Circassian contingents landed at Adler and Gudauti and were joined there by local insurgents. After defeating the Ottoman forces, the Russians, in part in reaction to the Circassians' actions during the war, turned their wrath once more upon the Circassians and Abkhazinas remaining in their original homes. A new wave of migration ensued, as the Circassians from the Caucasus once more landed in Trabzon, Samsun, Sinop or Dobruca, and Bulgaria (Köstenje, Varna, Burgas) to be embarked on ships for transportation to Anatolia and Syria. (In addition, the Circassians previously settled in the Balkans, where they had caused great unrest and been the source of complaints from the native Muslims and Christians, moved to Anatolia and Syria.)

At this time the Russians began insisting that their migration agreement with the Ottoman government was a general one covering the entire Muslim population of the Caucasus. It is not clear whether another agreement had been signed after 1860; but in any case, the Ottomans averred that their agreement concerned only a limited number of Circassian tribes and, apparently, some Turkish-speaking groups in Daghistan and other regions of the Caucasus.[43] (It is interesting that in 1861, when the Russians seemed to be stemming the flow of migrants, the sultan had asked that restrictions on migration be lifted.)

The estimates of the numbers involved in the Circassian migration range from 700,000 to over 1 million. Ubicini, who was closely familiar with the demographic situation in the Ottoman state, estimated that in 1864—that is, before the first exodus was completed—the total number of Circassians in the Ottoman domains came to about 700,000 and that, despite high mortality, their number had reached 1 million by 1866. Bianconi claims that by the end of 1876 there were 600,000 Circassians settled in the Balkans alone. Other sources put the total number of migrating Circassians at up to 1,200,000 souls.[44] Berzhe, who conducted his study based on Russian sources, says that 493,194 people left Russia's Black Sea ports in the 1858–1866 period; he does not give the number of Circassians who left Russia after 1866 or estimate the number of those who traveled by land routes.[45] The size of the post-1878 wave of immigration may be extrapolated from the figures in Table 4.1, taken from a report giving the number of refugees in Samsun in 1880.[46]

Table 4.1. Refugees from Russian Lands in Samsun in 1880

	Landed at Samsun	Settled in Samsun or Janik Sandjak	Sent on to Angora or Sivas	Died at Samsun
Circassian-Abkazians (from the Caucasus)	12,116	4,668	7,028	420
Circassians from Rumelia	6,252	964	4,838	450
Tatars (Caucasus)	14,824	881	13,472	471
Georgians (Caucasus)	1,594	25	1,535	34
Turks of Batum	91		91	
Total	34,877	6,538	26,964	1,375

Source: FM (S) 122, report by C. W. Wilson, 23 January 1880.

Several points affecting the validity of these estimates should be mentioned. First, the Ottoman state already had a number of Circassian settlements before the Russian exodus began in 1860. Second, the figures included some non-Circassians also. Third, as already mentioned, the statistics usually do not include many of the migrants who came overland or entered the country without being registered. In 1865, for example, 2,000 Chechenes came to Kars with their horses and cattle, using land routes and apparently without being registered; 60,000 more Chechenes were expected to arrive by the same routes and to be sent south to the provinces of Muş and Diyarbekir.[47] Fourth, the figures usually omit those who died on board ship or who traveled on their own. Travel was disorganized. A number of wealthy Circassians chartered ships and landed in Istanbul or at ports on the Black Sea without checking in with any officials. People who had ships transported migrants across the Black Sea for a fare of about four dollars a person, often landing them at obscure ports; but many of these craft were lost at sea. (Eventually, the transportation of the Circassians was entrusted to duly registered Ottoman, French, British, and Russian ships.) Fifth, a large number of migrants from Caucasia, possibly about 20 percent of the total, died of malnutrition and disease. It was reported that in 1864–1865 the death rate in Samsun was 120 to 150 persons a day; and in Trabzon, a major entry point, the total number of deaths at the end of 1865 was 53,000.[48]

Taking into account all the qualifying factors, it seems reasonable to estimate that approximately 2 million Caucasians, mostly Circassians, left Russia in the period from 1859 to 1879 but that only about 1,500,000 actually survived and were settled on Ottoman domains. From 1881 until 1914 there was a further emigration from Russia of approximately half a million more Circassians, along with a large number of Muslims from Kazan and the Urals.

The problem of where to settle the Causasian refugees was a major one and gave rise to considerable debate within the Ottoman government. One undated report advises the government to settle the Circassians in southern Turkey, along the Euphrates in the Birecik and Rakka areas, and to use them to develop a modern agricultural system there to transform Alexandretta on the Mediterranean into "a true natural sea outlet for Turkey which would make Odessa less important if not obliterate it."[49] The report suggests that the colonists, if organized in special units, could become a barrier against the predatory tribes from the south, such as the Aneze and Shamars, and might force the nomadic tribes to settle, thus assuring the safety of the entire Baghdad province.

However, the Ottoman government was prevented from settling the Circassians wherever it thought suitable. The Russian government made it clear that the Circassians should be settled "at a considerable distance from our frontiers and in all cases not closer than the line Erzincan, Tokat, Amasya, and Samsun."[50] The Russians insisted that the Circassians be established in Syria and in the interior of Asia Minor, where some 3,000 to 4,000 families had been settled earlier. Meanwhile the British, expressing the viewpoint of the Greek government, objected to the planned settlement of 8,000 Circassian families in Thessaly; they wished to preserve the land for Greek inhabitants and to avoid "disorder and demoralization."[51]

About half of the Caucasian refugees, those Circassians and Abkhazians who arrived in the period from 1863 to 1865, were settled first in northern and central Dobruca around Tulça, Babadağ, and Boğazköy (Çernavoda), and Köstenje and then in the south around Varna and along the Danube in Rusçuk (Russe), Nicopolis, Vidin, Silistre, Şumu (Kolarovgrad), and as far west as the area around Niş and Sofia (some 12,000 families were settled in the last area alone). Others were settled in Macedonia and Thrace around Salonica, Serez, and Larissa.[52] In Asia, the migrants

40. HCAP 63/32 (1864), "Papers Respecting the Settlement of Circassian Emigrants in Turkey," presented to the House of Commons on 6 June 1864; the paper includes fifteen reports by British consuls in the Caucasus area, the report quoted being dated 13 April 1864.

41. FM (Id) 587, 233/78, 12 and 24 April 1867. The transportation of immigrants had become a lucrative business; as early as April 1863 the Russians had published a notice to shipowners in Kerch that 200,000 Circassians would have to be carried to Samsun within the next four years.

42. FM (Id) 177, 76/6, 13 and 25 July 1869, and 113/3719, 29 May 1869.

43. FM (Id) 587, 60852/216, 21 December 1880.

44. See figures reproduced in Nikola V. Mikhov, *Naseleniento na Turtsii i Bulgarii prez XVIII–XIX v.*, vol. 2 (Sofia, 1915), p. 47, and vol. 4 (Sofia, 1924), p. 265; see also A. Ubicini and Pavet de Courteille, *Etat présent de l'Empire ottoman* (Paris, 1876).

45. "Vyselenie Gortsev S. Kaukaza."

46. FM (S) 122, report by C. W. Wilson, 23 January 1880.

47. *New York Times*, 24 September 1865.

48. HCAP 63/32 (1864), "Papers Respecting the Settlement of Circassians." The European newspapers of the period contained ample information on the subject, and Europe was outraged by the situation. In England an attempt was made to form an aid committee; but the projected "assistance"—actually a loan—did not materialize because the Ottoman government refused to guarantee repayment or the payment of any interest on the loan; see ibid., report of 23 May 1864. Eventually a Comité Internationale de Secours Aux Refugiés des Provinces de l'Empire Ottoman was formed, mostly on the initiative of the French and a few English residing in Istanbul. The committee occasionally indicated the number of refugees at a particular place; in 1879 it stated that there were 80,000 in Istanbul alone.

49. FM (Id) 175; the report is signed Fuat Amin.

50. FM (Id) 175, 7 May 1874.

51. FM (Id) 176, 16 February 1874.

52. FM (Id) 177, 367/17, 27 June 1867; for a detailed account of the settlement of the Circassians, see Marc Pinson, "Ottoman Colonization of the Circassians in Rumili after the Crimean War," *Etudes balkaniques*, no. 3 (1972): 71–85; see also my "The Status of Mulsims under European Rule: The Eviction of the Circassians from the Caucasus and Their Settlement in Syria," *Journal of Muslim Minorities* 2 (1980).

were settled in the provinces of Diyarbekir, Mardin, Aleppo, and Damascus and, in Asia Minor proper, in Erzurum, Sivas, Çorum, Çankiri, Adapazari, Bursa, and Eskişehir.[53] A number of Circassians went directly to Palestinian ports. The Russian consul took note of 365 Circassians that in 1883 arrived on an Ottoman boat at Jaffa and agreed that they could be settled along the Jordan river, but not on sites likely to be visited by pilgrims to the Holy Places.[54]

The Ottoman Foreign Ministry Archives contain a series of other communications concerning the migration of Muslims from Russia, for in the period from 1895 to 1908 large groups of Circassians were given permission by Russia to leave: in 1895, for example, 1,000 families from the Kuban area, from the villages of Volny, Konakasi, Kourgokau, Urup, and Karamursine, landed in Izmit and were sent by train to Ankara; in 1899 three groups from Tamara and Ufa, composed of 395,353, and 790 families, respectively, applied for permission and went to Rostov to embark on ships for Turkey; in 1906 some 233 families belonging to the Kubarti tribe of Uyum and 372 families from Kupanski emigrated and settled in Adana province; and in 1909 families from the villages of Civcivli and Vagori in the governorship of Elisabethpol, 135 in all, were also settled in Adana.[55]

In sum, the estimate that at least half a million people were involved in the Caucasian immigration of 1881–1914 is a highly reasonable one.

The Migration of the Balkan Muslims

The ethnic composition and total number of Muslims inhabiting the Rumili (or Rumelia—that is, the European provinces of the Ottoman state, excluding the capital) in the nineteenth century has been the subject of considerable debate. As pointed out, the European sources vary considerably on the question of the number of Muslims versus non-Muslims. There is less disagreement as to the ethnic origin of the Muslims, who often were all labeled "Turks." The bulk of the Muslims in Dobruca, in the eastern, central, and southern part of present-day Bulgaria, and in Thrace and Macedonia were, in fact, ethnic Turks.[56] The Bulgarian and Bosnian Muslims, known as the Pomaks and Boşnaks, respectively, spoke Slavic and inhabited the Rhodope Mountains and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Albanian Muslims were settled on ancestral lands in Albania and western Macedonia. Groups of Muslim Turks and Greek-speaking Muslims were found also in Epir and Thessaly and on Crete and the Duodecanese Islands, where they were generally, but not always, in the minority.

According to the Ottoman census of 1831, the Muslim population of Rumili (including Silistre) numbered 549,228, or 37.5 percent of the total, and the Christians, 867,844 or 59.3 percent; there was also a small percentage of other groups. However, the figures arrived at by this census were incomplete and conservative. Ami Boué and David Urquhart, the best-informed observers of this early period, estimated the Muslim population of Rumili to be about 4.5 million out of a total of about 15 million; their totals included Wallachia and Moldavia, which had about 2 million inhabitants but almost no Muslims. The Ottoman census of 1844 gives the percentage of Muslims in Rumili as 29.4, their number as about 4.5 million—again, an underestimation; of this population, only about 1.6 million were estimated to be ethnic Turks, the rest being Albanians and Slavs. Population figures issued from 1864 to 1877 showed the population of Rumili as varying between 8.4 and 10.5 million, excluding Moldavia, Wallachia, Serbia, and Montenegro, which contained about 6 million people. The percentage of Muslims given for this later period varies according to the sources: five sources indicate that Muslims constituted 30 percent of the population, while fifteen sources give 43 percent; generally the higher percentage is supported by the more reliable observers. The Turks were said to be about 18 to 20 percent of the total Muslim population in Europe.[57]

The percentage of the Muslim population in the Rumili increased substantially after 1860. There is no question but that this increase resulted from the immigration of the Tatars and Circassians. The immigration not only made up for the heavy losses suffered in the various wars fought since 1812 but also increased the proportion of Muslims in the area. However, after the San Stefano and Berlin treaties of 1878 there was a general decrease in the Muslim population because of the territorial and political changes that ended Ottoman rule over large areas of Europe. Tables 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4, which are based on the calculations of Engin Akarli and on the analysis of statistical data from European works and Ottoman yearbooks, give a general picture of the ethno-religious demographic composition of the Ottoman population in the nineteenth century (with allowance made for loss of territory in Europe).

The Russians' wars with the Ottomans and the treaties that formalized the dismemberment of the empire were the culmination of an eastern type of nationalist development that had been nurtured by socio-cultural conditions peculiar to the Ottoman state. The Orthodox Christians' drive toward nationalism was fed emotionally by Russia's mes-

53. See reports of the Migration Commissions; see also Mikhov, *Naseleniento na Turtsii*, vols. 1–4, *passim*.

54. FM (Id) 176, 18 October 1883.

55. FM (Id) 268, 13282/81, 66695/181, and 1830/090.

56. For background information concerning Turkish settlement in Rumili, see Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yörükler, Tatarlar ve Evlad-i Fatihan* (Istanbul, 1957); Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanli Imparatorluğunda Aşiretleri Iskan Teşebgüsü* (Istanbul, 1963); and Ö. L. Barkan, "Osmanli Imparatorluğunda Bir Iskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler," *Istanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuasi* 13 (1951–1952) and 15 (1952–1954).

57. See Engin Akarli, "Ottoman Population in Europe in the 19th Century; Its Territorial, Racial, and Religious Composition" (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1970), esp. pp. 39 and 79–83. It should be kept in mind that Akarli's figures are taken almost exclusively from western sources.

sianic appeal to their sense of religious identity and solidarity and intellectually by western ideas of the Enlightenment and, later, of liberalism. The primitive capitalist system introduced into the Ottoman state through the intermediary of the non-Muslim middle classes provided the economic basis of their nationalism; moreover, Russia, England, France, and Austria forced the Porte to adopt economic and political measures that served, as well as their own interests, the interests of the Ottoman Christian population.

The ideological product of this amalgam of historical and modern forces operating among ethnic groups which did not yet possess an advanced linguistic homogeneity, a national consciousness, or a well-defined territorial base was fundamentally different from the nationalism that became the foundation of statehood in western Europe. Balkan nationalism was based on ethno-linguistic group consciousness nurtured by the idea of an Orthodox Christian revival and a subsequent uprising against the Islamic order represented by the Turks. The ideological gap between Muslim and Orthodox Christian groups was deepened by economic, social, and educational differences. The Christians, led by a prosperous merchant class, craftsmen, and rural leaders, and by a radicalized nationalist intelligentsia, confronted a politically dominant Muslim elite, composed of bureaucrats, landowners, and clergy, and a relatively poor and uneducated peasantry. The more advanced of the Christian elites looked with envy to a developed western Europe and blamed the Muslims (Turks) and their socio-cultural system for Balkan underdevelopment. The mere thought that the Orthodox Christians had been ruled for centuries by this "primitive Asiatic nation" increased the nationalists' fury. Eventually they came to regard any Muslim presence in the territory as an obstacle to national fullfilment.

Behind the anti-Muslim fervor of the Balkan nationalists there were, of course, some definite practical considerations. The Muslims constituted either the majority or a powerful minority in most of the lands envisaged as national territory by the various Christian nationalists. Moreover, a substantial part of the cultivable lands was in the hands of the Muslim landlords or was held by the *vakifs*. It was clear that the successful establishment of national states depended on the liquidation of the Muslim element or, at least, on the reduction of the Muslims to the status of a politically and economically harmless minority. The first step in the effort to achieve this goal was the previously discussed presentation of the false population statistics at the Istanbul conference in 1876.

The war of 1877–1878 provided the opportunity for a complete solution to the ethno-religious problem. The Russian armies that crossed the Danube and moved from Rusçuk (Russe) southeastward across the Balkans into eastern Rumelia mounted indiscriminate attacks against the civilian Muslim, chiefly Turkish, population with the intention of driving them away from the territory that was to become Bulgaria. The Serbians did likewise in northern Macedonia around the town of Niş. The fate of the Muslims in the Balkans is a topic ignored by most scholars, although they condemn in the harshest possible terms Muslim or Turkish excesses.[58] The British consuls stationed in Rusçuk, Philippopolis, Varna, Burgas, and other localities were fully aware of the ill-treatment accorded Muslim civilians, and they sent their reports to the embassy in Istanbul, which in turn transmitted them to London. These reports of the British consular agents show the reasons for, as well as the manner of, the Russian and the Bulgarian recasting of the ethno-demographic structure of Rumili.

The British ambassador in Istanbul reported that the idea of the expulsion of all the Muslims from the Bulgarian principality, originally put forth by the Russian plenipotentiary during the armistice talks in Edirne early in 1878 but ostensibly withdrawn under western pressure, continued to preoccupy the Russians:

> [Before] long the whole Mohammedan population will, by direct or indirect means by driven out of it. . . . The object in view has been the aggrandisement of the Slav race, and the formation of a Slave [*sic*] State, which, endowed with Russian institutions, and placed under Russian supervision, is to be absolutely dependent upon Russia, if it does not speedily become virtually a Russian Province. The Slav communities now under the dominion of Austria, together with Bosnia and Servia, will probably be absorbed ultimately into this vast Slav nationality, and the Russian Empire may then include the whole of Eastern Europe. . . . Leaving out of view the injustice of placing large and important Mussulman and Greek populations under the rule of the Bulgarians, I may be permitted to point out its impolicy. It is not probable that the Turks will ever attempt, with any prospect of success, to resume their old dominion in Roumelia. But the Greeks are not likely to renounce the hereditary claims that they are convinced they possess to Macedonia. . . . The Russian and Bulgarian authorities and agents are accused, both by Turks and Greeks, of bringing, in many instances, a few Bulgarians to towns and villages in which there were previously none, giving them municipal offices, and then declaring the place to be Bulgarian, and consequently to be included within the new Principality.

58. The centennial of the Ottoman-Russian War and of the Berlin Congress of 1878, celebrated with considerable pomp in the West and in southeastern Europe, was used as a convenient podium by official representatives (and by scholars as well) of the Balkan countries to denounce the "Turkish atrocities," making no mention meanwhile of the hundreds of thousands of Muslims killed or forced to flee their ancestral homes. Several "experts" on Balkan history, when confronted with the evidence of this treatment of the Muslims, expressed utter surprise. Yet considerable information on these events is available in the HCAP for 1877–1885, especially in the British consular reports, and in Turkish archives. See my "The Social and Political Foundations of Nationalism in South East Europe after 1878: A Reinterpretation," in *Der Berliner Kongress von 1878*, ed. Ralph Melville and Hans-Jurgen Schroder (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982), pp. 385–410; and see also Bilal Şimşir, *Rumeli 'den Göçler; Belgeler*, Vol. 2, *Bir Geçiş Yili 1879* (Ankara, 1970), pp. 254–55, and Vedat Eldem, *Osmanli Imparatorluğunun Iktisadi Şartlari Hakkinda Bir Tetkik* (Ankara, 1970).

Table 4.2. Religious Structure of the Ottoman Population in Europe 1820–1900 (in thousands)

	1820s		1340s		1870s		1890s	
Religious Group	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Greek Orthodox								
Bulgarian	6,225	61.0	9,145	59.0	5,106	50.3	3,137	49.5
Catholics	405	4.0	620	4.0	406	4.0	—	—
Others	—	—	—	—	30	0.3	—	—
Total Christians	6,630	65.0	9,765	63.0	5,542	54.6	3,137	49.5
Jews/Others	305	3.0	140	0.9	244	2.4	190	3.0
Total Non-Muslims	6,935	68.0	9,905	63.9	5,786	57.0	3,327	52.5
Muslims	3,265	32.0	5,595	36.1	4,364	43.0	3,010	47.5
GRAND TOTAL	10,200	100.0	15,500	100.0	10,150	100.0	6,337	100.0

Source: Compiled from European and Ottoman yearbook statistics and from Engin Akarli, "Ottoman Population in Europe in the 19th Century; Its Territorial, Racial, and Religious Composition" (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1970).

Table 4.3. Summary of Religious Structure of the Ottoman Population (in thousands)

	Europe		Asia		Total	
Years	Total Population	% of Muslims	Total Population	% of Muslims	Total Population	% of Muslims
1820s	10,200	32.0	11,100	80–90	21,300	59.6
1840s	15,500	36.1	—	—	—	—
1870s	10,150	43.0	16,500	80–90	26,650	68.0
1890s	6,337	47.5	16,000	87.5	22,337	76.2

Source: See Table 4.2. (Variations in figures are due to losses of territory.)

According to the Preliminaries of Peace, the Mussulmans may continue to reside in the Bulgarian Principality and in the districts ceded to Servia and Montenegro. Should those who have emigrated not return, they may retain their lands and other immovable property upon certain conditions which are to be fulfilled within two years, upon pain of confiscation. Although the demand first put forward by Count Ignatiew for the expulsion of the Mahommedan population was withdrawn, yet there can be little doubt that the original design of Russia to remove the Mussulmans altogether from Bulgaria will be carried out by indirect, if not by violent, means. Judging from what took place in Servia after she was constituted a semi-independent State, no arrangement made with Mussulmans will be respected. Means will be found to drive them, in the course of time, from their homes, and to compel them to sacrifice the lands and property that may have remained to them.

Although the Russian authorities now pretend that the Mussulman fugitives may return to their homes, they refuse to guarantee them protection against the Bulgarians, except in some of the principal towns. Without such protection the Mussulmans would not venture to go back, and I am informed that the Porte would not permit them to do so. It is difficult to say how many of them will have perished from Bulgarian massacres, from exposure during their flight before the invading Russian armies, and from disease, before order and tranquillity are restored. I have heard the number placed even as high as 200,000! In any case the Mussulman population will be greatly reduced.[59]

Ambassador Layard also described the manner in which the Muslims were treated during the initial stages of the war:

> When the Russians crossed the Balkans last summer and, disarming the Mussulmans whom they had induced to submit by promises of justice and protection, had handed over their weapons to the Bulgarians, a scene of indiscriminate slaughter and devastation ensued, such as had not been known since the most barbarous times. The whole of the country invaded by the Russians was laid waste, and the towns and villages sacked and destroyed; the fertile valley of the Tundja, one of the fairest and most prosperous regions in Europe, was devastated; the Mahommedan inhabitants of the invaded districts, who were unable to save themselves by flight, were outraged and massacred, and even the Jews, who under Turkish rule had enjoyed religious freedom and civil equality, shared the same fate. . . . It has been asserted by those who would palliate the conduct of the Russians, that they took no part in the "atrocities" committed by the Bulgarians, and cannot, therefore, be held responsible for them. But such is not the case, as the official reports that I have forwarded to your Lordship prove. They were Russian officers who employed the Bulgarian police at Philippopolis to carry off Mussulman women and girls to be the victims of their lusts. Cossacks have accompanied and assisted Bulgarians in the destruction of Musulman villages, and in the massacre of the fugitives from them. The Russian authorities have sanctioned and encouraged the destruction of Turkish property in all the towns and villages they have occupied, to the very gates of the capital. They have defiled the mosques, and turned them to vile uses; they have desecrated the Mussulman graves, broken up the tombstones, and turned the cemeteries into public gardens and places of amusement, compelling the unfortunate Mussulmans themselves to do the work.[60]

59. FO 424/68, pp. 272–79 (Layard to Derby, 13 March 1878); see also my "The Social and Economic Transformation of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century" in *Istanbul à la jonction des cultures balkaniques, méditerranéennes, slaves et orientales aux XVI–XIX siècles* (Bucharest, 1977), pp. 395–436.

Table 4.4. Racial-Ethnic Structure of the Ottoman Population in Europe, 1820–1900 (in thousands)

	1820s		1840s		1870s		1890s	
Ethnic Group	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Bulgars	615	6.0	3,000	19.2	3,451	34.0	—	—
Other Slavs	1,325	13.0	3,200	20.7	1,523	15.0	—	—
Total Slavs	1,940	19.0	6,200	39.9	4,974	49.0	1,648	26.0
Turks (Tatars — Circassians)	2,755	27.0	2,120	13.7	1,827	18.0	1,844	29.1
Greeks	2,960	29.0	1,000	6.4	1,218	12.0	1,217	19.2
Albanians	815	8.0	1,500	9.9	1,218	12.0	1,248	19.7
Romanians	1,225	12.0	4,000	25.7	304	3.0	—	—
Jews, Armenians, Gypsies, & Others	505	5.0	650	4.4	609	6.0	380	6.0
GRAND TOTAL	10,200	100.0	15,500	100.0	10,150	100.0	6,337	100.0

Source: See Table 4.2.

Muslims were driven out by direct threats to their life and property, as reported by the British Acting Consul E. Calvert from Edirne. Calvert, interestingly enough, cannot help comparing the treatment of the Turks in 1878 with the events that led to the Turkish "atrocities" against the Bulgarian insurgents in 1876:

> I, who assuredly have at no time been backward in denouncing Turkish provincial misrule, may be believed when I state that the evil state of things now prevailing is of an incomparably more widespread, harsh, and barbarous type than that to which it is manifestly intended as a set-off. I speak, of course, of the normal Turkish regime, to which alone a comparison can fairly apply. If the horrors enacted in May 1876 be insisted upon, it should be remembered, in the first place, that they were the result of exasperation and panic engendered by reports of dastardly and unimaginable cruelties perpetrated by the Bulgarian insurgents upon inoffensive persons, and the reality of which peculiar class of cruelties, in the subsequent instance of the tragedy in the Balkans above Muflis, in the Kyzanlik district, have been attested by several English doctors who examined the bodies of the victims. Again, the atrocities committed on the Mussulman inhabitants of the same district of Kyzanlik,who, so far from having offered any provocation, had stood by the Bulgarians and preserved them from molestation during the first troubles; and the deliberate and partially successful attempt to exterminate the adult male Turkish population of that district by wholesale and cold-blooded executions, must be held as, at least, a counterbalance to the massacres of Bulgarians in the Tatar-Bazardjik district, where there was admittedly provocation.
>
> In the North Balkan districts, to my own knowledge, and, I have been told, in those south of the Balkans also, and again at the present time in the Rhodope, as lately reported by me, the excesses committed by Mussulmans have been limited to offending Christian villages. The Christians under Russo-Bulgarian rule, on the other hand, vent their hatred indiscriminately on the whole Mussulman population, with the avowed object of bringing about its expulsion from the country.
>
> Leaving aside, however, as regards the Turks, exceptional events arising from exceptional causes, and taking the ordinary state of the country as a basis of comparison, I may say that where instances of robbery and assassination of individual Christians occurred under Turkish rule, whole Mussulman villages are now liable to that treatment; and whereas the Turkish authorities had at least the grace to profess a desire to afford redress, Russian rule in Turkey does not make even that concession to public opinion.
>
> Instances of outrages by Turks on Christian females were in ordinary times of far less frequent occurrence than appears to be commonly believed at home. When a single case of the sort happened it would set a whole province in commotion. Since the Russian occupation, it is hardly too much to say that the Bulgarians in the rural districts outrage at their will Turkish women and girls by the score.
>
> The material well-being of the Bulgarian peasant under Turkish rule has become an admitted fact, and the national as well as individual spirit of hospitality of the Turk is proverbial. Now that the Bulgarians have the upper hand, their chief aim and end (and in this, I regret to say, they are joined by no small part of the Greek rural population) is utterly to ruin the Turk and to eject him from his home in Europe. By depriving the Mussulman peasantry of their only means of independent subsistence, namely, their live stock, and by stripping them of all their money and personal property, it is evidently intended to force them to dispose of or to abandon their useless fields, and to reduce those Turks who may remain in the country to the condition of field-labourers, a state of life hitherto unknown to all but a small fraction of the population.[61]

60. FO 424 72, p. 27 (Layard to Salisbury, 24 June 1878).

61. FO 424 74, p. 329 (Calvert to Layard, 16 September 1878).

R. Reade, one of the British consular aides stationed in the Balkans, reported that similar occurrences took place in Varna, a port city in eastern Bulgaria, even after the formal signing of the Treaty of Berlin in July 1878.

> From the foregoing as well as other conduct of the Russians and Bulgars it appears to be very evident that their real object is to rid the country of all Musselmans, and so clear is this that whilst I was leaving Rustchuck a fellow traveller of mine was confidentially informed in a whisper by the Russian Colonel in charge of the station that all the troops had just received orders to be on the "qui vive" the General having reason to suspect a rising of the Musselmans against the Russians—notwithstanding they well knew that there is not a single armed Musselman in their part of the province. This was told to my fellow traveller but as he said, it was intended for me—it was also to serve as an excuse for the disarming of the Musslemans.
>
> It is also very clear that the Russians and Bulgars are doing their utmost on this subject and with the greatest speed possible before the arrival here of the Committee, subject of article 6 of the Berlin Treaty, fearing no doubt and it is to be hoped with reason, that this Commission will put a stop to their present outrageous conduct towards the Musselmans.[62]

That the treatment inflicted upon Muslims was general and that the land problem played a major role in the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims are shown by the report of Consul G. F. Gould. In the report he attributed the mass exodus of the Muslims from Niş (their number fell from 8,300 in 1876 to 300 in 1879) to emigration provoked by official misconduct—including arbitrary arrests, floggings, and robberies—on the part of local administrators; by the destruction of the homes of Turkish residents; and by the more or less voluntary departure of wealthy Turks to places of safety across the border where they could wait for improvement in the situation. Referring to his talks with special commissions looking into the land problem Gould wrote:

> From what I have heard in these conversations, and from other sources, I believe these Commissions have collected an enormous mass of evidence on the agrarian question; but the evidence is almost exclusively on the side of the Christians, and abounds in grave imputations on the inception of the titles of the Turkish landlords, fraud, forgery, and force being freely alleged against them or their predecessors in title. There is, in some instances no doubt, some truth in these allegations; but it seems obvious, that evidence so collected from persons interested, and not subjected to cross examination, is not of a highly valuable character. The members of these Commissions lay great stress on the fact of the Turks having burnt the towns and villages in the Timok Valley in 1876, and seem to regard those sad events as sufficient justification for confiscating Turkish property. . . . These views as to confiscation are not peculiar to the members of these Commissions, but are common to all Servian officials with whom I have come in contact.

62. FO 78/2795, p. 60 (Reade to Layard, 30 July 1878).

> The number of tchifliks (manors) in this neighbourhood which are in possession of Servians, and claimed by Turks, may be estimated at from 80–100. The relative rights between the owners and the occupiers of the soil vary considerably. In some cases the peasants have enjoyed rights equal to those of copyholders of inheritance; in others their tenure seems to have been of a precarious, undefined, and most unsatisfactory character. The Servian Government intends to bring before the Skuptchina a proposal to commute the rights of the Turkish landlords for an annual rent-charge or for a capital sum payable with interest by equal instalments extending over a period of from ten to twenty-five years. The Turks appear to be favourable to the principle of this scheme, though the peasants seem to hope for a sweeping measure more or less confiscating in its nature. . . . The Servian Courts of law may be said to be entirely closed to Turks and Jews (except as defendants). Many have come to me to complain that they are driven away from the Court-house and cannot obtain redress for wrongs against person or property.[63]

The Balkan nationalism of the nineteenth century demanded the eradication of every cultural, educational, or economic institution associated with Ottoman-Muslim rule. The mosques were targets for destruction, as is evident from a series of reports by the British consuls. A field inspection of thirty-three mosques in Philippopolis showed that only one was usable, while the rest had been destroyed or taken over for hay storage, arms depots, and the like; and the same was true in Niş.[64]

That the *vakif*s, with their land, were subject to expropriation is clearly shown by the petition addressed to the British embassy by Mahmud Nedim Bey, a caretaker (*mütevelli*) of a *vakif*. Even making allowance for the plaintiff's self-interest, the complaint is worth quoting for the insight it gives into the handling of *vakif* property:

> N'est-il pas encore une allégation diamétralement opposée à l'équité et à la justice ainsi qu'aux dispositions du Traite de prétendre que les terrains de la nature susmentionée ne peuvent pas être des Fondations Pieuses? N'est-il pas étonnant que les terrains situés dans la Roumélie-Orientale puissent être des Fondations Pieuses et que ceux qui sont situés dans la Bulgarie ne puissent pas l'être?
>
> A-t-on oublié qu'à l'époque ou la Bulgarie était encore sous la domination du Gouvernement Ottoman, certains terrains dont on peut à peine faire le tour pendant douze heures, et qui avaient eté affectés comme Fondations Pieuses, au Monastère de Kila, furent dotes des mêmes prérogatives qui étaient accordées aux Fondations Pieuses en question? N'est-il pas vrai qu'à la même époque ont été octroyés des Firmans constatant que ces terrains du susdit monastère sont reconnus comme Fondations Pieuses exceptionnelles? A-t-on vu à cette époque, et même

63. FO 429/90, pp. 114–17 (Gould to Salisbury, 8 September 1879).

64. See FO 424/76, pp. 308–9, enc. 2 and 4 (Mahir to Abro, 7 and 10 November 1978.

> après la constitution de la Principauté exercer une immixtion quelconque par rapport à ces terrains? Non! on les avait au contraire reconnus comme Fondations Pieuses, en respectant l'usage adopté ainsi que tout ce qui devait être respecté *ab antiquo* en ce qui concernait ces terrains.
>
> C'est donc dans le but d'anéantir les Fondations Pieuses destinées aux Musulmans, que les Commissaires Bulgares prétendent, contrairement aux principes généraux du droit international que les terrains ne peuvent pas être des Fondations Pieuses.[65]

The consequences of the events of 1877–1878 for the ethno-demographic composition of the Balkan peninsula and the Ottoman state were far reaching. Approximately 250,000 to 300,000 Muslims, mostly ethnic Turks, were killed, and about 1.5 million were forced to take refuge in the Ottoman domains. The Bulgarian-speaking Muslims (Pomaks) living in the Rhodope Mountains, rose against the advancing Russians and kept them at bay for several months. Their insurrection was put down, largely at the urging of the sultan, who wanted to conclude a peace with the Russians. The Albanians decided, in a meeting known as the League of Prizrin, to take up arms and fight any force which might occupy their territory. The Muslim Bosnians and Herzegovinians, aided only partly by the local pan-Slavist Serbians, fought a three-month battle against the Austro-Hungarian forces that, in accordance with a provision of the Berlin Treaty, had occupied their country. Soon after these events most of the Pomaks, Albanians, and Bosnians, feeling insecure under the new regimes or wanting to live among their own co-religionists, moved to Ottoman domains. A large number of Muslims from northern Dobruca, which was left to Romania, did the same. In the *sancak* of Filibe (Philippopolis), for example, the number of Turks dropped from 300,000 in 1875 to 15,000 in 1878. This exodus from Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Serbia, and Montenegro continued after 1879, although at a slower pace. Bulgarian statistics indicate that between 1893 and 1902—that is, during ten years of peace—72,524 people emigrated from Bulgaria, of whom 70,603 (35,418 males and 35,185 females) went to Turkey.[66]

The emigration from the Balkan countries began to increase again in 1908–1909 and reached its peak during the Balkan War of 1913. At this time Macedonia and Thrace, inhabited by approximately 1.5 million Muslims, were lost to Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria. The exodus continued during the First World War, culminating in an official exchange of population between Turkey and Greece (1924–1926). There were migrations in the 1930s also, these encouraged by the Turkish government. Finally, a large contingent of 152,000 Turks from Bulgaria was forced to emigrate in 1951–1952.

65. See FO 424/61, p. 47 (Lacelles to Earl Granville, 22 December 1884).

66. Bulgarian Chief Statistical Office. *Statistique de l'émigration de la principauté dans les pays étrangers de 1893 a 1902* (Sofia, 1906).

Conclusion: The Socio-Economic and Political Impact of Migration

The population movement in the nineteenth century changed the character of the Ottoman state and indirectly prepared the ground for the emergence of a series of national states, including modern Turkey. The Muslim migration into the Ottoman territories and the subsequent slow but steady rise of the ratio of Muslims within the overall Ottoman population had a profound impact upon Abdulhamid II, making him determined to adopt an Islamic policy. The motives for adoption of this policy were practical rather than ideological. It was obvious from 1878 onwards that the government would cater to the ideological and cultural aspirations of the Muslim population, which had attained an overwhelming majority. Islam and the Ottoman traditional political culture became, henceforth, the link uniting the linguistically and ethnically heterogeneous population of Turks, Circassians, Bosnians, Pomaks, Arabs, and others, now forced to live together, into a new form of political association.

The transformation was both social and cultural. For example, while settled temporarily in the Balkans, the Circassians had not changed their old habits. Some groups who considered themselves warriors began attacking the villages of the Bulgarians and other established agricultural groups, and the Ottoman government had to use troops to quell these raids. However, after 1878 the Circassians adapted to the new social and economic environment in Anatolia. A large group settled in the wooded, mountainous area between Adapazari, Hendek, and Bolu in western Anatolia, resumed the traditional occupation of cattle raising, and became suppliers of meat and dairy products to the neighboring towns and cities. Others were settled in, or drifted into, towns and cities and, searching for higher status, used the available educational facilities and the military channels to achieve good social positions.

The Circassians had preserved their tribal form of organization and loyalty during the early stages of migration, but, following its traditional policy, the Ottoman government tried to limit the authority of the tribal leaders as much as possible by separating them from their kin. Ö. L. Barkan has pointed out that as early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Ottoman government persistently tried to prevent tribal chiefs and communal leaders from establishing majority authority over their groups. Such leaders were often forced, or induced through generous pay, to settle away from their own groups in other regions or towns. The government pursued this policy with even greater vigor in the nineteenth century. Thus, uprooted from their native places, deprived of their traditional tribal leaders, and fragmented into small groups for settlement, the Circassians integrated themselves rapidly into the large socio-political unit, that is, into a Muslim-Turkish nation formed under the Ottoman aegis. The linguistic differences between Circassians, ethnic Turks in Anatolia, and other refugees who had settled in Anatolia were superseded by common religious and political ties as all of them were

amalgamated into a single political and cultural entity. In 1960, for example, the Circassian-speaking population of Turkey numbered only 147,000.

The economic and social impact of the migrants from Crimea was significant also. These people spoke a dialect very close to the Anatolian Turkish and had well-established traditions of authority and hierarchy. In their original homes the Crimean population was divided socially into a small group of nobles and larger groups of traders and farmers who inhabited the fertile area along the northeastern shore. The Tatars living along the shore, or the *yaliboyu*, as they called it, were involved in trade and cultivated fruit trees, while the peasants living on the arid lands in the interior and on the steppe north of the Perekop raised a variety of dry-land crops. The Kirjis, the intermediaries who bought wool, butter, honey, and other commodities in the interior and transported them to Kaffa and Taman for shipment elsewhere, and the soapmakers were other major occupational groups in the diversified Crimean society.

At the time of their migration some Crimean notables and merchants were able to sell their property; thus they brought with them to Anatolia considerable capital, often in the form of gold, as well as their trading skills. These immigrants occupied an important part in the small but growing class of merchants and entrepreneurs who emerged as an important segment of a Muslim middle class during the second half of the nineteenth century. Crimean businessmen established prosperous trading enterprises in Istanbul, Izmir, Balikesir, Bursa, Ankara, Konya, Eskişehir, and other areas in which they were settled. Even today some of the major business enterprises in these towns, especially in Eskişehir, belong to the descendants of Crimean migrants.

Crimeans from the plains settled in the steppe areas in central Anatolia and became wheat cultivators. It is generally recognized that wheat cultivation in Anatolia—in the triangle between Eskişehir, Ankara, and Konya that is the "wheat basket" of Turkey—developed largely after the Crimeans settled in that area. Eskişehir owes its rise as a commercial center to the trade generated by wheat cultivation. Other Crimeans settled in the Aegean region, where they raised fruit, grapes, and other cash crops.

The economic impact of the migrants from the Balkans was somewhat different. Among these people were landlords, retired officials, and a variety of other upper-class Muslims. (The Muslims who remained in the Balkans were thus deprived of leadership, and this was one of the reasons for the quick dispersal of the Turkish communities left under foreign rule.) The rich Muslims in the Balkans tried to sell their land and other property before they emigrated, and often did so, but at very low prices; some brought the proceeds, sometimes in the form of usable goods, with them to Anatolia. K. J. Jiricek, an authority on Bulgaria, reports that from 1879 to 1883 the total value of sales of land in eastern Rumelia, made in conformity with certain international agreements between Bulgaria and the Ottoman state, was 108 million *kuruş*, of which 72 million came from the sale of land by Turks to Bulgarians, despite the fact that the sale prices were very low. In Stara Zagora land valued at 50.5 million *kuruş* changed hands, 40 million kuruş' worth of this being sold by Muslims.[67] Thus, Balkan refugees who belonged to the upper classes often brought with them sufficient capital at least to start businesses of their own, and these became part of the nucleus for the new social transformation.

The fate of the rank-and-file Balkan migrants was different from that of those coming from Circassia and Crimea. Some were employed as workers by the companies building the Anatolian railroads. Others were settled, without program or pattern, in a variety of places in Anatolia. Much of the best land had already been distributed; but some Balkan migrants were fortunate enough to be settled in fertile areas, such the lands around Bursa, Balikesir, Bandirma, and the Aegean coast, and they quickly became prosperous, while others, settled on the arid lands in central Anatolia and the east, were impaired by disease and malnutrition. In some cases migrants introduced new crops such as potatoes, and new methods of cultivation as well, and this had a beneficial effect upon the agriculture of Anatolia as a whole.

It may be said that, in general, the migrants helped stimulate economic activity in the Ottoman state. For example, according to two of the best available accounts of the economic history of the Ottoman state, production in general, and agricultural production in particular, rose between 1885 and 1912.[68] Prices were stable, gold reserves increased, and investment intensified. An entrepreneurial class emerged. The records of the Chamber of Trade, established in 1880 in Istanbul, show that in that city, as well as elsewhere in the country, a group of Turkish Muslim entrepreneurs arose and grew steadily in size and prosperity from 1880 to 1890. A number of these businessmen were migrants. A substantial part of the urban growth in Istanbul (and in other cities as well) was due directly to the influx of Turkish migrants. The richer ones joined the upper echelon of the Ottoman hierarchy (which had been until then largely non-Muslim), while the poorer ones—and these were the overwhelming majority—swelled the ranks of the mainly Muslim and Turkish urban lower classes.

The socio-cultural impact of the migration was equally important. The migrating groups included men from well-educated, rich families, some of them descendants of the nobility who had for centuries occupied leadership positions in the European territories. They brought with them not only a more advanced level of education and a sense of nobility and class, but strong anti-Russian feelings and a burning desire to recapture their lost lands. This was translated eventually into special ideologies and a drive for status and position in the new society.

67. K. J. Jiricek, *Cesty po Bulharska* [Travels in Bulgaria] (Prague, 1888), cited in Doreen Warriner, ed., *Contrasts in Emerging Societies: Readings in the Social and Economic History of South-Eastern Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, select. and trans. G. F. Cushing et al. (London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1965), pp. 241–45. For background, see also John R. Lampe and Marvin R. Jackson, *Balkan Economic History, 1550–1950: From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

68. See Donald Quataert, "Commercialization of Agriculture in Ottoman Turkey, 1800–1914," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1, no. 2 (1980): 38–55; and Eldem, *Osmanli Imparatorluğunun Iktisadi*.

The Ottoman archives contain communications from rich and noble Muslim families still in Russia—the czarist government was somewhat friendly to them because it hoped to use them to control their respective communities and tribes—expressing a desire to move out of Russia and settle in Turkey. In 1868, for example, the family of Gazi Mehmet Efendi, who was closely related to Sheik Shamil, asked the Ottoman government to facilitate its migration to Turkey. Among important families of the Caucasus who migrated to Turkey were those of Suluk Bey of the Kabartay tribe, Tanis Bey Lekataoğlu, Elhaj Sheik Ali, Molla Ali Efendi, Haji Islam Efendi, Rustem Bey, Elhoja Ağa Bey, Kazak Mirza, Elhaj Heray, Abdul Rezai, Mughan Hasan Bey, and many others. (Efendi and Bey are titles denoting high social position.) Some of these families educated their children in Istanbul; others sent their children to Moscow, Vienna, Paris, and elsewhere for schooling. Many of these well-educated offspring of migrants later occupied leading positions in Ottoman universities and other institutions and in its intellectual life.

Huseyin Ahunzade, Yusuf Akçura, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, and many others who became closely identified with the rise of Turkish nationalism and modernism were migrants or sons of migrants. The same can be said of the leaders of Young Turks and the Republicans: Mehmet Murat (Mizanci), whose family was from Daghistan, played a fundamental role in the Young Turk movement at the turn of the century (1895–1910); Enver Paşa was the grandson of a migrant from Russia; the first President of Turkey, Kemal Atatürk, was born in Salonica; the mother of Ismet Inönü, Turkey's second president, was an immigrant; and both parents of Celal Bayar, the third president, were from Bulgaria. A detailed study of the role played by these families in the development of Islamism and then of nationalism and Pan-Turanism, would be a major contribution to the understanding of the ideological and cultural currents in the Ottoman state.

The migration of the ethnic Turks from the Balkans gave the Turkish element, already in a majority in Anatolia, the overwhelming numerical superiority that allowed it to impress its own linguistic and cultural mark on other incoming groups. By the end of the nineteenth century the remaining Ottoman provinces in Anatolia and in Rumili had an integral, distinctly Turkish character, except for some isolated areas in the Balkans and eastern Anatolia.

In sum, the successful integration of migrant ethnic groups into the Ottoman community altered fundamentally the traditional social structure of Anatolia and prepared the ground for the establishment of new forms of social and political organization, including a national state. This fundamental process of social and political transformation superseded all ancient forms of loyalty and organization and made the population ready to adopt a new political identity. The process culminated eventually in the establishment in 1923 of a national Turkish state that was not only the synthesis of the century-long population movement but was, politically, the most suitable system for unifying the variety of different groups assembled there. The Turkish national state was born of and further fostered the new sense of political identity and affiliation based upon a common historical and cultural heritage and upon aspirations for the future.

A P. Auguste et Miséricordieux Empereur notre Sultan Abdul Aziz.

Majesté!

Nous soussignés, fidèles sujets de Votre Majesté, Notre Roi miséricordieux, ayant été trompés par des hommes rusés et méchants, nous avons abandonné la terre de nos pères et ancêtres qui vivaient bienheureusement dans la prospérité de vos protections vigilantes. Pour notre bonheur, ces hommes méchants et perfides ont profité de notre ignorance, et se sont servi du moyen de la religion que nous avons en grand respect. Mais hélas! cette duperie inspirée par des individus malintentionnés nous a plongés dans un état si malheureux que l'homme ne peut en concevoir l'étendue. Miséricordieux Padichah nous sommes des hommes simples et craignant Dieu, nous n'avions pas observés que le projet de ces hommes astucieux était de nous tromper et de nous abuser à notre insçu. En tout cela il n'y a pas de notre faute.

Nous sommes maintenant dans un état bien malheureux, puisque ces hommes méchants et maudits nous ont fait vendre aux plus bas prix nos biens. A cela le Consul Russe de Vidin nous a excités plus que les autres. Cet homme trompeur nous disait que nous traverserions dans la terre Moscovite toutes choses prêtes, et prenait nos biens de nos mains en promettant par sa bouche flatteuse que la Russie nous les payerait

gratuitement. Malheureusement lorsque nous avons voyagé en Russie, nous seulement elle nous les a payés mais encore elle nous demande de l'argent. Etonnés de cela nous ne savions pas ce que nous faisions.

Miséricordieux Empereur, Notre Père, nous sommes victimes de la fraude intrigue par perdre tant de sujets fidèles qui sont aux prises avec la faim, la souffrance et la mort. Daignez verser sur nous votre grace majestueuse, afin que nous soyons arrachés à cette terre maudite sur laquelle sans trop réfléchir, nous nous sommes jetés et nous sommes abandonnés comme des aveugles. Toute notre espérance est en Votre Majesté, Souverain Miséricordieux Padichah, nous espérons en Vous et nous prosternant à Vos pieds, nous Vous supplions de jeter, s'il vous plaît un regard compatissant sur nous tous, pauvres que nous sommes. Nous demandons à revenir auprès de Vous, sous votre ombre miséricordieuse; et Vous, Notre Père plein de clémence, exaucez les prières ardentes de vos sujets fidèles ne trompez pas notre espérance; délivrez nous et pardonnez à notre simplicité! Ouvrez nous donc votre cœur bienheureux comme vous avez reçu nos frères de Haskovo, de Belgrade, Bansko comme nous mêmes.

Etendez les bras de Votre bonté et consolez nous comme un père son cher enfant, afin que nous soyons heureux comme auparavant; nous pleurons ici toujours attristé; nous nous repentons de notre démarche imprévue mais personne ne nous regarde. Rappelez nous dans

pour Empire vous inspire envers l'Ancien, afin que nous sujets de cette terre Disciples. Ah! combien le Français et le bonté de Votre Majesté devaient grandes si elle nous accordait ce que nous demandons, si elle nous affranchissait pour quelque temps des impôts et de charges du gouvernement Turc! jusqu'à ce que nous ayons repris un peu d'aisance et de force.

Empereur bon Clément soyez miséricordieux envers nous, vos sujets malheureux, et que le bon Dieu vous en récompense!

A Votre Majesté Impériale, vos sujets fidèles, députés de sandjak de Vidin, Kaza de Vam et de Belgrade.

19 Décembre 1861 Ce dernier.

Suivent les Signatures.

Source: FM (Id) 177.
Note: This letter in French is a translation; the translator is not known, but presumably it was someone in the Ottoman foreign ministry.

Молителчно и покорително писмо.

Ние долуподписанные Вълчо Ганчо, Димитраки Илиев, Илията Христаева, Христо Илиев, Младенъ Цветкова и Димитаръ Христовъ – депутатые на преселенитѣ отъ Россія България отъ селата: кадъ-видински: Брегова-Бара, Ямковецъ, Татаръ Махала, Байрактаре, Малаи, Скалаи, Недовецъ, Боровица, Бѣло-поле, Васильовцы, Горный-Лазъ, Долный-Лазъ, – порученныя съ настоящето писмо на Димитра-Христовъ – депутатина на просвещенитѣ отъ горенъ-Лазъ, като му давамы отъ сички ни-наша рѣка да представи туй писмо на Високо-то наше Царско Пръйимателство, и да ходатайствува, и да го моли да яви голѣма-та си милость Негово Величество Великодушнѣйшій-тъ нашъ Султанъ /на когото Богъ да благослови дни-тѣ!/ дано ны извади отъ нуждны постигна тозъ-зи насилване. Ныне си бѣхмо хора мирны и вѣрны слы на Царя си; нъ отъ простотія-та ни насе ны измамихы лукавы и злы човѣци и по-добрѣ да ны речемъ човѣкоѣщи. Чункимъ си дверзохмы Вѣра-та твоѣ, отвыи злонамѣрени хора смѣтнихъ сесъ Вѣра-тах ни да ны запленатъ, да ны бѣзкостнатъ и разорятъ Сей изългахы слы, нашъ милостивѣйшій Царю, не остави да си изгубимъ совѣстъ, чи малко реки глабувх, страхо и изпепери; нъ отгрыны ны съ Царска-та си милость и благоволи да заповѣдаши да ны извадятъ изъ тая пущта и жлеста зимя, въ която,

възъ̀ти сме мълчание, сега сме захвърлени като говеда, та ни се=
чемъ за такъвъ начинъ на наши вилаети, отъ който сме злони=
мърсено помищение, и щомъ нѣ̀ма то Твое Царско Величество
привѣти сме щастливи ваши и вамо пакъ ся удостоимъ да пре=
минеме уловотъ-тъ при Царя си на нашето сѣлото, като
молитствуваме Бога за благоденственно-то царуване
на Величествения-тъ ни Господаръ.

Всемилостивѣйший Царю, нашъ Тейко! погледни
ма си сасъ милостиво око, прости и опрощенїа та
и приберн заблудняли-тъ Си овци въ Своя-та кошара. Ние
сме Твои вѣрны и до днесъ и молимъ Да ны избавишь, и, като
ны избавишь и доведешь на села-та ни и кѫщи-тъ ни, погледни
великодушно на наша-та загуба и разорение, отъ тои при=
чинихъ и грозоти говѣзы, освободи ны поне нѣколко години
время отъ царицински данощы и работы, докато сме сазе=
вемъ и додемъ пакъ на нашъ халъ.

Имамо надежда, о Всемилостивый нашъ Царь, на
Висока-та Ти милость Царска, насъ молитвы нашъ Богъ
за далне Ти дни, чекаме да се чуе отъ Тебе наше-то про=
щение и да получимъ избавление-то си.

На Ваше Царско Величество

Вѣрна Рабѣ: Дядо Ганчо
Димитаръ Илиевъ
Иванъ Праматаевъ
Христо Илиевъ
Младенъ Кѫдѣлиевъ
Димитаръ Ерестиевъ

Уполномощени допу=
тати отъ горепрегенъ=
тѣ село.

1861, 10б.
Октом. 2-1,
Константинополъ.

Source: FM (Id) 177.

На Негово Императорско Величество
Августѣйший Нашъ Царь Султанъ Абдулъ=
Азисъ

Проза

Изъ Крѫмъ отъ Видинскиите Преселцы.

Милостивѣйший Нашъ Царю! сасъ плачъ и
надежда ние дигаме ръцѣ къмъ Тебе, нашъ царь
Ваша Царска Милость, нашето знаме, подъ
което ни крило. Ние падаме
на колѣна у подножието на Высокїа Ви Престолъ
и просиме прошка за грѣшкатa, що направихме,
тога приблизихме у Россїя. Щомъ стѫпихме на
корабли и оставихме родина ны земя, ные
разрахме сичкыте черны лъжы, сасъ кои ны бѣ=
ше хванала сѫдба Видинскыя Русскы Консулъ,
не можахме да видиме истината. Наопа=
ка бѣше късно: ние са находѫме вечъ средъ
морето и бѣгнѫти на душманыттѣ ны.

Кога дойдохме у Крѫмъ, видяхме и крѫме
нѣколцина дали братаме у Цареградъ; дадо Ти мо=
лятъ, отецъ наше милце, честиты Царю, да ны спо=
могнишъ, да ны избавишъ отъ Москвяыттѣ и
да нѣ върнемъ назадъ — у Видинъ. Русситѣ уб=
тиха нова, затрѣха нашиттѣ братия и сѣла
само едини отъ нихъ — Димитръ Кръстевъ отъ
Горны Ломъ — можалъ да побѣгне у Одесса, дека,
като пристигалъ у Вашето Консулате просбата,

что бѣхме написали до Вашите Царски Лицъ,
Вашiя Консулъ гое испратилъ у Цареградъ и
слушаме да сме благословилы, да пріемете ре-
чената прозба. Отъ тогаия русенскiя утри-
биха сѣкакви мѣрки; зарда ны присѣчатъ ра-
ботата, така, като да неможеме, да прати-
ме други човѣцы у Цареградъ. Нъ ные, като
стоиме тврдо на велараги — за назадъ, писа-
хме сега тая прозба, избрахме сидутати,
нако да дадехме пълномощно писмо, можѣхме
да ги пратимъ у Сресе до Вашiя Консулъ,
конто да ги препрати у Цареградъ. Надѣ-
меся, че Вашата Царска Милостъ скоро
къ ны отпѣе и къ ны извади изъ русскiя.
Честитый Царю! смилися надъ насъ, кои
са молиме вдсъ сълзы предъ Вашiя Высокъ
престолъ да ны простите нашата грѣш-
ка, че ные сме невинны, изълъгани прости
селяне, — да ны приберете пакъ подъ Ваша-
та Царска Сѣнка, да пратите параходи
гарда ны собератъ наедно и да ны зане-
сатъ у Видинъ, колкото може по рано, щото
да имаме време да се хванеме това лѣто за
работа. Молиме Вы, Честитый Царю, да
видѣ така голѣма Вашата Царска Ми-
лостъ къмъ насъ, щото като пратите
параходи, да ны снабдите, назаемъ сосъ
потхини харчове, та когато ги отидеме
у Видинъ да сме здравы, да ги върне-
ме.

Като ны освѣдомите отъ тука и са вър-
неме у Видинъ, молиме Вы, Честитiй

Царю, да ны опростите отъ грѣховъ на нѣколко
години; защото Вашата Царска Милостъ
знае доколко сме разорены и сасипаны отъ
това преселенiе. Уставаме съ тълна надежда на
Ваше Царско Величество Върна раа отъ сълзи ти
Видинскы селскы старѣшины

Христо Ивановъ	Вълко Тѣновъ
Иванъ Тодоровъ	Здравко Христовъ
Вълко Игнатовъ	Асанъ Ивановъ
Тѣрпанъ Лазоровъ	Тѣлчъ Тѣдоровъ
Вълко Ивановъ	Камѣнъ Младеновъ
Цона Ивановъ	Стоилъ Тодоровъ
Камѣнъ Петровъ	Петаръ Цековъ
Янко Христовъ	Цона Стоиловъ
Касѣнъ Стояновъ	Стоянъ Цековъ
Лѣко Ивановъ	Трѣванъ Петковъ
Цеко Петковъ	Вело Ивановъ
Бончилъ Савовъ	Иванъ Петровъ
Петко Цековъ	Младенъ Петковъ
Петко Тодоровъ	Мино Лиловъ
Камѣнъ Пановъ	Стефанъ Врановъ
Лѣкань Матеюсевъ	Цоло Петковъ
Никола Ивановъ	Ненью Ивановъ
Никола Кирковъ	Тодоръ Пешовъ
Лило Лѣловъ	Иванъ Петковъ
Вълко Пешовъ	Бѣло Тѣновъ
Недѣлко Терновъ	Димитаръ Цоловъ
Петръ Цековъ	Нешо Терновъ
Анѣлъ Петковъ	Стоянъ Георгевъ
Стоянъ Николовъ	Рѣсинъ Ивановъ
Терго Анѣловъ	Живко Георгіевъ
Максимъ Ивановъ	Петръ Живковъ

5 THE POPULATION AND THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF ISTANBUL: THE OTTOMAN MICROCOSM

Introduction

During the nineteenth century the city of Istanbul underwent a transformation. This transformation stimulated further change in the interior of the country, and then the city in turn was subjected to a variety of new pressures from the interior. Istanbul was the micro-model of the demographic, social, and economic change in the entire country. Like the Ottoman state as a whole, it received a flood of new immigrants; and it, too, fell under the growing influence of the capitalism and the liberal political thought of Europe, even beginning to adopt European architectural styles and patterns of urban organization and administration in the course of altering itself under the impact of these outside influences. The process was all the more rapid and complete because Istanbul was particularly sensitive to outside stimuli. The countryside, protected by distance and limited communications, continued in its traditional mold. The dichotomy between city and country was manifested within the city of Istanbul itself in its "old" and "modern" sections: Pera (Beyoğlu) and Galata, two modern districts on the northern shore of the Golden Horn just opposite the part of the old city inhabited by Europeans, grew and became a kind of colonial replica of European cities, while the old city stagnated and decayed.

The physical and economic transformation of Istanbul was accompanied by a cultural change of crucial importance. Ottoman and non-Ottoman observers seem to agree that between 1844 and 1880 more than 50 percent of the city's population was non-Muslim. However, by 1885 the Muslim population had risen to over 54 percent, and in 1900 it reached approximately 70 percent, despite the fact that the gross number of non-Muslims had also increased. Thus, by the end of the century the colonization process was reversed, and Istanbul had become once more Islamic and Turkish in character, just as it had been from the fifteenth through the early nineteenth century.

The changes in the socio-ethnic and cultural composition of Istanbul in the second half of the nineteenth century were the direct consequence of the increased trade and expanded economic opportunity that followed the Crimean War and the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878. The influx of capital and skills brought by the immigrants from the Caucasus and the Balkans turned the city into a center of enterprise and culture; new businesses, run by Muslim (and non-Muslim) entrepreneurs, attracted from the interior poor people and peasants who became a sort of city proletariat.

Istanbul came to play a new role in the nineteenth century, as the center of communications (the press was concentrated there), the gathering place of exiled provincial elite, and the economic heart of a rapidly changing society, as well as the political capital of the Ottoman state. The city felt soonest and in greatest degree the effects of the forces unleashed by capitalism and the tensions caused by the rise of new social groups and the migrations that spurred the development of ethno-national consciousness among various communities. It also was the first to experience the semi-colonial, dependent type of capitalism that replaced the old, rigid, Ottoman statist regime. Indeed, Istanbul became the nerve center of the new system, serving as the major distribution point for imported wares and attracting wealth from the countryside to be spent on consumer goods. The establishment of a strong central government based on a large bureaucracy and the introduction of a centralized budget system had the net effect of bringing into the city a substantial part of the tax revenues, to pay the salaries of the bureaucrats who, in turn, often spent their money on various imported items.

Istanbul on the Eve of Transformation: The Socio-Economic Life

The eighteenth century drew to a close and the nineteenth century began without manifesting any conspicuous symptoms to suggest that the traditional life of Istanbul was due for drastic change. In fact, the existing portraits of life in Istanbul in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are, except for a few minor differences, portraits also of the life as it still was in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. The city was still composed of three main parts: the chief part was that concentrated between the defense walls on the west and the shores of the Marmara Sea and the Golden Horn, or Haliç, in the north, east, and southeast; Galata, the old Genoese quarter across the Haliç, and Üsküdar in Asia were its two other main sections. A number of small villages on either side of the Bosporus and the Golden Horn were also part of the city. The religious groups inhabited their traditional quarters, not mixing with each other in their daily lives except in the bazaar, where all differences seemed to disappear. The Greeks, who enjoyed special favors, were located mainly in Fener, Samatya, Cibali, and in some of the villages along the Bosporus. The Armenians lived mostly at Kumkapi and Samatya. The Jews inhabited Balat, Hasköy (these were mostly Karaites), Kasimpaşa, and a few other places. Galata was then home to Greeks, Armenians, a few Europeans, and a few Muslims. Pera, or Beyoğlu, was the residence of the European ambassadors, but it gave little sign of the great importance it was to acquire later. The old city glittered in the sun in the full majesty of its nearly 400 mosques, over 100 churches, hundreds of libraries, *medresses*, square, tall aqueducts, palaces, over 300 dervish *tekke*s, and other monuments of the past.

The daily life of Istanbul was governed by the Istanbul *efendisi*, or mayor, who performed administrative duties and had civil jurisdiction over the city. The *naib*, his assistant, supervised the supply of food and fixed the price of foodstuffs. The wharf area between Sarayburnu and Fener, known generally as Unkapani, was the economic heart of the city, as it had been in previous centuries.[1] All ships carrying grain from the Black Sea and the Archipelago unloaded their cargoes on this wharf. The *naib* kept a register of the quantity of wheat delivered, fixed a price, and then distributed it to the bakers. In order to prevent monopolies and speculation, the buyers were not allowed to store grain for more than a few days, and private individuals could not build granaries or warehouses to store food. Only the government was permitted to collect grain in large quantities and store it for use in time of need.

The quantity of wheat purchased for the capital amounted, at the turn of the century, to one million *kile*s (a *kile* was equal in weight to about sixty pounds). The wheat was collected from Volo, Salonica, Karaagaç, Varna, and other places in Dobruca and Wallachia. The price of ordinary wheat paid to the producer varied between three and four piasters per *kile*. The government would sell its stored grain (which was kept in wooden shacks in an area around the arsenal in Kasimpaşa) when the new year's shipments arrived, when it threatened to become spoiled, or when the market prices rose high enough to allow a handsome profit. Government profits from the sale of one year's supply of wheat amounted to 2 to 3 million piasters, indicating that the grain was sold at 60 to 75 percent above the price paid on delivery in Istanbul.

There also existed the possibility of considerable profit for the *mubayaaci*, or wheat collector.[2] The *mubayaaci* was allowed to buy from the producer for his own account one-tenth of the amount of wheat collected for the government, paying for his own share the same price as the government; but he was then allowed to sell his wheat at free market prices and keep the difference. The *mubayaaci* often arranged, by bribing the responsible officials, to substitute barley or rye for the government wheat purchase; or he sometimes poured sea water over the grain to swell it and make it appear to be larger in amount. Thus he met the quota set by the government and still was able to keep a good surplus for himself. Wheat sold privately was usually superior in quality to that sold by the government.

When there was an overabundance of wheat arriving at the wharf, the *naib* lowered the price and forced the bakers to buy larger quantities than they normally did. In such cases, there was a surplus of bread, which was often sold at low prices or given free to the poor of Istanbul. When there was a shortage of wheat (as, for example, from 1828 to 1829 when the Allies closed the straits and prevented the supply of Istanbul by sea) the bakers were forced to use spoiled grain or to mix it with other ingredients to produce a low-quality bread that sold at high prices. Shortages also were caused by the fires that frequently destroyed the government storage shacks, pushing up the price and further enriching the *mubayaaci*. The regulation of wheat sales by the government appeared to be less than satisfactory.

The same method was used for the collection and distribution of other food items consumed in the capital. Every year large numbers of Greek and Turkish merchants holding firmans from the government went to the Balkan peninsula and other food-producing areas to collect butter, cheese, honey, wax, tallow, and, especially, livestock. The annual collection of sheep alone amounted at the end of the eighteenth century to 500,000 to 600,000 head. The fat of upwards of 80,000 oxen, sheep, and goats was melted on the spot in Wallachia and Moldavia and transported to the capital as tallow. A substantial part of these supplies was collected for the Janizaries and the sultan's household. The collectors, as expected, secured handsome profits for themselves, especially as the possibilities for speculation in meat and dairy products were even more favorable than in wheat.

A shorter version of this chapter appeared in *Association Internationale d'Etudes du Sud-Est Européen Bulletin* 12, no. 2 (1974).

1. See Thomas Thornton, *The Present State of Modern Turkey* 2, 2d ed. (London, 1809): 23–24. Some of the older Turkish sources on the history of Istanbul used in this study are *Asim Tarihi*, *Cevdet Tarihi*, and *Lutfi Tarihi*; Ahmet Refik (Altunay), *Hicri On Altinci Asirda Istanbul Hayati* (Istanbul, 1932); Celal Esat Arseven, *Eski Istanbul* (Istanbul, 1928); and Osman Nuri Ergin, *Istanbulda Imar ve Iskan Hareketleri* (Istanbul, 1937). See also Ali Riza (Bey), *Bir Zamanlar Istanbul* (Istanbul, n.d.) and the new edition of this work, edited by N. A. Banoğlu; and see Mehmet Halit Bayri, *Istanbul Folkloru*, 2d ed. (Istanbul, 1972).

2. It is interesting that the *mubayaaci* in Salonica was a descendant of the famous Evrenos family that remained in virtually absolute control of the Vardar valley until well into the eighteenth century.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the government faced growing difficulty in supplying Istanbul with agricultural commodities at fixed prices. It therefore increased the incentive for the food collectors by allowing them larger margins of profit. However, it became increasingly obvious that changing circumstances had made the old methods obsolete. The obvious alternative was to adopt a system that would be relatively free of governmental interference and could operate in response to market forces. The need for change was dramatized when, during the war in 1812 and later during the blockade of the straits after the destruction of the Ottoman fleet at Navarino (1827), Istanbul suffered acute famine.

The supply problem first faced by Istanbul at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the consequence of a series of inter-related economic and political factors. The ability of the government to fix the price of food and raw materials depended on its ability to control its internal and external trade fully. Trade control in turn was based on the capacity of the Ottoman state to pursue an independent external policy and to adopt the economic measures most suitable to its own interests. But at the end of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century the Ottoman state was gradually deprived of the freedom to follow an economic policy of its own choosing.

The economic and political developments responsible for the changed situation were the following. First, the growing European demand for foodstuffs and raw materials from Ottoman lands pushed the price of local commodities, especially in the Balkans, above the prices paid by the Ottoman government. The effect of this was felt even in the internal Ottoman markets. Early in the nineteenth century there developed in Istanbul a free commodities market that gradually surpassed and undermined the government food collection and distribution operation. In 1829 the government tried unsuccessfully to fix the price of coffee; and in 1832 it tried, again without success, to set the price of other commodities sold in Istanbul. Meanwhile food prices soared. Manufactured goods from Europe were also sold in the free market and stimulated its development.

The Ottoman response to European demands for food and raw materials was dictated by political as well as economic events. The peace treaties signed by the Ottoman state with Austria and Russia in the eighteenth century explicitly envisioned a liberalization of trade—that is, freedom for these countries to buy agricultural commodities from the Ottoman market. The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, signed in 1774, ended the Ottoman monopoly of the Black Sea trade and was a major economic blow to the state in general and to Istanbul in particular.[3] Henceforth, the goods from the Black Sea ports were carried not only by Ottoman vessels but, increasingly, by the ships of Russia and other nations, ships which did not stop in Istanbul. In fact, in order to avoid delays, seizure, and taxes, many ships carrying cargoes originating in Ottoman lands

3. See Henry Grenville, *Observations sur l'état actuel de l'Empire ottoman* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1956).

Table 5.1. *Miri* Budget of 1776

Revenue Sources	*Purses*
Fixed (*Haraç*)	39.077
Various taxes	36.794
Unfixed	14.014
Total	89.885
	(or 44.942.500 piasters)

Expenditures	*Purses*
Pay of the city guards or militia of Istanbul	22.700
Pay ot the *bostancis* and of the people in the sultan's kitchen	700
Pay of the *ağas* and officers of the sultan's palace	1.700
To the harem of the old palace	1.800
To the *ağa* and seraglio of Galata	501
Expenses of the kitchen (purses *rumi*)	1.800
To the chief of the butchers	600
Expenses of the imperial tables	600
Arbitrary assignments	1.250
Payment of all the other fortresses of the Ottoman empire	18.000
A donation to Mecca and Medina (this had been paid annually for centuries)	9.000
Pay of the sailors of the fleet	2.700
Provision for the fleet	800
Expenses of the admiralty	1.800
Pensions of the sultanas and of the deposed khans of the Crim	1.372
Pay of the garrison of Vidin	1.250
Pay for those of Bosnia	1.970
For maintaining recruits	472
Expenses of the lesser department, called Küçük Kalem	1.200
Payment of the Danubian guards	3.521
Expenses of maintaining the posts	1.700
Total	76.236
	(or 36.968.133 piasters)

Source: William Eton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*, 2d ed. (London, 1799), pp. 41–47.

changed their cargo certificates by going to Russian ports.[4] The cargo would then appear on paper to have originated in Russia and the ship could sail past Istanbul without any problems. Even Ottoman merchants preferred not to go to Istanbul at all because of loss of time: when there was heavy traffic, as often happened in the fall when large quantities of food were delivered to the city, ships had to wait for days, even weeks, to unload their cargoes, chiefly because of the lack of proper storage places. The Treaty of Adrianople (1829), which abolished the obligation of Wallachia and Moldavia to sell certain quantities of food to the Porte, ended the government-sponsored system of food collection and distribution at fixed prices that had been in force since the late fifteenth century. The economy and even the social organization of Istanbul was profoundly affected by the system's demise.

The entire Ottoman economy was suffering from the strain of competition from the free market economy of the West. Yet, the Ottoman government did not seek to adjust to the requirements of the free market, largely because its own financial condition, as expressed in the budget, appeared to be relatively secure. Indeed, the Ottoman budget for 1776, as compiled by William Eton (reproduced in Table 5.1) showed that the government was then in good

4. Thornton, *Modern Turkey*, p. 24.

financial health.[5] The revenues and expenditures of the *miri* (public treasury—excluding the private treasure of the sultan, the *paşas* and the *vakif* mosques), translated into pounds sterling, came to £4,494,250 and £3,696,813, respectively, giving a surplus of £794,437. The *haraç* was a tithe paid by non-Muslims. (The *ciziye*—officially a head tax rather than a tithe—was often also referred to as *haraç*.) For Istanbul in 1776, *haraç* revenue was 2,916 purses (a purse was 500 piasters), an increase of 360 purses, or 180,000 piasters. (If one takes 6 *kuruş* as the amount collected per person as *haraç*, then the non-Muslim population of Istanbul in 1776 was about 243,000 out of a total population of about 870,000.)

Four basic factors were responsible for the happy state of the Ottoman budget in 1776. (1) There was a more or less reliable non-governmental source of payment for high government officials: most of these derived their income from various real estate holdings assigned to them upon their assumption of position, so the salary requirements of the budget was relatively small; (2) the military expenditure was relatively low and was balanced by equal and constant revenue; (3) there was a lack of government expenditure for health, social, educational, or other services, these being met either by the *vakifs* or by religious communities of various persuasions; and, finally, (4) the government was free of foreign debt. Eventually, all these conditions were to change. Revenues had already begun to diminish; tithe, customs, and *haraç* collections decreased as territories were lost. Still, because of its relatively strong military position, until the 1820s the Ottoman government did not feel pressed to meet the requirements of the market economy with its underlying philosophy of economic liberalism.

The question of economic philosophy is so important to the understanding of the socio-economic history of the Ottoman state as to call for some elaboration. The Ottoman philosophy of economics and commerce was essentially statist. Some Balkan nationalist historians have labeled it "feudal" and dismissed it. Actually, the Ottoman commercial and economic philosophy, ideally speaking, rested upon the moral concept that all commercial activity, especially the sale of food and household goods, should not be motivated by the desire for profit but should serve the well-being of society; consequently, the accumulation of the means for extensive production in the hands of individuals, as well as the manipulation of capital, was forbidden.[6] David Urquhart, who in my estimation had the most penetrating understanding of the Ottoman socio-economic system, stated the Muslims' basic objection to European economic habits:

> [They] object to our [European] principles of finance and of commercial legislation. Freedom of commerce and industry, is not, indeed with them an object of independent inquiry; it is a consequence which flows from, and which never can be separated from direct taxation. I do not mean freedom of commerce but that freedom which facilitates the exchange of commodities with the view of enhancing the value of land and property. . . . These principles have been preserved by practice, not solicitude, but by the absoluteness of eastern government, which have always been too strong to require to disguise their imposts; and therefore the evils of indirect taxation, fluctuations, gluts, over-trading, bankruptcies, fictitious wealth, unwholesome industry, excessive prices of the necessaries of life, pauperism, a blood-stained code for the punishment of fictitious crimes, which never existed in Turkey, are arguments which a Mussulman is only made acquainted with by visiting Europe.[7]

The practical consequence of this traditional economic philosophy was evident in the Ottoman inability to thwart the challenge of a powerful Europe; Ottoman commercial competition was checked, credit was not available, and trade stagnated. The Turkish merchants did not want to speculate by selling expensive articles or rare commodities abroad but merely wanted to trade with anyone who sold useful articles. Money was not accumulated and invested as capital but was used for meeting the daily needs of the merchant and his trade. Business was transacted in a manner reminiscent of barter.[8] Moreover, Ottoman merchants did not form extensive relationships with each other; European merchants established associations which ramified into every major field of activity and imbued them with a pragmatic, mercantilist spirit. On the other hand, as trade in the Ottoman state was geared to serving the immediate needs of the population rather than to the realization of long-range financial goals, everyone could engage in it. Istanbul was a bazaar from one end to the other, not because of lack of government control but because of trading habits and traditions.

Indeed, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the capital was already full of all kinds of people engaged in some sort of peddling. Throughout the first three quarters of the eighteenth century there had been a constant influx of country people into Istanbul, in part due to the prevailing insecurity in the rural areas and in part because of the beginning of the development of a "service" sector in the Ottoman economy—the result of the slow trend towards a capitalist system. The influx slowed down towards the end of the century as Ottoman crafts production and, hence, the need for manpower began to decrease under the pressure of western competition and as the government instituted rigorous population controls: the search for unwanted newcomers in Istanbul, undertaken every three years around 1750, was made even more thorough and, towards the end of the century, control measures were carried out every six months. (Provincial governors also were ordered to prohibit emigration from their provinces by set-

5. See *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*, 2nd ed. (London, 1799), pp. 41–47. It must be remembered that the budget came after the war with Russia was concluded in 1774.

6. The best source for a statement of this economic philosophy is a declaration in the *Moniteur ottoman* of September 1832.

7. *Turkey and its Resources. Its Municipal Organization and Free Trade* (London, 1833), pp. 16–17.

8. Eton, *Survey*, pp. 246–48.

ting up roadblocks on the main highways to the capital and turning back those individuals without valid reasons for going to the city.)[9] Nevertheless, the city was on the path to drastic change, and such government control measures could not halt the process.

Istanbul During the Rule of Mahmud II (1808–1839)

The rule of Mahmud II, "the Reformer," began in 1808 at a time when the empire was feeling the steady pressure of the new economic and social forces. Mahmud had been brought to the throne by the *ayan* of Rusçuk, Alemdar Mustafa Paşa, who became the sultan's vizier and, as such, in 1808 negotiated and signed with the *ayan*s the concession known as the *Sened-i Ittifak* granting them considerable autonomy in their vast domains in the Balkans and Anatolia. The *ayan*s had effectively challenged the authority of the sultan and limited it, although only temporarily. Scholars who have studied the *ayan*s tend to ignore the essential fact that the production and exchange of commodities in the territories they controlled followed largely the principles of the market economy, and many of these areas became rather prosperous because of this. These provinces continued to practice relatively free trade even after Mahmud confiscated the lands of the *ayan*s, (having subdued them over the period from 1812 to 1820). He had dealt merely with the effects, not the causes, of the problem.

In a different study I have stressed the fact that the classical Ottoman state stood on a socio-economic foundation composed of four social groups—the military, the scholars, the merchants, and the food producers, or peasants—and on an ethno-religious communal system consisting of the *millet*s and the local communities.[10] The rise of the *ayan*s and of various agrarian, commercial, and craftsman groups and subgroups signaled the final breakdown of the social organization that had endured since the legislation of Mehmed II (1451–1481). By the nineteenth century the four traditional social classes (*erkani erbaa*) had, in fact, already disintegrated or transformed themselves into a variety of new social groups. However, at the beginning of the century the *millet* system still outwardly maintained its classical shape, chiefly because its sustaining basis, the communal-religious organization, had remained more or less unchanged.

The Greek, Armenian, and, to a lesser degree, Jewish *millet*s had developed a class structure of their own. Their upper strata, composed of the high clergy, the merchant elites residing in Istanbul and the other commercial centers, and the landed gentry in the countryside, showed a profound allegiance to the sultan and the system he represented. People of the lower strata in these *millet*s—the new merchants and the craftsmen—accepted the principles of the European economic system (i.e., its capitalist philosophy) and conformed to some extent to its business practices. The Serbian and Greek merchants were the first to embrace this new capitalist philosophy, and their sympathies lay definitely with western Europe. The conflict between the lower echelon merchant-craftsmen groups and their leaders, who were part of the Ottoman bureaucratic system, came out into the open in a rather twisted way beginning in 1821 and eventually culminated, between 1860 and 1870, in the drastic reform of the *millet* system. Istanbul was the battle arena in which the traditional *millet* met its end.

The effect of the social changes in the Ottoman state, in which demographic changes played a vital role, was deeply felt in Istanbul. The Janizary-*ulema* revolt that ended Selim III's rule in 1807, the counterattack by Alemdar Mustafa Paşa that brought Mahmud II to the Ottoman throne in 1808, and, finally, the uprising that resulted in Alemdar's death heralded significant social strife. Apparently the lower classes in Istanbul had played a part in these events. Therefore, in 1808, soon after Alemdar's demise, the government closed and destroyed the bachelors' inns (*bekar-odalari*). These inns, found in each major Ottoman center, had become shelters for new migrants in the city, menial workers, petty entrepreneurs, and a variety of other marginal, low-income groups. They were also centers of social unrest and protest against the established order.

Between 1807 and 1817 Istanbul experienced massive destruction, the consequence of both social unrest and accidental fires. The destruction was followed by a construction boom that attracted workers to the city. The main building at the Porte—that is, the office of the grand vizier—destroyed in 1808, began to be rebuilt in February of 1810. Construction or reconstruction of many other private and public buildings also was started during this period, especially right after the occurrence of a series of fires (altogether seventy-three) that destroyed a good part of the city. (By 1845 the government was officially encouraging the use of bricks in the construction of houses to make them more resistant to fire.) One of the effects of the increase in the building activity was conflict among building entrepreneurs. A group of established builders tried to monopolize the construction work and the sale of materials so as to secure exorbitant profits; and some influential villagers and some workers claiming to be Janizaries apparently forced prospective builders to engage as laborers men supplied by them at twice the prevailing wage, these middlemen then retaining half of the wages earned by workers. Wages went up so much that the government found it necessary to fix the scale.[11]

The changes in the life of Istanbul that began to be felt at the beginning of the century gained momentum after the

9. See M. Munir Aktepe, "XVIII Asirin Ilk Yarisinda Istanbulun Nüfus Meselelerine Dair Bazi Vesikalar," *Istanbul Universitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 9, no. 13 (1958): 1–30.

10. See *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Millets to Nations, from Estates to Social Classes*, Center of International Studies, Research Monograph no. 39 (Princeton, 1973).

11. See *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Istanbul"; for the document showing the wages, see Refik, *Hicri On Altinci Asirda Istanbul Hayati*, pp. 21–25.

Greek revolt of 1821. The Greek clergy had always played an important role in maintaining the loyalty of the Orthodox Christians to the sultan. This service was recognized and rewarded. (For example, when the Serbian patriarch and his followers moved to Hungary in 1600, a Greek, Kalinik, was brought in to head the Serbian church. This church was eventually abolished in 1767, at the suggestion of the phanariot rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia.) Therefore, when between 1790 and 1795 the ideas of the French Revolution seemed to become attractive to some Christian elements, the Patriarch Anthimos of Jerusalem countered by issuing his *Paternal Teaching* (1798), in which the sultan was described as a gift sent by God for the good of the Orthodox Christians.

It would be totally wrong to assume that the Greeks' attitude stemmed from mere opportunism or sheer subservience to the Porte. It came rather from the fact that the Greek *millet*, through its representative the patriarch, had a basic constitutional place in the Ottoman system. The Greek revolt of 1821, especially the action of Ypsilanti, who was supported by the Russians, was considered in Istanbul an act of utmost betrayal on the part of the patriarch and was a deadly blow to the entire *millet* system and to the traditional balance established among religious-ethnic groups. The Orthodox patriarchate in Istanbul began to lose its power—arriving finally at the insignificant position it holds today; for the revolt had separated the religious head from its body: it had cut the Patriarchate off from Orthodox Christians in Greece and elsewhere, allowing each group to follow its own political destiny. Finally, it put an effective end to the privileged position which the Greeks had enjoyed. (Later, especially after 1856, the Greeks, with the support of the British, acquired a leading position in the trade of Istanbul.)

The socio-political repercussions of the Greek revolt were deeply felt in Istanbul. The patriarch, although personally innocent of rebellious deeds, was hanged because, as head of the community, he was held responsible for the acts of his flock. The chief dragoman (interpreter), Constantine Moruzzi, who had intentionally omitted one incriminating paragraph while translating a secret letter, was dismissed from his position (as was his successor after only a short period of service). The post of dragoman, reserved for a Greek since the mid-seventeenth century, was occupied henceforth by a Turk.[12] Greek sailors in the Ottoman navy were no longer trusted; consequently, the government, after an unsuccessful effort to draft boatmen on the Bosporus into the navy, hired Genoese and other idle men in Galata for the navy. Moreover, being fearful of a Greek uprising in the city, the Muslims, especially youngsters known as *yerli kulu*, were allowed to arm themselves; some of these attacked the Christians and contributed to a rise in robberies and general disorder in the city. (It was at this time that the sale of arms became a very lucrative business in Istanbul, remaining so even after the prohibition against bearing arms was reinstated in 1839.) A large number of Greeks from the provinces, who had come to Istanbul to increase their capital by selling groceries, oils, and butter, were forcibly sent back to their native areas. Moreover, as a precaution against spies, check points were established at various places, such as Küçükçekmece and Bostanci, to keep track of the passes (*mürur tezkiresi*) carried by the incoming travelers. In addition, the Muslim character of Istanbul began to be strongly emphasized through the repair of the mosques and other holy places. In 1824 the fortress at Andoluhisar began to fire from seven of its towers the guns announcing the end of the fasting day during Ramadan; in the past only the fortress at Rumelihisar had fired its guns. Thus, for all practical purposes the long peace between the various religious and ethnic groups in Istanbul was ended, although for a long time to come the force of custom prevented any violent sectarian strife. It is interesting to note that the decline of the Greeks after 1821 helped other ethnic groups to rise to power. The Armenians became increasingly involved in administration, while the Bulgarian merchant community in Istanbul gained in numbers through the arrivals from the countryside and acquired wealth and influence.

The Rise of a New Social Class: The Bureaucracy

Many countries have been transformed as a consequence of changing social and economic relations. In Turkey, the social restructuring of the Muslim society began at the top and was initiated by the government. The place where this process started and showed its greatest effect was Istanbul. The change began with the gradual replacement of the old bureaucratic order by a new and modern one.

The abolition of the Janizaries by Sultan Mahmud II in 1826 deprived Istanbul of one of its most colorful, and also most troublesome, social groups. In practical terms, it meant that a large number of people lost the social status, the rank, and the possibility for concerted action that had been provided by this quasi-military organization. Those Janizaries who were not executed eventually became small entrepreneurs and servants, some in Istanbul but many in small towns, where they felt safer than in the capital. Some became ordinary laborers, seeking employment in the ports or idling in the coffee houses of Galata. The elimination of the Janizaries freed the sultan from the morbid fear that they might depose or assassinate him and thus enabled him to proceed with the reorganization of his army and the bureaucracy.

Also in 1826 the Bektaşi religious orders (Haci Bektaş was the Janizaries' patron) were fused with the Naksibendi orders, thus giving the latter further power, and the Bektaşi leaders were exiled to Anatolia. At the same time the Freemasons' lodge was abolished and its leaders forced to leave the city. (The first Masonic lodge had been established in Istanbul in about 1820 by Ismail Ferruh

12. See Robert Walsh, *Residence at Constantinople during a Period Including . . . the Greek and Turkish Revolutions*, 2 vols. (London, 1836), 1:308; Walsh was chaplain of the British embassy in Istanbul and served there from 1820 until 1834.

Efendi, who had served as Ottoman ambassador in Europe. The lodge was restricted to a small number of people and held secret meetings.)

The sultan also abolished the fireman units (*tulumbaci*), another of the landmark organizations of Istanbul; but soon afterwards, when a fire caused extensive damage in the city, he established a new voluntary fireman corps.

As the rate of transformation in Istanbul accelerated, the government undertook a population survey of all male inhabitants of the city proper, Üsküdar, and Galata. (Catholics, however, were not counted.) According to this obviously incomplete survey, which probably included only family heads, the Muslims numbered 45,000; the Armenians, 30,000; and the Greeks, 20,000. During this time an important administrative innovation was introduced: the Muslim quarters (*mahalle*) were to be administered henceforth by a headman (*muhtar*) and his deputy, and the Christian quarters by a superintendent (*kahya*) and a *muhtar*. Each quarter had its own *imam* or priest. These administrative officials were given a seal with which to stamp official papers and were made responsible for maintaining order in their respective quarters. The last vestiges of the *timars* were eliminated in 1831.

In abolishing all the traditional institutions Mahmud II deprived the throne of its basic support: these institutions, together with the *millet* organizations of the non-Muslims, had insulated the sultan from contact with the population and protected him against direct challenge. From 1826 onwards, therefore, the sultan began to seek popular support. In fact, the search for backing for his fight against internal enemies, especially against the surviving *ayans* and old military chiefs, became a cardinal feature of Mahmud's policy after 1829.

The consequences of this new policy were soon evident in Istanbul. Mahmud had begun his reign as a ferocious despot, but he mellowed rapidly. He declared that "from now onwards the throne shall not frighten the people anymore but will become their supporter."[13] He began to travel throughout the city and even the countryside. (Later, during the reigns of Abdulmecid [1839–1861], Abdulaziz [1861–1876], and Abdulhamid II [1876–1909], the imperial *fayton* became a common sight on the streets of Istanbul.) Mahmud II allowed many of the Greeks who had fled the city in 1821 to return to their homes and to repair their churches, and even offered them protection. Moreover, he abolished the old practice of sending foreign ambassadors to jail in case of war with their respective countries. He also ended the custom of expecting each new ambassador to offer gifts when first presented to the Porte; this was done, apparently at the suggestion of the British ambassador, "without objection, and the profit as well as the assumption of superiority were forever abandoned."[14]

The sultan, in fact, went even further in his quest for popularity. He had his portrait painted and asked to have it hung on office walls—an act that scandalized the religious conservatives. He ordered the printing of books on anatomy, and, after his own son died of smallpox, he had all of his other children vaccinated by a French doctor and took effective measures against the plague and cholera. Eventually quarantine buildings were established in Istanbul and other ports. The sultan's preoccupation with public welfare and his friendly policies toward Christians made some clergymen, always eager to promote their faith, think that he might convert to Christianity.[15] However, his forced reforms did not really endear Mahmud II to either Muslims or Christians; towards the end of his life he became very unpopular, and the country appeared to be militarily and economically weaker than it had been at the beginning of his reign in 1808.

The explanation for the ultimate unpopularity of Mahmud II is simple: he had created a large civil bureaucracy and a new army without instituting adequate controls over them and, especially, without establishing the basis of a new economic order to provide adequate financial support for his new organizations. The bureaucracy, which was composed initially almost entirely of Muslims, became a dominant class of *efendi*s whom nobody could criticize or question. They became also the social symbols of the society's new ideal—namely, modernization. In the end this group assumed control of the government, dominating and ousting sultans and, finally, abolishing the sultanate.

The need for a professional bureaucracy was obvious. The broadening economic and commercial relations with Europe as well as a number of new internal problems called for the creation of specialized technical cadres. The *vakifs* that had in the past provided social, educational, and health services were inadequate to meet new needs. Consequently, the government was forced to assume responsibilities in every field of activity and to undertake to deliver a variety of technical services to the public. This required the establishment of a bureaucracy substantially different from the traditional Ottoman one.

The rise of a new bureaucratic order became evident first in Istanbul, where most of the offices were located. Shortly after the dismissal of Moruzzi in 1821, Yahya Efendi, known also as Bulgarzade, was appointed to the post of dragoman to serve as both translator and language teacher. He began training people in the Foreign Office and in an institution which came to be known as the Chamber of Translation (*Tercüme Odasi*). By 1841 this training school had a staff of thirty. In the past most Ottoman statesmen had risen from the ranks of the military administration; however, beginning in the 1830s they climbed to power via the Chamber of Translation or the Foreign Office. The famous reformist prime ministers of the nineteenth century, such as Reşit, Ali, Fuat, and Mithat paşas, were products of these institutions.[16] Yet, it must be stated that European languages, notably French, had been taught at some military Ottoman institutions even before the establishment of the Translation Bureau. The significance of that institution lay in the fact that it symbolized the orientation of the Ottoman state towards Europe, the adoption of a new mentality, and the ascendancy of a modern civilian bureaucracy.

13. E. Englehard, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat* 1 (Paris, 1882): 17.
14. Walsh, *Residence at Constantinople* 2:297.

15. Ibid., p. 294. After 1834 the sultan permitted the sale of pigs in Istanbul; in the past, they could be sold on only one day each year in places unseen by Muslims.
16. See C. V. Findley, "The Foundation of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3 (1972): 338–416.

During this period the role of the grand vizier was for a short time transformed into that of a prime minister (*Başvekil*), while the *Reisülküttab* became a foreign minister, and two newly created councils, the *Dar-i Şura-i Bab-i Ali* and the *Meclis-i Vala-i Adliye*, took over the consultative and judiciary functions performed in the past by the grand vizier. The high echelons of the traditional bureaucracy were abolished, and the old system of annual renewal of appointments was replaced by a system under which appointments and dismissals conformed with the need for personnel. Thus, by 1835 the Ottoman bureaucracy had changed so drastically as to make totally obsolete Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall's 1815 study of the Ottoman administration (Hammer himself acknowledged the rapid change in the Ottoman bureaucracy). Around 1850 the Ottoman central government—that is, the *divan*, or private council, actually the modern cabinet—consisted of the following officials:

1. Grand Vizier (presiding)
2. *Şeyhülislam*
3. *Serasker* (minister of war)
4. *Kaptanpaşa* (minister of navy)
5. President of the Council of State
6. Master of Artillery (also governor of all fortresses)
7. Minister of Foreign Affairs (formerly *Reis efendi*)
8. Minister of Finance
9. Minister of Trade and Public Works (1838)
10. Superintendent of the Treasury (mint chief)
11. Superintendent of the *Vakifs*
12. *Müsteşar*, or Counselor of the Vizier (also Minister of the Interior)
13. Minister of Police (formerly the *Kahyabey*)

The new bureaucracy was eventually organized into an upper and a lower section. The upper section consisted of five major ranks, which corresponded to a military hierarchy as follows: general of a division; brigadier general and colonel; lieutenant colonel; major, or battalion head; and captain. The *müşir* (field marshal) was above rank. The functionaries who attained the first two ranks were called *paşa*, a term hardly used in the previous centuries. Needless to say, the *paşa* was a man of wealth, power, and prestige; he had achieved the highest rung on the ladder of social aspiration climbed by the upcoming bureaucrats.

The salaries of these upper ranking officials were very high. Mahmud II planned to pay a top official as much as 100,000 *kuruş* per month. In about 1850 a chief of service received 1,000 to 1,200 francs salary per month, while a simple functionary received only around 25 to 30 francs. The same differences in salaries prevailed among army personnel. (The conflict between the high-ranking bureaucracy affiliated with the sultan and the low-paid, rank-and-file bureaucrats coming from modest social strata became the catalyst of political change at the end of the century.) The budget for 1855, as given by Ubicini, shows that a substantial part of the state revenue went to pay the officials of the "modern" bureaucracy; see Table 5.2 (and compare it with Table 5.1).[17]

Table 5.2. Budget of 1855

Income (in francs)		Expenditures (in francs)	
Haraç	9,200,000	The sultan	17,250,000
Customs	19,760,000	Employees	44,850,900
Tithe	50,600,000	Army	69,000,000
Indirect taxes	34,000,000	Other (includes the difference)	28,152,000
Real estate	46,000,000	Total	159,252,900
Tribute of Egypt	6,900,000		
Tribute of Wallachia	460,000		
Tribute of Moldavia	230,000		
Tribute of Serbia	460,000		
Total	167,610,000		

Source: A. Ubicini, *La Turquie actuelle* (Paris, 1855), p. 191.

The need to meet the expenses of the new administration forced the sultan to raise the taxes. Moreover, the prices of staple items sold by the state monopolies were increased, although drastic plans to make more extensive use of state monopolies were largely abandoned for fear of popular reaction. The idea of abolishing the 10 percent tax collected by the religious heads from the exchange or sale of properties and from cases settled before religious tribunals was also abandoned.

The burgeoning of the modern bureaucracy made a strong economic and social impression on the life of Istanbul. The high-ranking bureaucrats received regular salaries from the state budget, instead of living off the revenues from land as had been the case in the past, and they spent most of these salaries in the capital, assuming the status of a major consuming group and paying cash for purchases. The buying power of the bureaucrats affected seriously the three basic sectors of the city's economy: food, clothing, and housing (both rental rates and property values). The effect of the large amount of tax revenues being channeled from the provinces and spent as cash in Istanbul was reflected in the increase of the city's population, in the proliferation of food and clothing shops of all varieties, and in the development of what may be called service groups. Henceforth Istanbul's economic growth was based chiefly on trade and service-related activities rather than on crafts and production. Many of these service occupations, although offering some employment opportunities, contributed little or nothing to the basic economic development of the country.

Factories established in Istanbul in the first half of the nineteenth century served chiefly military needs, as the shores of the Golden Horn and Galata became dotted with

17. *La Turquie actuelle* (Paris, 1855), p. 191.

military establishments, some of which were very modern. Walsh wrote in the 1830s that the arsenal extended

> from Galata along the harbour, for a mile and a half, having a grand range of stores and workhouses . . . there are [working there] five hundred labourers with as many slaves, who have been condemned for various crimes, who are chained together. . . . I visited the arsenal and the dock yards at Pieri [Piri] Pasha, the cannon-foundry and the depot at Tophane, and I think them more extensive, and apparently as well-supplied and conducted, as those at Portsmouth or Woolwich; nor are they to be exceeded, I suppose, by any country in Europe.[18]

However, some other small industries had begun to be developed. Selim III had established in Üsküdar a large factory for printed cottons that in 1812 operated 600 looms (but only 41 looms in 1841). This factory employed several hundred workers (whom Walsh considered to be as expert as the workmen of Manchester). A printing press, which occupied a sizable building, was located in Üsküdar also. Mustafa, a man of humble origins who became a favorite of Sultan Mahmud II, established a tanning plant, with advice and tools from abroad, at Baltaliman. By 1827 a cotton thread (*iplikhane*) plant was constructed at Taşliburun in the district of Eyub; mules were used to operate it, and it produced 22 okka of thread daily. These beginnings of industrialization in Istanbul did not go far because of lack of a class of entrepreneurs, of capital, and, especially, of technically trained personnel—the result of the restrictive philosophy of social elitism.

The bureaucracy trained in "modern" schools gradually developed an interest not in the basic problems of its own country but in the wares and the culture of Europe, so the relatively high cultural level of the bureaucracy manifested itself in the refinement of habits of consumption. The higher the income and education, the stronger the desire for European goods. Istanbul became increasingly the recipient of a great variety of European imports, and it adopted European-style shops and amusement habits. The city was rapidly changing into a new kind of consumption center.

The Ottoman population as a whole felt the impact of these socio-economic changes in Istanbul deeply. Trading opportunities attracted large numbers of Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, and others from far-away provinces who moved to Istanbul in search of fortunes. Many of these took up occupations as food sellers or distributors, and many of these petty vendors from the provinces became rich and were able to establish successful businesses. Meanwhile, the markets of Istanbul had begun to change. In the past, these had been administered or controlled by *subaşi*, head of guilds, and *ulema*. Because the markets were growing too fast to be administered by traditional means, the government took over their supervision, including the control of weights and measures—a job heretofore performed by the *ulema*. In 1831, the old office of the *şehremini*, which had been in existence since the conquest of the city in 1453, was abolished.

In the mid-nineteenth century caravans still came to Istanbul, bringing from Anatolia, Syria, Iraq, and beyond goods of all varieties and departing with merchandise for sale inland on the route back. Other merchants loaded goods, often of European origin, on small boats, carried them to the *Iskele*, that is, the small ports along the coasts of the Marmara, Mediterranean, and Black seas, and then transported them overland to their destinations. Istanbul, however, consumed much more than it exported; Izmir, Salonica, and Beyrut gradually acquired leading roles as exporting and exchange places.

The economic life of Istanbul during the early years of the nineteenth century revolved mostly around the bazaar, or *bezistan*. As the century advanced, it spilled out of the bazaar onto the side streets, to the trade centers of the *mahalle*, and to Pera and Galata. Around the middle of the century the central bazaar of Istanbul had over a thousand shops. The Turkish merchants specialized in the sale of hides, furs, clothing, books, perfumes, and engravings; the Greeks sold cotton goods and worked as tailors and leather workers; the Armenians dealt in jewelry, watches, and embroideries; and Jews were engaged in a variety of other occupations. Many of the craftsmen were organized in corporations. The business attitudes of the bazaar merchants varied greatly. As Ubicini describes it, the Turkish merchant would ask a set price:

> you would insist in vain [but] he would not lower the price even one para. It is quite different with the Christian or Jewish merchants in the bazaar. They come down successively from one hundred piasters to sixty, to forty or even below. The general rule is this: offer to the Armenian half of the asked price, one-third to a Greek, and one-quarter to a Jew. But if you really wanted to buy the merchandise of the Muslim resign yourself to paying the price he asked first.[19]

There was safety in the bazaar, which adhered to its own way of mutual trust and confidence. In Galata and Pera—the upcoming, European-type business districts—theft was a common occurrence.

Outside the bazaar, the exchange of commodities was largely in the hands of the *bekar*—single men, or "bachelors," most of whom were not native to the city. The total number of *bekar* in Istanbul in 1853, according to Ubicini, was about 75,000. Two-fifths of these were Turks, the rest Greeks, Armenians, and other nationalities. Most came from the provinces with the intention of accumulating some capital and eventually returning to their native places to start businesses. Many had no skills and took any available jobs. They worked as *hamal*s (porters), *saka* (carriers of water in big leather bags), *helvaci* (makers and sellers of

18. *Residence at Constantinople* 1:379.

19. *La Turquie actuelle*, p. 327. A description of professions may also be found in Theophile Gautier, *Constantinople* (Paris, 1883), pp. 110–12, and lists of professions are given in Section IV of the statistical appendices.

halva), *şekerci* (candy makers and sellers), *ciğerci* (sellers of fried liver), and in other similar occupations.

Because of its narrow and steep streets, which were unsuitable for wheeled transport, Istanbul depended for transportation (as it still does in parts) on the *hamal*s. These porters, numbering about 5,000, were mostly Turks or Armenians. Known for their honesty, the porters were organized in *oda*s, or chambers, under a chief (*hamalbaşi*). They stationed themselves ready for hire in Galata, Tophane, or at the entrances of the *han*s—that is, in business places.[20] Transportation across the water depended largely on *kayikçi* (boatmen) until mid-century, when the modern ferryboats on the Bosporus began to operate. Many of the boatmen were *bekar*. Boating in Istanbul had a rather complex organizational structure; it was, in fact, an institution in itself. Some boats were operated by individual owners. However, stationed at various points along the shores there were vessels operated by one to three boatmen, that were used for public transportation. There was also another type of public transport, the *pazar kaik*, operated by six to eight oarsmen (there was a regulation concerning the number of oarsmen: the maximum was fourteen). These ferries were patronized by large numbers of people of all ages, sexes, and religions. Muslims, Christians, Jews, men, veiled women, and children mixed freely while traveling on them.

The Turks in Istanbul had almost exclusive control over an important profession requiring some learning—the profession of letter writing. The letter writer (*katip*) could be seen around bazaar or mosque, carrying with him a small table, a special belt desined to hold an ink bottle, a quill pen (*kalem*), and a small knife. The *katip*s wrote letters of all kinds, amulets, and any other type of message. Some of them were calligraphers who could write in any of the seven types of handwriting used by the Ottoman chancery.

There were, in addition to the professions mentioned above, a great variety of other occupations which had been vital in the traditional system. In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, most of these old professions either disappeared completely or had to adjust to new conditions and continue in substantially altered form. For example, the place of the *katip* was eventually taken by the *arzuhalci*, a man with a typewriter who composed, in exchange for a small fee, petitions to various authorities. (The changing professional picture was discussed in Chapter 3.)

Both in numbers and in ethnic, social, and religious composition, the entire population of Istanbul, including the inhabitants of the suburbs, underwent great change in the nineteenth century.[21] The growth of economic opportunity, the introduction of transportation facilities, and the increase in population had combined to stimulate the growth of suburban communities along the shores of Marmara and the Bosporus. By the middle of the century, the population of Istanbul lived in 455 town quarters, of which 318 were within the city itself, while 137 were outside the walls; the latter included Kasimpaşa, Hasköy, Galata, Pera, Tophane, Findikli, Üsküdar, and Eyüb and its dependencies. Of these, Galata, Pera, Kasimpaşa, and Tophane were administered by the *voyvoda*, or the grand judge, of Galata, while Eyüb and its dependencies were administered by another judge. Until 1854, when a new administrative organization was installed, the city proper was officially under the authority of the grand vizier, the *Kaptanpaşa*, and the Istanbul *efendisi*.

20. Ubicini, *La Turquie actuelle*, p. 332.

21. See Thornton, *Modern Turkey* 2:20, and Eton, *Survey*, pp. 41–45, 272–79.

Istanbul in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

The life of Istanbul in the second half of the nineteenth century appears to have been dominated by Europe through centers established in Galata and, especially, Pera (Beyoğlu). Indeed, during this period Pera became increasingly the center of social importance in Istanbul, symbolizing the ascendancy of Europe over the traditional Ottoman culture in all fields of activity. Commercial treaties with England in 1838 and 1861, the Crimean War in 1853, the Treaty of Paris, and, especially, the Edict of 1856 paved the way for the rise of European influence in the Ottoman state and indirectly facilitated the social and economic rise of a non-Muslim middle class.

The initial Ottoman commercial treaty with England in 1838 eliminated a number of trade restrictions. Subsequently, the manufactured goods of England poured into the Ottoman state, and in a matter of years the Muslim Ottoman middle class, which had consisted of craftsmen and small shopkeepers, was wiped out. A new Greek and Armenian middle class, whose main function was to distribute the cheaper, machine-made goods of Europe and to become in the process Europe's protégés and agents, rose to power. The Edict of 1856 (the *Islahat Fermani*), while supposedly establishing equality between Muslims and non-Muslims, in fact helped the Christians achieve economic power. Finally, the commercial treaty between the Porte and Great Britain signed at Kanlica (Istanbul) on 29 April 1861 gave the English even more extensive freedom of trade and more privileges within the Ottoman domains. Istanbul, as the major importing port, became the center of the resulting socio-political transformation.

There were also psychological factors that predisposed the city to orient itself towards Europe. The Crimean War had provided the occasion for Istanbul to establish contact with European citizens. The city was host to French and English soldiers and officers, who were received there as friends and allies fighting in the common war against the Russians. In addition to the opportunity for friendly encounters at the human level, the people of Istanbul had the chance to become acquainted at first hand with European amenities and facilities in sanitation, health, and transportation and, as well, with a variety of different foods and clothing. The alliance with the West thus helped remove some inhibitions and dispel the fear felt by Muslims towards Europe and its culture.

The orientation towards Europe and the trend toward modernization were assisted by the introduction of a variety of modern institutions. A new educational system was established and developed rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, until well into the 1870s the basic function of the schools remained the training of personnel for government service rather than the education of the population at large. Thus, education in the modern school, a diploma of graduation, and, perhaps, knowledge of a foreign language became the distinguishing marks of the new dominant class, the bureaucracy-intelligentsia.

At the beginning of the century, the Muslims in the Ottoman state did not have any modern schools, except for a few institutions for military training. However, by 1860 Istanbul had acquired a number of professional schools. Among these, the Medical School (*tibbiye*), Civil Service Training School (*mülkiye*), Military Engineering School, Naval Academy, Military College (*harbiye*) and the Agricultural and Veterinary schools deserve special mention. Most of their graduates joined the ranks of the bureaucracy. During the 1880s the system was further developed so that there were three levels: the primary level (*sibyan* and *rüşdiye*), the secondary level (composed of the *idadiye, sultaniye*, the civil and administrative schools), and the upper level (university and special schools of higher education, including the professional schools). Among the special schools there was also the French school, the *Galatasaray Sultanisi*, established in 1868 at the insistence of the French, who sought to promote their political ambitions in the Ottoman state with proper cultural and educational support.

Initially the modern schools were concentrated in Istanbul or surrounding areas;[22] after 1866, and notably during the reign of Abdulhamid II, the modern educational system was expanded into the provinces, thus providing a channel for upward mobility for the country people. Moreover, during the second half of the nineteenth century more foreign schools, teaching Italian, German, and French, were established, and the existing ones were expanded. At the beginning of the twentieth century a total of 62,336 students in the Ottoman state were recorded as learning French in various schools, many of which received financial help from the French government. (Paul Fesch puts the true total of French-learning pupils at a much higher figure)—at least 70,000: Istanbul alone had 6,668, and Beyrut had 22,695.[23]

The picture of rapidly changing Istanbul cannot be completed without mention of the expansion of the communication and transportation systems. The first Turkish newspaper, the *Takvim-i Vekai* [Calendar of Events], a sort of bulletin, was published by the government in 1831. It also had a French edition, issued every Saturday. The newspaper had a rather unusual feature, which attracted readers and gave the press a high status: the sultan often wrote the leading article. Indeed, the sight of a newspaper carrying the ideas of the sultan was an intellectual revolu-

22. Ubicini, *La Turquie actuelle*, p. 58.

23. *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid* (Paris, 1907), p. 449.

tion in itself. The impact of the publication is well described by Walsh:

> The publication of the news of the empire in this way soon became of universal attraction. The paper made its way to the coffeehouses, and the same Turk that I noticed before dozing half-stupified with coffee and tobacco, I now saw actually awake with a paper in his hands eagerly spelling out the news. But the most usual mode of communicating it are the newsrooms, and a place is taken where those who wish to hear it assemble . . . the attention paid [to the newspaper reader] is very different from that which I saw them give to a story-teller. There was no mirth or laughter excited, but all seemed to listen with profound attention . . . the rayas of the empire soon caught the spirit of such a publication, and were delighted with the permission to imitate it.[24]

The *Takvim-i Vekai* was soon followed by *Ceride-i Havadis* and *Tercümani Hakikat*, which had a combined circulation of 32,000. There were also nine weeklies, with a combined circulation of about 10,000. The Anglo-French daily press (*Moniteur oriental, Levant Herald, Eastern Express, La Turquie*) and weeklies consisting of three commercial reviews (as against a single one in Turkish) had a total circulation of about 25,000 (20,000 for the dailies). The Greek-language press, with nine publications, had a total circulation of 17,000 to 18,000. Five Armenian dailies and eight weeklies had a circulation of about 10,000. In addition there was one paper each in German, Italian, and Serbian. The Jews had two dailies, one in Spanish (the Ladino spoken by Sephardic Jews) and the other in Hebrew. Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century a substantial part of the citizenry of Istanbul, perhaps as many as 300,000 persons, read some sort of daily or weekly publication in one of the languages spoken in the city, although transportation difficulties still prevented the sending of newspapers to the provinces. The appearance of the newspaper, as Walsh put it, was "by far the most important and extraordinary innovation . . . it was proof that public opinion was even there becoming a rule of direction to the government."[25]

Finally, the improvement of the transportation system greatly intensified the communication between Istanbul and Europe and, eventually, between the capital and the inland territories. The steamboat shortened the travel time from Istanbul to Marseilles from six weeks to six days. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Istanbul was serviced by some twenty maritime lines linking it with all parts of the world. The Ottoman government itself purchased a passenger steamer and in 1844 two ships, the *Mesr-i bahri* and the *Eser-i Hayir*, belonging to the naval forces were assigned to carry passengers to various points on the shores of the Bosporus.[26] A few years later a concession to carry passengers was given to the *Şirket-i Hayriyye*, a French-controlled navigation society, which established a network of ferryboat lines in the Bosporus and the Golden Horn. The railroad further expanded communications for the capital. A line coming from Europe ended in Istanbul in a newly built terminal at Sirkeci, while a long Asiatic line began at the massive building in Haydarpaşa on the Asiatic shore. (Today, both these stations continue to serve the city.) A modern postal service was instituted in 1840, and a huge post office building was erected in the old city. Eventually three postal routes to Europe via Marseilles, Trieste, and the Danube were established; the last, used only in the summer, was the most expeditious.

24. *Residence at Constantinople* 2:283; see also my "The Mass Media" in Robert Ward and Dankwart A. Ruston, eds., *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 255–82.

25. *Residence at Constantinople* 2:279.

26. See *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Istanbul."

These developments, including the modern educational system, which had been copied from Europe without much concern for the native culture or local needs, all served to enhance the prestige of the West. Soon Istanbul became the filter through which the so-called European culture—diluted, vulgarized, and degenerated by its representatives in Pera—trickled to the other areas of the Ottoman state.

In the early period of contact with Europe (i.e., until about 1850) the Turks seemed fully aware of the fact that they had built in Istanbul an impressive civilization of their own and had endowed the city with works of art and utilities which were equal, if not superior, to their counterparts in Europe. For example, European visitors to Istanbul were deeply impressed by the city's traditional water system, called *terazi*, which purified the water through an ingenious use of the gravitational force of the liquid's natural flow. In the second half of the nineteenth century interest in the national culture was replaced by an effort to absorb European culture.

The conflict between traditionalism and modernity is well defined by the descriptions of the two human types that represented the ideal of the two periods. During the first half of the century the gentleman of Istanbul was expected to be a relatively well-to-do man, the scion of good family, who knew Arabic and Persian, could recite by heart Hafiz, Ömer Khayyam, Nedim, and other poets, wrote poetry himself, could speak well, and had delicate, gracious manners. During the second half of the century, the ideal citizen was one who possessed a diploma from one of the modern professional schools, knew French, had a respectable position in the bureaucratic hierarchy, and displayed manners that often combined reserve and romanticism with exaggerated politeness. The new *Istanbullu Efendi* (the term was used to designate a cultivated, superior man) was politically sensitized and prone to engage in long debates in which he sought to demonstrate the worthiness of his country and culture. Yet, this "modern" man's ties to his own culture, despite his declarations to the contrary, were weakening rapidly, and he looked admiringly to Europe and began to imitate European manners and to dress himself in French clothes in the name of progress.

The cultural alienation had begun. Western culture, theaters, literature, and arts seemed to fascinate the modern exemplar, while the ancient treasures of his own city left him unmoved, despite the fact that in the mid-nineteenth century Istanbul possessed a great variety of old monuments and institutions of learning. A list of some major cultural institutions (extracted from various sources) is impressive. In about 1850 Istanbul had more than 350 mosques of all sizes, 91 Greek and Armenian churches, 8 Catholic churches, 37 synagogues, 518 *medreses*, 37 public libraries, 200 hospitals of various sizes, 100 *imarets* (welfare centers), over 300 *haman* (baths), and several hundred *hans* (inns). (The census of 1831 provides figures for some of these establishments.) Yet all these did not impress the modern Ottoman Muslim intellectual. An insignificant object manufactured in Europe was considered a priceless treasure; and residence in a European city was life's dream.

European culture first came to Istanbul not as learning and technology but in the form of merchandise sold freely on city streets. These goods poured into the city through its customs house (other principal customs houses were in Salonica, Trabzon, and Izmir). The collection of customs was farmed out to traders, who auctioned the customs and then imported their own merchandise practically free of duty, thus competing on unequal terms with independent merchants, who had to pay heavy duties. In addition, the Ottoman tariff structure favored western imports but levied a heavy tax on exports. The rank-and-file merchants were demoralized;[27] meanwhile the government's revenue was constantly diminishing. The customs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, sold by auction to native companies, brought £6,776 in revenue; the next year the government took over and realized £23,980. Properly managed, the customs house in Istanbul probably would have more than tripled its revenue. (Eventually it did so when placed by the government under the management of Kani Paşa.)

The Rise of Pera and the Introduction of European Shops

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the rise of Pera as the modern European section of Istanbul. Actually, Pera (with Galata) developed into an independent city in practically every respect. Its population in the second half of the nineteenth century consisted largely of non-Muslims—mostly Greeks, Armenians, Jews, French, Austrians, and some other nationalities. The large trade houses and banks had their headquarters there. Modern shops, theaters, and a variety of European-style amusement places also were found there. Some of the modern schools and military installations as well were established in Pera or its vicinity. Europeans of all nationalities and types, from powerful diplomats to shrewd businessmen and professionals, flocked there. Pera became the symbol of modernity, not only for Istanbul but also for the entire realm.

Pera had acquired a distinctly European character when established as the residence of the French ambassador in the sixteenth century, but its influence at that early time was insignificant. The ascendancy of Pera to political, eco-

27. James Lewis Farley, *Turkey* (London, 1866), pp. 98–99.

nomic, and cultural prominence was the immediate consequence of the growing European influence over the Ottoman state. Pera became a second Ottoman capital, manned by Europeans and exerting a vital influence over the empire's fate.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Pera harbored sixteen diplomatic missions, whose heads were considered the leaders of their respective national colonies. The language of communication in Pera was French. The dominant cultural and political position of France in Pera was maintained and, in fact, increased throughout the century despite the limited number of Frenchmen (or Franks, as they were called in Istanbul) living there. According to Ubicini, the French inhabitants of Pera in 1849 numbered about 1,000; at that time the total population of the area was 28,000 to 30,000, divided among the various nationalities other than French as follows: 6,000 Greeks, 1,000 Maltese and Ionians, 1,600 Austrians, 1,000 Russians, and the rest Armenians, English, Sardinians, Tuscans, Belgians, Dutch, Spanish, Prussians, Americans, and Persians.[28] Although Pera came to be considered desirable because of its European character, its reputation among Europeans was somewhat tarnished. Early in the century it attracted adventurers and even criminals from Mediterranean shores, especially after the Duce de Boglie, the French minister of foreign affairs, abolished in 1833 the regulation that prohibited the settlement in Pera of anyone who did not possess a certificate issued by the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles.[29]

Initially the territorial limits of Pera were rigidly restricted. Because of limited construction space, therefore, it was hard to accommodate all the people attracted there by economic opportunity. This circumstance determined the architectural plan of the district—tall buildings and very narrow streets designed to use the available building space to the utmost. As would be expected, rents and the cost of dwellings soared. For example, the rent for a single room was more than the cost of a two- or three-room suite in the best hotel in Paris. An average house, which cost about 80,000 piasters with the land included, rented annually for 15,000 to 16,000 piasters, each owner being anxious to recover his investment as soon as possible, lest one of the frequent fires burn down his building. (In 1870 a fire destroyed 3,000 structures and caused bankruptcy among building owners.) In Pera a *pic* of land (a *pic* was equal to 80 cm^2) cost 1,000 to 1,200 piasters, whereas the same amount of land on the outskirts cost only 15 to 20 piasters.[30] Many Europeans who, by bribing the government officials, acquired permission to build houses in the areas around Pera, usually on the slopes descending towards Tophane, Findikli, and Cihangir, became rich overnight.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Pera itself underwent a substantial social and economic change, being superseded by and absorbed economically and ethnically into Galata, to which, at the same time, it transmitted its own pseudo-European cultural characteristics. Galata was the fast-developing, modern business district of Istanbul. The Greek and, to a lesser extent, Armenian and Jewish merchants who worked there had gained great economic power. Benefiting from the British efforts to establish a strong economic foothold in the Ottoman state and Istanbul, the Greek merchants replaced the Franks as business leaders while continuing to identify themselves culturally and linguistically with the French (although they frequently spoke Greek also, especially the small shopkeepers and their workers).

The decline of the Franks as a dominant group in Pera resulted partly from their own restrictive attitude towards Turks and other Ottoman ethnic groups—an attitude which prevented intensive commercial interaction. At this time Britain was advocating extensive commercial liberalization, and she looked upon the Greeks as the group best qualified strategically and professionally to help establish the British commercial hegemony in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Urquhart, one of the most outspoken apologists for Britain's designs in the area, wrote that under the old system of special trade privileges

> the class called Franks has grown up. This class not only prevents communications between the Turks and Europeans, but also perpetrates old antipathies, misrepresents the one to the other, disqualifying Europeans from judging of Turks or rayas, by instilling their own prejudices, and debasing Europeans in the eyes of the Turks by our apparent identity with them. It might be supposed that where Europeans reside there would be the greatest intercourse with the Turks—it is just the reverse; if you wish to know the natives or be on friendly terms with them, go to a place where a Frank population has not made Europeans objects of contempt.[31]

The merchants of Galata, who played a significant role in uprooting the Franks from their position of power, subsequently became the strongest supporters of French culture. They had originally used Italian as their business language, although practically all of them spoke Turkish and Greek. However, as they became rich and influential, they abandoned Italian in favor of French. (In the 1870s, after the proclamation of Italian unity, French rapidly replaced Italian as the language of all the Mediterranean seaports.) They established their homes in Pera, working during the day in their Galata offices and returning home in the evening up the steep hill that linked the two districts. Indeed, after 1850 the merchants from Galata began to buy quite expensive houses in Pera and became frequent guests of the diplomatic missions. Their sons and daughters attended so-

28. *La Turquie actuelle*, p. 439.

29. Around 1818 there was an Italian song about Pera which attested to its ill repute: "Pera, Pera, dei scellerati il nido." For a rather extensive treatment, see Steven T. Rosenthal, *The Politics of Dependency: Urban Reform in Istanbul* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980).

30. Ubicini, *La Turquie actuelle*, p. 442. Other prices in Pera were high also; for example, a meal cost five times more there than in the old city.

31. *Turkey and Its Resources*, p. 208.

cial events given by Europeans and strove to display their knowledge of European art and literature and to speak French. Knowledge of French, however deficient, became the symbol of modernity and distinction. Any self-styled teacher of French, despite the fact that he might be ignorant of grammar and phonetics, found easy employment (as evinced by the quality of the French still spoken in Istanbul). Pera had six newspapers in various languages. However, as far as culture was concerned, Pera, the showcase of things European, did not really offer anything remarkable. Ubicini wrote that "if there were not here and there groups of Turkish women in front of shops selling new French items, one could think that one was in a second or third-rate Italian city . . . though annexed to Istanbul this city [Pera] is as different from it as it would be from Peking or Calcutta."[32] At mid-century Pera "remained as alien to ideas and moral life of the West as it was twenty years earlier when one needed not less than six weeks to cover the distance between it and Marseilles or Genoa: Pera is the most important anti-literary environment I know."[33] The Europeans in Pera normally amused themselves by going several times a week to the theater, to dinners, and, occasionally, to balls to which only the members of the upper class were invited. Pera received whatever it wanted from Europe, as the many maritime lines kept it in constant communication with the West. It was, in fact, a base for European domination of the Ottoman Empire.

The growth of Pera and the rise of the merchants as a dominant group, as well as the pseudo-European aspect of the district, were the consequences of several economic, demographic, and cultural factors. As economic interaction increased and communication among ethnic and religious groups expanded, the non-Muslim communities in Istanbul grew in size. Those in Pera and Galata who worked particularly with Europeans found themselves being torn apart by the conflicts between their ecclesiastical leaders and the heads of the newly risen merchant, professional, and craft groups. The business groups had developed a secular orientation and had adopted a European economic philosophy and concepts of nationality and religion that differed from the parochial, anti-western attitudes of their clergy. The old *millet* system seemed to perpetuate the supremacy of the conservative clergy and prevented the businessmen and professionals from gaining in influence. Finally, in the 1860s, the three old *millets* (Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish) were reorganized to give to the lay element, that is, the merchants and intellectuals, the main authority for the conduct of affairs in these communities.[34] The *millet* reform eventually helped meld the religious communities into larger national communities, considerably undermining their loyalty to the Porte and opening them to further European influence. Thus the conflict between the clergy and the rising merchant classes of the non-Muslim groups in Istanbul ended in victory for the new economic elites.[35] The appearance of many new churches, cemeteries, and schools in and around Pera fully attests the growth of the non-Muslim communities. It was at this period that the Bulgarians began to emerge as a distinct ethnic group in Istanbul and, under the leadership of influential merchants, started promoting the idea of a Bulgarian nation affiliated with the Porte.

The non-Muslim mercantile groups had to pay a price for the economic gratification gained through their affiliation with European enterprises: Greeks and Armenians living in Pera and Galata were prone to conversion to Catholicism or Protestantism as preached by French and English missionaries. These European Christian missionaries were often an additional focus of conflict between the traditionalists and the modernists. As early as 1827—a time when Catholic propaganda, became intensive in Istanbul, thanks to French support—a group of converted Armenians from Ankara who were proselytizing among their kin were banned from the city. Some of the converted Armenians eventually reverted to their old faith and were then obliged to live in Kumkapi, Samatya, and Haskoy—that is, in their traditional districts rather than in Beyoğlu, Galata, and on the Bosporus where the privileged classes (that is, the Europeanized element, often converted Catholics) had their homes.[36] However, after 1850 these restrictions no longer applied, as national feelings superseded religious allegiances.

The "modern" life in Pera had no authentic national or social roots. The merchant communities owed, with few exceptions, their economic and social status to the French, English, German, and other European powers they served, and they could be "national"—actively pro-Greek or pro-Bulgarian—only to the extent permitted by the European powers and tolerated by the Ottoman government. The social pyramid reflected the dependency on Europe. At the top were the diplomatic missions and their vast personnel, including dragomans (who formed a special class) and messengers (*kavas*), mission officials, and servants. The diplomatic missions were sustained by their respective communities, whose members had European citizenship by birth or by "option" (that is, through the acquisition of the special *berat* granting the protection of a western state). The second highest social group was composed of the new economic elites—bankers, merchants, and shopkeepers and their families and relatives, all of whom constantly strove to rise ever higher in status by becoming involved in new commercial ventures and by adopting the language of their European diplomatic patrons. Physicians, accountants, language teachers, and other professionals formed the third social stratum of Pera, while the fourth consisted of various low-echelon employees, servants, and menial workers;

32. *La Turquie actuelle*, p. 443

33. Ibid., p. 455.

34. Edson Lyman Clark, *The Races of European Turkey, Their History, Condition and Prospects. In Three Parts . . .* (New York, 1878), pp. 204 ff. For the most comprehensive treatment of religious groups in the Ottoman state, see B. Lewis and B. Braude, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, 2 vols. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982). For the economic background, see Jacques Thobie, *Interêts et Imperialisme Francais dans L'Empire Ottoman (1895–1914)* (Paris: Publication de la Sorbonne, Imprimerie national, 1977).

35. See my *Social Foundations of Nationalism*, pp. 88 ff.

36. Refik, *Hicri On Altinci Asirda Istanbul Hayati*, pp. 31–33.

there was also a group of Muslim Turks, associates of some Europeans, who had begun to favor the "modern" life of Pera.

The socio-economic life of Istanbul in the second half of the nineteenth century was not very different from that of many other large cities in Asia, Africa, and South America that have served as intermediaries between the powerful industrial countries of the West and their own impoverished countrysides. The city became, in fact, a semi-colonial post for the exchange of goods. Paul Fesch, who knew Istanbul intimately and fought to restore French influence there, pointed out that towards the end of the nineteenth century Istanbul possessed no heavy industry. Its most important manufactures were of tiles and cement bricks, fezzes, leather goods, cigarette cases, pottery, suitcases, rosaries, clothing, nails made from scrap iron, and the like. Most of these enterprises belonged to Englishmen, or French or Swiss; only a few were owned by the Ottoman government or by native inhabitants. Foreign firms chose not to manufacture their products in Istanbul, on the pretext that the city lacked qualified workers. Fesch wrote:

> Constantinople is actually a large market place, a bazaar . . . and above everything else a port of transit. From Constantinople departs for the West a very large part of the silk, wines, dry fruits . . . oils, mineral ore, grains, flour, hides of all kinds produced by European and Asiatic Turkey and the islands of the Archipelago. It is also in Constantinople that arrive a substantial part of goods supplied by Europe to Turkey such as ready clothing, flours, alcoholic beverages . . . gloves, haberdashery, candles, soap, petroleum, medicine, wood and steel products, machines and tools.[37]

No matter how small the market, foreign firms still managed to make a profit, as indicated by their insistence upon staying in the city; for example, all the chief manufacturers of sewing machines, such as Singer (American), Gretzner, Clemens, Meuller, Kochler, Pfaff, Knoch (all German), and Orosdi Bach (French), had representatives in Istanbul, although the total number of sewing machines in the city was barely 10,000 at the end of the century. Other types of imported goods had larger markets. Istanbul possessed at least three elegant shops selling nothing but hats to modern-minded, rich customers. The city imported annually, mostly from France, 1,300,000 bags of flour and 600,000 pairs of rubber shoes (*galoche*); in 1897 when Italy was able to capture some of the markets held by England and sold 5,000 tons of cotton goods in Istanbul, the total import was at least 11,000 tons. (Some of these European goods were distributed in the interior towns.)

It is understandable that the population of Istanbul, hoping to make up in appearance what it lacked in economic substance, paid special attention to luxurious clothing. Fesch wrote:

> To be well-dressed is the ambition of both sexes; everything else falls on the second level and in order to own beautiful dresses, the inhabitants of Istanbul would undertake all sacrifices. The French fashion [designers] are quite numerous in Pera; they guide their rich customers in the selection and appreciation of new fashions. Without them, our [French] products, often copied and deformed . . . would hardly appear in this capital in their true shape. . . . The Levantines who are so elegant must also have good shoes. They would blush if they were to wear those vulgar shoes which many men of their rank in France are satisfied to wear . . . to have elegant shoes there is need for good leather. This explains the reasons for which raw material of high quality is used and the great favor enjoyed by the hides and leather imported from France and finished in Constantinople. Our country could in fact increase further its sale and would enlarge its outlets if it adopted the chrome tanning.[38]

The dichotomy in the life of Istanbul during the second half of the nineteenth century shows clearly in the contrast between the shops of Pera and those in the old section of Istanbul. The commercial life of the old city was still centered in the bazaar and was conducted in the same spirit as in years past (except that the colorful slave market was closed quietly in 1846). The shops had no display windows or any other features designed to attract customers. Goods were not attractively presented, and the merchants, especially the Muslims, made no effort to promote their merchandise. The bazaars had begun to specialize in the selling of cheaper goods at low prices to the poor of Istanbul; but they also continued to manufacture traditional clothing and home furnishings still used by a great part of the Muslim population. The merchants in the bazaar included Turks, Armenians, Jews, and a few Greeks. Henry Otis Dwight, though he showed some religious bias, presented a rather good picture of the contrasting economic establishments of Pera and the old city. He wrote:

> Greater contrast can hardly be imagined than is found between the European business houses of Galata, on the one hand, with their commodious comfort; their desks, chairs, writing machines, file-cases and other paraphernalia of a prompt and accurate business system, and on the other hand the cramped quarters of native merchants. For the latter have the only roomy thing about the place, the arm chair for the head of the firm. . . . In the European part of the city there is spaciousness and thoughtful provision of conveniences based on the assurance that the customer will pay for them. In the Asiatic districts of Stambol is contrasting narrowness of limited expectation. . . . But to adopt as a rule a business system of which the principle is frugal self-denial in personal expenses coupled with lavish expenditures in business, would overthrow the philosophy of the whole life [of the Muslims].[39]

Muslims who had sufficient income and the necessary psychological-cultural disposition also patronized the

37. *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul Hamid*, p. 515.

38. Ibid., p. 520.

39. *Constantinople and its Problems* (New York, 1901), pp. 171–172. See also Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881–1908: Reactions to European Economic Penetration* (New York: New York University Press, 1983).

shops in Pera. A substantial number of these were members of the new ruling class of bureaucrats, a group that was steadily increasing in number, as each graduate of a modern school sought, and eventually found, employment with the government.[40] Most of the upper-ranking bureaucrats lived outside the city, usually in one of the new districts north of Pera and in localities along the Bosporus, and a substantial number of them bought clothing and other amenities at shops in Pera and Galata, generally shopping there on Thursday, which as early as 1830 had been declared a rest day. These high-ranking bureaucrats received income from the collection of taxes (the government, faced with rapid decline in the value of the Turkish currency and lower state revenues, and having made an unsuccessful effort to adopt a centralized tax system, farmed out the tax collection to individuals in 1845), which they often supplemented through the lucrative, though illicit, practice of granting concessions. (Even Reşid Paşa, the premier associated with the reforms in 1838, was accused of having taken money from a rich Armenian family that operated the customs houses in Istanbul and on the Asiatic shores.) After 1856 the Ottoman bureaucrats could frequently be seen mixing with Europeans as well as with the non-Muslim merchants and intellectuals of Pera; Sultan Abdulmecid himself attended a ball given by the French ambassador. In due time the favored places for amusement, shopping, and, eventually, residence of aspiring, modernist Muslims became Pera and its surrounding districts.

It is obvious that Pera and Galata and the districts established north of them had developed a new mode of urban life that differed strikingly in practically all customs and habits from life in the old city. The concept of modern urban living was one of, above all, material comfort derived from an increase in income, and Pera and its adjoining areas thus came to symbolize not merely modernity but also wealth and high social status. *Avrupa hayati*—a European way of life—became the aspiration of the new generation of Muslims, many of whom were still living in the old city. "Success" meant to them the ability to buy a house and adopt the way of life prevailing in the modern part of Istanbul.

Other major institutional factors affected the structure and composition of Istanbul's old and new districts. As early as 1845 Sultan Abdulmecid had made an effort to create a council of notables, convening several dozen provincial dignitaries in Istanbul to advise about reforms. Slightly more than twenty-five years later a constitution was adopted and a parliament, which conducted its business in a building in the old district, was convened. The parliamentary experiment of 1876–1878 was uniquely important to the life of Istanbul: it symbolized the transfer of some of the sultan's absolute political authority to the rising middle classes in the countryside, and it gave at least implicit recognition to the fact that the city was rapidly losing its central position and being forced to share its wealth and power with the developing towns and provinces of the interior. The Vilayet Law of 1864 had already created new administrative structures in the countryside; the law was revised in 1867 and 1871 to create municipalities throughout the country.

The economic growth of Istanbul led to the establishment of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce (*Istanbul Ticaret Odasi*) to represent the merchant community. The first Association of Trade (*Cemiyet-i Ticariyye*) had been established in 1870. Two years later, on 16 January 1882, the Chamber of Commerce, which had a membership of 250, was officially established; on 27 February 1888 the name was changed to Chamber of Trade, Agriculture, and Industry; and finally, on 31 May 1910, it became the Chamber of Trade and Industry (*Ticaret ve Sanayi Odasi*). Other changes occurred later.[41]

During the nineteenth century the physical appearance of the city was very much altered through the addition of private and public works such as archive buildings, bridges, and ferryboats. Sultan Mahmud II, in fact, asked his German advisor, Moltke, to draw a development plan. After 1865 street cars, gas storage tanks, running water, an underground train, docks, and a variety of other facilities were added. New mosque construction declined greatly, but the sultans erected at least three huge, luxurious palaces. Furthermore, during the same period two bridges were built between Istanbul and Galata. The bridges, besides ending the centuries-old use of boats and making communication easier and more convenient, further enhanced the importance of Pera and Galata and the newly established districts north of them.[42] (A list of major public and private works constructed and new institutions established in Istanbul during the nineteenth century is included as Appendix D following this chapter.)

The process of the physical transformation of Istanbul was reflected in the progressive emergence of its municipal government. The centralized administration for markets was created during Mahmud II's rule. A *şehremaneti* in charge of markets (similar to the French *prefect de ville*) was installed in 1854; and in that same year a City Plan Commission (*Intizam-i Şehir Komisyonu*) was created to report on the European municipal system and propose measures for modernization. These were designed largely to solve the problems caused by the growth of Pera.[43] The European population living in Pera demanded paved streets, street lighting, and other facilities similar to those found in the West. The commission, which included many Frenchmen,

40. See Ubicini, *La Turquie actuelle*, p. 236. Meanwhile, the number of the *ulemâ*, who constituted the bulk of the traditional elite, had begun to dwindle rapidly, although in mid-century the number of *softa* (students in religious schools) was still estimated to be around 22,000 to 25,000.

41. See *Istanbul Yilliği* (1967), pp. 511–12.

42. For additional information see Doğan Kuban, "İstanbulun Tarihi Yapisi," *Mimarlik* 70, no. 5 (1970): 26–48.

43. Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-u Belediye* (Istanbul, 1922).

agreed to recommend the introduction of a number of utilities, and the recommendations were approved by the Tanzimat High Council. However, the proposed utilities were for Pera and Galata only. Eventually, this area was recognized as a separate administrative unit and became the sixth district (*daire*) to be administered by a council of twelve members plus a chairman.

In 1868 a municipal code of regulations was adopted, applying the administrative organization introduced in Pera-Galata to the other fourteen districts of the city. By 1876/77 the number of city districts had increased from fourteen to twenty, the result of the influx of migrants. In 1882 the municipality of Istanbul was reorganized into ten districts that included the entire old city and adjacent areas such as Beyazid, Fatih, Cerrahpaşa, Beşiktaş, Yeniköy, Galata-Pera, Büyükdere, Kanlica, Üsküdar, and Kadiköy. The new city administration consisted of an appointed council to assist the city administrator and a director (*müdir*) for each district. This system remained unchanged until 1908.

Finally, in 1912 Istanbul was made a single municipality with nine major district branches. The *şehremaneti* (that is, the municipal administration headed by the *şehremini*) consisted of nine directorates, or *müdiriyets*, corresponding to the nine *kazas*, which were the following: Beyazid and Fatih in the old city, and Galata (including Pera), Yeniköy, Anadolu-Hisar, Üsküdar, Kadiköy, the Islands, and Bakirköy.[44] The funciton of each *müdiriyet* was to provide municipal services, to collect revenue, and fully administer its respective branch. General municipal duties were performed by the Office of Technical Affairs (*Heyet-i fenniyye müdiriyeti*) the Office of Sanitary Affairs (*Heyet-i sihhiyye müdiriyeti*), and the Office of Economic Affairs (*Umur-u iktisadiyye müdiriyeti*). Administrative functions were discharged by the Office of the General Inspector (*Müfettiş-i umumilik*), the Office of Correspondence and Registration (*Heyet-i tahririyye müdiriyeti*), the Office of Accounts (*Heyet-i hesabiyye müdiriyeti*), and the Office of Director of Legal Affairs (*Umur-u hukukiyye müdiriyeti*).

The police in Istanbul evolved in a special way.[45] Police reform was instituted under Ali and Fuad paşas, and a new corps was formed with the following personnel, who functioned chiefly in Istanbul: (1) *Kavasse*, who worked in the capital and were attached to embassies and other foreign offices; (2) *Seymen*, who performed police duties in the city itself; and (3) *Zaptiye*, or foot police, who functioned under the district administration. At the beginning of the twentieth century, after several organizational changes, all police duties in Istanbul came to be supervised by the General Police Directorate, which was responsible not to the head of the municipality but to the minister of the interior. Istanbul was divided into police districts, each of which had its own central police station and was headed by a chief of police (*Merkez Memuru*). On the Asiatic side there were six chief districts and stations, whereas on the European side there were twenty-three.[46]

On 22 July 1909 (R. 1325) Istanbul was reorganized into a *vilayet* (province) and attached to the central government.

The Population of Istanbul

The economic, social, and physical transformation of Istanbul discussed in the preceding sections was effected through a continuous movement of people from the countryside to the capital and from district to district within the city. The transformation of Istanbul went hand in hand with growth in its size and changes in the ethnic, cultural, and religious composition of its population. The two developments were intimately interrelated. Demographic change in Istanbul can be studied easily, thanks to at least six censuses taken in the nineteenth century in 1246, 1254, 1260, 1273, 1298, and 1301 (A.D. 1830, 1838, 1844, 1856, 1882, and 1885)—although detailed summaries of only five of these have been located. Before discussing these population figures for the city, it is essential to define their geographical scope. Most of the early censuses refer to the capital as "Dersaadet ve Bilad-i Selase," the term taking in the main city and the three "boroughs"—Eyub, Galata, and Üsküdur on the Asian side of Bosporus—and occasionally including some of the smaller villages along the Bosporus and the Sea of Marmara.[47] After 1882 the new quarters, such as Osmanbey, Şişli, Bomonti, Maçka, and others to the north and northwest of Pera, which became (and still are) some of the most fashionable districts of the city were included in the census. The later censuses also included the new districts that sprang up along the Marmara and the Bosporus and beyond the old city walls towards the west.

As previously noted, much of the population growth of Istanbul resulted simply from the expansion of trade. The ordinary opportunities of the capital city had for centuries drawn the ambitious from the countryside, and these occasionally made fortunes, often by working for the palace or for state dignitaries. However, in the nineteenth century

44. From 1896 to 1898 the municipal districts were Şehzadebaşi, Fatih, and Cerrahpaşa in the old city, and Pera, Beşiktaş, Yeniköy, and Büyükdere (the last three along the Bosporus). Üsküdar was not included.

45. On the full organization of police, see Clarence R. Johnson, *Constantinople Today* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), pp. 107–13, and Walter Behrnauer, "Sur les institutions de police chez les arabes, les persians, e les turcs," *Journal asiatique*, ser. 5, vol. 16 (1860): 114–190; see also Roderic H. Davidson, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 159–60.

46. In the country at large there were the *suvari* (mounted police), charged with public safety and mail protection, and the *bekçi* (rural police), each of whom were stationed along roads 6 to 10 km apart to safeguard transportation. The *suvari* could, and often did in case of need, assume duties in cities. The entire police force was supervised by the *mufettiş* (detectives). See Stanley Lane Poole, *The People of Turkey* (London, 1878), 1:270.

47. For an early city plan, see Joseph, Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinoplis und der Bophorus* (Pesth, 1822; reprint ed. Osnabruck: Biblio Verlag, 1967). The plan is by F. Kauffer, who also produced the 1882 *Guide de Constantinople*.

Table 5.3 Population of Istanbul, 1794–1916: Various Estimates

Area: City / Greater city	Population
Year	
1794	426,000
1829	359,089
1864–75	490,000–796,000
1877	606,000–722,098 (100,000–200,000, including the *vilayet* of Istanbul)
1884	895,000
1896–97	1,116,946
1901	1,159,000
1914–16	1,600,000

Area: City 300 km²; Greater city 3,600 km²

Source: Compiled from figures in European works and Ottoman sources.

Table 5.4. Population of Istanbul: Summary of Census Figures

Census Year	Number of Families	Number of Persons: City Residents	*Bekars* (Temporary Residents)	Total	Remarks
1844	46,931	137,945	75,748	213,693	Males only
1857	48,693	144,115	94,119	238,234	Males only
	Women	Men		Total	
1882	161,431	219,945		381,376	
1885	364,751	508,814		873,565	384,910 Muslims; 359,412 Non-Muslims; 129,243 Foreigners

Source: Summarized from figures in the statistical appendices, III.2, 3, 4.

the attractions of this urban center increased immeasurably, as the scope of economic activity broadened and chances for achieving upward social mobility outside the traditional patterns were created. Tens of thousands of young men from the provinces—especially Greeks and other non-Muslims—poured into the city to form the sort of service group common to every thriving port city of the Third World. That these newcomers, who were nearly all single men (*bekar*), were easily able to find employment, working directly for Europeans and engaging in independent occupations as bakers, millers, gardeners, and the like, as well as filling the ranks of the occasional laborers and peddlers, is evidence of the scope of the economic boom and the growing need for manpower. These Christian newcomers, it is interesting to note, began wearing a special hat, the *kepele*, that is, the European-style brimmed hat, instead of the locally made fur hat. The European hat came to show both social status and religious affiliation; for Christian affiliation had acquired special prestige with the increase in European influence, and the *kepele* identified its wearer as a Christian in Istanbul to work.

Ottoman official correspondence indicates that there was a considerable influx of non-Muslims into the capital immediately after the completion of the census of 1844; thus, one year later officials were complaining that a large number of people found in the city were not listed in the registers for non-Muslims (*reaya defteri*) and therefore did not pay the *ciziye*. (Officials of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates also reported on the presence of unregistered newcomers.) The Porte was, of course, anxious to register these newcomers and levy the head tax, and these people were, in fact, eventually subject to registration: subsequent censuses of Istanbul indicated in a special column those who were *bekars* or *taşrali* ("from the country").[48] In 1857, out of a total of 238,234 males counted in Istanbul, 24,119 qualified as *bekar*. By 1894 the police authorities in Istanbul had been given strict orders to turn away these peddlers and seasonal workers, some of whom came from as far away as Trabzon.

However, the major cause for the explosion of population in Istanbul was the already-described immigration of Muslims from the Caucasus and the Balkans from 1862 on. Large numbers of Caucasian Muslims arrived in the Ottoman state in the period from 1862 to 1908, and their leaders, chieftains, and *ulema*, together with their families, settled in Istanbul. Also, during and after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878, when the Muslim peoples of the northeastern Balkans and Macedonia and Dobruca were driven out, many refugees settled in Istanbul.

Various figures from official and private sources for the population of Istanbul in the nineteenth century are given in Table 5.3.[49] For the period 1865–1878, there were estimates of the city's population as low as 304,000 and as high as 2 million. Ubicini gave the population as 891,000[50]—a figure that certainly is very high and probably included the hinterlands on both sides of the Bosporus and counted men in the army and foreigners.

Table 5.4 summarizes the existing official census figures for 1844, 1857, 1882, and 1885 (given in detail in the statistical appendices, III.2, 3, 4).

The gross difference between the figures for 1882 and 1885 is traceable to several technical failings that caused the figure of 1882 to be only a partial result: first, the *Esnaf Tezkereleri Kalemi* was charged also with collecting special fees from merchants, and its census duties were ignored or not properly fulfilled; second, it appears from a communication between the palace and the premier's office that

48. See BA (I)/(MN)/1177 of 21 Zilhicce 1260 (1 January 1845).

49. The figures are derived from Eton, Karal, Reclus, Yakshity, Boré, Ravenstein, Ubicini, Walsh, Urquhart, and others, and some are based on Ottoman sources. One reason for the variation is that early censuses generally included only the old city, whereas later ones included the suburbs that eventually became part of the city. The 1829 figure included Galata and Üsküdar and is from a census taken with the aim of instituting bread rationing. At that time some 4,000 *bekars* were sent back to their places of origin.

50. *Letters on Turkey*, trans. Lady Easthope (London, 1856; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1973), p. 24.

Table 5.5. Total Population of Istanbul, 1897

Area	Population
City of Istanbul (the old city, Pera, and villages along the Bosporus)	875,565
Üsküdar	105,690
Kadiköy	32,211
Total	1,013,466
Greater Istanbul	
Islands (four islands in the sea of Marmara, including Büyük Ada, or Prinkipo)	10,503
Gebze (a town along the Asiatic shore of Marmara)	19,250
Kartal (a town along the Asiatic shore of Marmara)	18,300
Beykoz (along the Asiatic shore of the Bosporus)	9,494
Şile (a town on the Black Sea coast of the Asiatic shore)	19,750
Kanlica (along the Asiatic shore of the Bosporus)	25,183
City of Istanbul	1,013,466
Total	1,115,946

Source: *Annuaire oriental du commerce, de l'industrie et de l'administration et de la magistrature* (1896), pp. 71–72.

Table 5.6. Ethnic Distribution of Istanbul Population, 1897

Ethnic Group	Number
Turks	597,000
Albanians	10,000
Kurds	5,000
Greeks	236,000
Armenians	162,000
Jews	47,000
Serbians	1,000
Christian Arabs	1,000
Total	1,059,000

Source: Compiled from figures given in Section III of the statistical appendices.

the original intent was to conduct a census just of non-Muslims, it being decided only at the last minute to count the Muslims also, so proper preparations were not made; finally, the sum of 400,000 *kuruş* allocated by the government for the payment of census takers seemed insufficient to meet their needs.[51] Thus the census of 1882, although very useful for indicating the type of dwellings in which the city residents lived, as well as the administrative division of the city, must be considered incomplete. The figures given for 1885, on the other hand, are based on a complete census.[52] After 1882 the city population continued to increase. A variety of government sources indicate that the number of immigrants went from 30,000 in 1880 to 200,000 in 1906. Thus, by 1896/97, according to a reliable source, the population of greater Istanbul had reached 1,115,946, with the city proper having 875,565 residents (or 162,950 houses), Üsküdar, 105,690; and Kadiköy, 32,211.[53] Table 5.5 shows the general population picture in 1896/97. Table 5.6 shows the ethnic and religious distribution of Istanbul's population and its environs in 1897.[54]

That the population of Istanbul in 1885 and thereafter consisted mostly of newcomers, that is, immigrants and *bekar*s, is fully demonstrated by the figures in Table 5.7.[55]

Statistics on the occupations of the residents of the city that show the distribution of the various religious-ethnic groups in government and nongovernment service are given in Table 5.8.[56]

The conclusions expressed in this chapter are supported by the statistics. These show, first, that the population of Istanbul doubled in less than a century and, second, that the ethnic and religious character of the city was changed drastically by the influx of large numbers of Muslims. Before the end of the nineteenth century the Muslims had reached an absolute numerical superiority; and the increase in their majority continued unabated into the twentieth century.[57] By 1885 almost 60 percent of the city's residents had been born elsewhere, and ten years later the proportion of non-natives was even greater.

The statistics show as well the increased urbanization of the capital and the cultural and social changes taking place there. Occupational data show a diversification of professions and an ethno-religious realignment: Muslims were heavily represented in the bureaucracy, while the number of non-Muslims employed in trade and industry—that is, the highly remunerative western-type occupations—exceeded that of the Muslims by almost 50 percent, despite the fact that the Muslims were more numerous by far. This was evidence of the supremacy achieved by European economic interests with their bias towards non-Muslims.

The economic changes that caused the religious, ethnic, and social conflict which beset the entire Ottoman state in the nineteenth century are easily observable in the statistics for Istanbul. That city was a mirror of all of those changes that culminated in the political transformation of the entire realm.

51. See BA (I)/(D)/65848, memorandum of 22 Zilhicce 1297 (26 October 1880); for more extensive information on the census of 1882, see IUKTY 8949/b, dated 11 Teşrinevvel 1298 (23 October 1882).

52. The memorandum explaining the census of 1885 is in BA (I)/(D)/75538, dated 28 Ramazan 1302 (11 July 1885).

53. See *Annuaire oriental du commerce, de l'industrie et de l'administration et de la magistrature* (1896), pp. 71–72; this source is to be found in the archives of the municipal library in Istanbul.

54. The census of 1897 does not provide a distribution of population according to ethnic origin. I compiled this list from various official sources. Vedat Eldem claimed, based on the same lists, that the total population of Istanbul in 1896 was 1,181,000, but he overestimated the number of Turks by almost 20,000 and underestimated the Serbian and, especially, the Bulgarian population by about 13,000; see *Osmanli Imparatorluğunun Iktisadi Şartlari Hakkinda Bir Tetkik* (Ankara, 1970), p. 52.

55. See Stanford J. Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century," *Tarih Dergisi* 32 (1979): 411.

56. Ibid., p. 412.

57. See my *The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization in Turkey* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Table 5.7. Population of Istanbul in 1885: Natives and Newcomers

	Those Born in Istanbul					Those Born Outside of Istanbul				
		Male		Female			Male		Female	
Religious Group	Total	No.	%	No	%	Total	No.	%	No	%
Muslim	143,586	55,300	27.5	88,286	48.1	241,324	146,039	72.5	95,285	51.9
Greek Orthodox	68,764	23,292	25.4	45,472	74.6	83,977	68,512	75.6	15,465	25.4
Armenian Orthodox	78,679	24,995	27.7	53,684	81.7	70,911	58,875	71.2	12,036	18.3
Bulgarian	46	22	5.5	24	60.0	4,331	3,955	99.5	376	94.0
Catholic	3,722	1,533	47.8	2,189	27.7	2,720	1,676	52.2	1,044	32.3
Jewish	42,363	21,029	93.9	21,334	97.1	1,998	1,365	61.0	633	29.0
Protestant	225	118	24.2	107	32.3	594	370	75.8	224	57.7
Latin	609	261	48.5	348	62.9	473	267	51.5	206	37.1
Total	337,994	126,550		211,444		406,328	281,059		125,269	

Source: Stanford J. Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century," *Tarih Dergisi* 32 (March 1979): 411.

Table 5.8. Occupations of Istanbul Residents, 1885

			Commerce, Trade, Industry			State Service		
Religious Group	Population[a]	% of Totals in Occupations	Number	% of Population	% of Totals in Occupation	Number	% of Population	% of Total in Occupation
Muslim	201,339	49.40	51,073	25.4	38.32	22,984	11.4	95.34
Greek Orthodox	91,804	22.52	33,866	36.8	25.41	348	.4	1.44
Armenian Orthodox	83,870	20.58	35,979	43.0	26.99	490	.6	2.05
Bulgarian	3,977	.98	3,238	81.4	2.43	1	.03	.005
Catholic	3,209	.79	1,783	55.5	1.34	150	4.7	.62
Jewish	22,394	5.49	6,984	31.1	5.24	99	.4	.41
Protestant	488	.12	123	25.3	.09	3	.6	.01
Latin	528	.13	251	47.5	.19	28	5.3	.12
Total	407,609		133,297			24,103		

Source: Stanford J. Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century," p. 412.
[a]Number of male residents only.

Appendix D. Major Public and Private Works in Istanbul in the 19th Century

Palaces and Mosques	Public Works and Institutions
REIGN OF MAHMUD II (1808–1839)	
Kağithane Palace (1808) Nusretiye (Tophane) Mosque (1821)	Beyazid firetower (wooden) (1808) Medical and surgery schools (1827) First steamboat (Üsküdar) (1828) Selimiye barracks finished (1829) Regular postal service established (1832) Military Academy founded (1834) Wood bridge between Unkapan and Azapkapi (Galata) built (1836)
ABDUL MECID (1839–1861)	
Dolmabahçe Palace (wooden) finished (1853)	Start of university building (1845) Bridge between Eminönü and Galata (1845) Night duty established for doctors (1845) Treasury and document archives (1846) Şirket-i Hayriyye Navigation Company (1850) Science Academy (Encümen-i Daniş) (1851) Bridge built in 1836 enlarged (1853) Haliç Navigation Company (1857) Pangalti (Harbiye) Military Academy (completed ?) State Archives building (completed ?)
ABDULAZIZ (1861–1876)	
Valide Mosque (1867–76) Ortaköy, Çiragan Palace (1867–76)	Tunnel company (1868) Streetcar company (1869) Teacher's college for girls (1870) Ottoman University (Darülfünun-u Osmani) (1870–71) Maritime Administration (1872) Haydarpaşa-Izmit and Istanbul-Edirne-Filibe railroads opened (1873) Gas depot at Dolmabahçe (1874) Istanbul water company (1875) Military barracks at Mecidiyeköy Ruşdiye military schools at Fatih, Koca Mustafa Paşa, Üsküdar, Sogukçeşme
ABDULHAMID II (1876–1909)	
Yildiz Palace Hamidiye Mosque	Bosporus gas depots (1879) Yedikule gas company (1886) Üskudar and Kadiköy Water Company (1866) Kadiköy gas company (1890) Istanbul docks (1890) Haydarpaşa docks (1898) Museum of Antiquity Fine arts school (Darülbedai) New postal and telegraph building Land registration office

Note: The information in this table has been collected from a variety of sources. Dates vary in the sources, as some refer to the time the decision to build was made, while others indicate the beginning or the end of actual construction.

STATISTICAL APPENDICES

SECTION I

GENERAL OTTOMAN POPULATION STATISTICS FROM CENSUSES, REGISTERS, AND YEARBOOKS

Notes: It should be kept in mind that the boundaries of the administrative districts listed in the census reports and other statistics in this section were constantly being changed in minor, and sometimes major, ways. Comparisons should be made with caution, therefore.

The figures in the Ottoman official statistics are not corrected in accordance with the procedure outlined in Chapter 1, although they have been systematized and minor corrections made. Thus the totals given in census lists up to 1881/82 do not include females, and no percentage-of-error additions have been made in any list.

The terms traditionally applied to citizens of the various religious persuasions in the Ottoman Empire acquired different meanings and new census categories were added as ethnic-national feeling burgeoned in the nineteenth century. The term "Greeks" (Rum) originally encompassed all Orthodox Christians; however, during the nineteenth century it acquired a narrower meaning, and those who retained their allegiance to the Istanbul patriarchate and to other Greek national churches (e.g., the Church of Greece, the Church of Cyprus) came to be termed "Orthodox Greeks." The Orthodox church was broken up into various national churches (Bulgarian, Serbian, Romanian), which continued to use the Orthodox rites (all of Byzantine origin) but were given their own columns in later censuses. By the end of the nineteenth century "Greek" had come to mean simply "Greek-speaking peoples." The term "Armenians" (Gregorians) originally was used to designate members of the Armenian Orthodox church; later, as some ethnic Armenians accepted other faiths, the terms "Catholic Armenians" and "Protestant Armenians" were introduced. (Some Nestorians joined the Armenian Orthodox church and were termed "Armenian Nestorians.") "Latins" were old European Catholics, but the term carried also some connotation of "Latin-speakers" (i.e., persons speaking European languages). "Roman Catholics" were those who were outright Catholics directly affiliated with the Vatican (as opposed to those whose churches merely accepted the authority of Rome).

I.1. The Ottoman Population in Certain Districts of Rumili (Rumelia) and Anatolia, 1831

Census District	Muslims	Reaya[a]	Gypsies[b]	Jews	Armenians	Total
	EUROPE[c]					
RUMELI EYALET						
Çatalca (N)[d]	848	2,592				3,440
Silivri	887					887
Midye	127					127
Terkos	794					794
Çekmeceikebir	464					464
Çekmeceisağır	403					403
Türkeşçiftliği	29					29
Reaya (6 kazas)		12,924				12,924
Tekfurdağı	3,773	7,727	57			11,557
Inecik	812	836	24			1,672
Malkara	1,511	4,010	64			5,585
Gelibolu	4,179	6,613				10,792
Şarköy	962	7,752				8,714
Bergos	1,860	3,154	32	51		5,097
Çorlu	971	1,938	45	73		3,027
Ereğli	177	554	24			755
Babaiatik	542	1,253				1,795
Havas Mahmutpaşa	684	896				1,580
Hayrabolu	2,203	1,051				3,254
Evreşe	666	956	39			1,661
Inoz	274	2,327	62			2,663
Keşan	850	4,557	72			5,479
Çisriergene	1,929	8,886				10,815
Ipsala	955	1,512				2,467
Edirne (town)	8,313	6,747	750	1,541	1,443	18,794
Ada (N)		2,422				2,422
Çoke (N)		3,048				3,048
Üsküdar and Manastir (N)		6,700				6,700
Edirne (kaza?)	10,174	10,042				20,216
Üsküdar (N)	1,836	5,593				7,429
Manastir (N)	497	4,747				5,244
Çdke (N)	1,990	1,755				3,745
Ada (N)	1,090	2,792				3,882
Tırfelli (village)		181				181
Jews and Armenians (6 localities)				2,051	1,755	3,806
Çisrı Mustafa Paşa	914	1,329				2,243
Çirmen	1,910	1,262				3,172
Çirpan	938	4,619				5,557
Ahiçelebi	6,080	4,107				10,187
Akçakizanlik	7,195	8,097	748			16,040
Zağraiatık	5,586	12,782				18,368
Dimetoka	7,525	10,852				18,377
Ferecik	2,385	3,473				5,858
Meğri	692	833				1,525
Gümülcine	30,517	5,339	1,712			37,568
Yenıceikerasu	7,582	2,540	1,273			11,395
Uzuncaabat Hasköy	9,941	10,118	633			20,692
Sultanyeri	6,251	51	89			6,391
Drama	8,618	3,077	1,007			12,702
Ciğlacik and Sarı Şaban	4,986	131	54			5,171
Tırnova	3,051					3,051
Hutaliç (N)	7,543					7,543
Torluk (N)	5,108					5,108
Sahra (N)	2,678					2,678
Filibe	10,920	44,959[f]	2,021	344[g]	344	58,588
Tatarpazarı (Pazarcik)	3,269	14,083[h]	3,653	119		21,124
Ihtaman	408	1,501	83			1,992
Sofya	4,161	39,692	886			44,739
Şehirköy	1,341	27,643	379			29,363
Pravişte	4,718	2,596	259			7,573
Bereketlu	967	170				1,137
Kavala	1,514	102				1,616
Berkofca	1,125	13,549	382			15,056
Cuma Pazarı	3,733	916				4,649
Eğri Bucak	1,482	1,294				2,776
Çarşamba	2,350	1,717				4,067
Serfiçe	682	2,260				2,942
Tikveş	4,454	6,104				10,558
Petriç	3,893	3,869				7,762

Census District	Muslims	Reaya[a]	Gypsies[b]	Jews	Armenians	Total
	EUROPE[c]					
RUMELI EYALET, continued						
Radovişte	3,504	4,907				8,411
Nevrekop	8,539	8,620	739			17,898
Menlik	918	4,182	260			5,360
Timurhisar	3,229	6,611	494			10,334
Zihne	2,867	10,017	642			13,526
Siroz (Sarai)	4,459	16,596	1,761	248		23,064
Selanik (Salonika)	12,368[i]	21,669	511	5,667		40,215
Yenicei Vardar	6,811	4,766				11,577
Vodine	3,996	3,883				7,879
Karaferiye	1,680	11,052				12,732
Ağustos	151	737				888
Perzinek	215	4,436				4,651
Iznebol	131	5,152	151			5,434
Ustrumca	3,674	5,344	546			9,564
Toyran	4,631	3,076[j]	334			8,041
Karadağ	2,722	1,452	108			4,282
Avrathisar	3,176	6,949	332			10,457
Dupniçe	3,528	11,642				15,170
Radomir	789	7,211				8,000
Ivraca	1,463	14,282	262			16,007
Kratova, Ivraniye, and Palangai Eğridere	4,749	21,068	627			26,444
Vidin, Akçar, Karalom, and Belgratçik	6,695	24,846	1,289			32,830
Çunarka, Godgoskaca, and Esterlik (N)		24,954	420			24,374
Köprülü	4,767	12,718	390			17,875
Perlepe	3,683	14,489	450			18,622
Samakov	816	11,973	111	94		12,994
Kostendil	3,032	14,070	232	145		17,479
Behişte	3,202	2,176	89			5,467
Kesriye	3,313	16,124	335			19,772
Persepe	568	2,162				2,730
Manastir	6,723	24,550	705	1,163		33,141
Florina	5,596	5,253	365			11,214
Istrova	1,658	1,176	57			2,891
Hotpeşte	2,081	3,630	43			5,754
Nasliç	2,693	5,748	275			8,716
Iştip	6,920	9,826				16,746
Koçana	3,374	6,112				9,486
Kumanova	2,276	10,819				13,095
TOTAL, RUMELI EYALET	337,001	686,991	25,126	9,955	2,099	1,061,172
SILISTRE EYALET						
Niğbolu Sancak						
Selvi	7,734[k]					7,734
Izladi	2,580					2,580
Etripolu	545					545
Lofça	12,404					12,404
Plevne	6,031					6,031
Rahova	1,835					1,835
Sipre (Çire)	235					235
Niğbolu	3,893	8,598	1,190			13,681
Ziştoy	3,897	5,760	629			10,286
Rusçuk (Russe)	16,165	7,196	1,437			24,798
Yanbolu	1,942	1,507				3,449
Nevahli Yanbolu	1,444	1,237				2,681
Zağraicedit	3,292	4,745				8,037
Yenicei Kızılağaç and Hatunili	499	1,502				2,001
Niş	1,862[l]	18,378[c]	575	178		20,993
Prizren	9,488	2,867	366			12,721
Yehud	2,768	2,479	44			5,291
Tirguvişte	2,404	2,323	3			4,730
Gude	7,574		100			7,674
Usküp	9,660	11,700	900			22,260
Kalkandelen	11,766	8,043	472			20,281
Kırçova	2,286	5,154	88			7,528
Total, Niğbolu Sancak	110,304	81,489	5,804	178	0	197,775

continued on following page

I.1. The Ottoman Population in Rumili and Anatolia, 1831 (continued)

Census District	Muslims	Reaya[a]	Gypsies[b]	Jews	Armenians	Total
EUROPE[c]						
SILISTRE EYALET, continued						
Silistre Sancak						
Varna	3,427	1,573	167			5,167
Isakçi (Isaccea)	553	605	39			1,197
Mankalye	694	15	37			746
Balçik and Kuvarna	1,766	630	125			2,521
Karakala (village)		52				52
Maçin	991	821	25			1,837
Köstence	1,417	386	41			1,844
Hirsova	1,391	986	21			2,398
Tulça	472	592	19			1,083
Karnabad	5,065	1,454	358			6,877
Babadağı[d]	1,171	1,661	38			2,920
Doskasri	1,114	596	273			1,983
Aydos	5,790	845	449			7,084
Yenipazar	3,482	948	300			4,730
Pravadi	4,530	1,465	231			6,226
Umurlakih	1,140		146			1,286
Kozluca	1,840	1,163	146			3,149
Pazarcik	3,515	761	287			4,563
Çardak	2,308	300	223	—	—	2,831
Total, Silistre Sancak	40,666	14,853	2,975	0	0	56,494
TOTAL, SILISTRE EYALET	150,970	96,342	8,779	178	0	256,269
TOTAL, EUROPE	487,971	783,333	33,905	10,133	2,099	1,317,441
ANATOLIA[e]						
ANADOLU EYALET						
Kütahya Sancak						
Kütahya (town)	7,305					7,305
Kütahya (N)	3,303					3,303
Emrudili (N)	1,766					1,766
Örencik (N)	3,602					3,602
Giray (N)	2,550					2,550
Tavşanli	5,358					5,358
Gümüş (N)	3,758					3,758
Altuntaş (N)	3,491					3,491
Uşak	23,752					23,752
Niyaz (N)	3,413					3,413
Kula	8,462					8,462
Eşme	2,062					2,062
Sirke	1,191					1,191
Küre	750					750
Inay	998					998
Silindi	981					981
Danişmentfuyukebir (Keteş)	4,988					4,988
Çal	10,376					10,376
Emet	8,470					8,470
Simav	8,655					8,655
Dağardi	1,853					1,853
Gediz and Şaphane	19,557					19,557
Şeyhli (Şehlu)	6,107					6,107
Tazkiri (Şehlu)	2,261					2,261
Kenhler (Şehlu)	604					604
Soma (Şehlu)	922					922
Balkan (Şehlu)	3,450					3,450
Yörüks	7,693					7,693
Gypsies	—	—	168	—	—	168
Total, Kütahya Sancak	147,678[f]	0	168	0	0	147,846

Census District	Muslims	Reaya[a]	Gypsies[b]	Jews	Armenians	Total
ANATOLIA						
ANDOLU EYALET, continued						
Hüdavendigar Sancak						
Bursa (town)	10,532	2,159		627	2,800	16,118
Bursa (villages)	6,327	2,382				8,709
Inegöl	5,319	1,498				6,817
Yenişehir	3,718	701				4,419
Lefke	2,618	231				2,849
Gölpazari	4,641	1,287				5,928
Taraklı	1,998					1,998
Tobralı Köynek	6,702	1,132				7,834
Karamihal	3,306					3,306
Karamisar Nallı	3,290					3,290
Gümüşabad	468					468
Nallihan and Kuzupazari	2,243	333				2,576
Beypazari	6,196					6,196
Küllük Mihaliççi	5,425					5,425
Gunyuzü	2,852					2,852
Seferihisar	6,290					6,290
Sogüt	3,840					3,840
Yarhisar	1,298					1,298
Pazarcik	1,063					1,063
Domaniç	2,512					2,512
Harmancik	3,270					3,270
Gemlik	2,999					2,999
Mudanya	1,496					1,496
Mihaliç	6,588					6,588
Soma and Kirkağaç	12,403					12,403
Gönen	2,410					2,410
Gökçedağ	989					989
Kepsut	4,263					4,263
Kirmasti	2,874					2,874
Aydincik	1,604					1,604
Ayvacik	5,482					5,482
Bergama	3,452					3,452
Nevahii Bergama	4,122					4,122
Ilicai Bergama	1,917					1,917
Atranos	4,972					4,972
Cebelicedid (N)	2,281					2,281
Kete	4,192					4,192
Cebeliatik (N)	2,319					2,319
Bayramiç	1,795					1,795
Kozak	1,004					1,004
Tribes	4,838					4,838
Total, Hüdavendigar Sancak	155,908	9,723	0	627	2,800	169,058
Eskişehir Sancak						
Eskişehir (town)	6,754	122				6,876
Seyidgazi	2,250					2,250
Karacaşehir	3,725	575				4,300
Bilecik	5,489	3,266				8,755
Inönü	2,450					2,450
Karaisar	13,346	1,080				14,426
Sandikli	8,089					8,089
Şuhud	2,975					2,975
Sancakli	2,761					2,761
Karamik	669					669
Çap	1,776					1,776
Çöle	226					226
Bolvadin	4,123					4,123
Han Cadcende	3,692					3,692
Padcende	4,267					4,267
Total, Eskişehir Sancak	62,592	5,043	0	0	0	67,635
Ankara Sancak						
Ankara (town)	6,338					6,338
Ayaş (45)[g]	7,042					7,042
Murtazaabat (49)	1,360					1,860
Sütlü (N) (67)	3,384					3,384
Arapsun (39)	4,506					4,506
Haymanateyn (42)	2,597					2,597
Şorba (62)	4,387					4,387
Çubukabat (90)	5,385					5,385
Yoruks (of Ankara)	757					757
Yabanabad (95)	8,542					8,542
Bala (N) (49)	5,027					5,027
Reaya and Jews	—	7,188	—	136	—	7,324
Total, Ankara Sancak	49,825	7,188	0	136	0	57,149

I.1. The Ottoman Population in Rumili and Anatolia, 1831 (continued)

Census District	Muslims	Reaya[a]	Gypsies[b]	Jews	Armenians	Total
ANATOLIA						
ANDOLU EYALET, continued						
Çankiri (Kengiri) Sancak						
Çankiri	12,203					12,203
Kalecik	5,557					5,557
Koçhisar	3,744					3,744
Keskin	2,939					2,939
Milan	2,098					2,098
Karacaviran	833					833
Bicure	1,607					1,607
Şabanözü (including Inallu tribe)	2,917					2,917
Tuht	3,642					3,642
Kargi	2,462					2,462
Tosya	5,585					5,585
Öküz	1,092					1,092
Kurşunlu	1,226					1,226
Boğaz	204					204
Çerkeş	2,569					2,569
Karipazari	1,908					1,908
Reaya	—	447	—	—	—	447
Total, Çankiri (Kengiri) Sancak	50,586	447	0	0	0	51,033
Bolu Sancak[j]						
Bolu (town)					256	256
Devrek		15[k]			90	105
Gerede	—	5	—	—	—	5
Total, Bolu Sancak	0	20	0	0	346	366
Kastamonu Sancak[k]						
Kastamonu	14,861					14,861
Taşköprü	6,975					6,975
Boyabat	7,456					7,456
Gökçeağac	1,947					1,947
Devregan	2,919					2,919
Sinop	7,137					7,137
Gerze	2,521					2,521
Saray	4,839					4,839
Çanli	2,478					2,476
Akkaya	1,586					1,586
Istatan	2,835					2,635
Ayandon	2,088					2,088
Gineulu	5,713					5,713
Inebolu	2,822					2,822
Hoşalay	6,586					6,586
Cide	4,455					4,455
Zari	2,399					2,399
Kuremuhas	8,345					8,345
Azdavay	4,986					4,986
Devrekani	3,002					3,002
Güney	2,520					2,520
Göl	2,297					2,297
Çilene	912					912
Eflani	1,663					1,663
Merküze	2,912					2,912
Araç	2,472					2,472
Yörüks (of Araç)	708					708
Sarp	1,888					1,688
Boyali	2,293					2,293
Gerede	795					795
Akyürken	218					218
Puşiyans (religious order)	226					226
Reaya	—	3,285	—	—	—	3,285
Total, Kastamonu Sancak	114,854	3,285	0	0	0	118,139

Census District	Muslims	Reaya[a]	Gypsies[b]	Jews	Armenians	Total
ANATOLIA						
ANDOLU EYALET, continued						
Aydin Sancak						
Güzelhisar	11,252	1,044		370	64	12,730
Tire	11,178	787		162	15	12,142
Bayindir	7,275	1,017			73	8,365
Ödemiş	8,358	823			336	9,517
Birgi	5,713	213				5,926
Kilas	1,063	15			1	1,079
Balabanyolu	1,709	11				1,720
Sard and Salihli	381	120				501
Dağmarmarasi	609					609
Alaşehir	6,374	911				7,285
Kestel and Nazilli	4,687	227			47	4,961
Yenişehir	6,559	95				6,654
Bozdoğan	4,199	27				4,226
Kuyucak	2,683	15				2,698
Arpaz	2,876	16				2,892
Inegöl	2,802	26				2,828
Atça	2,332	92				2,424
Sultanhisar	1,718	29				1,747
Amasya	858	3				861
Beypazari	2,020	13			7	2,040
Köşkderesi	2,050	110				2,160
Köşk	385	49				434
Dallica	1,177	3				1,180
Vakıf	1,617	2				1,619
Ayasuluğ	69	698				767
Tribes	10,313	—	—	—	—	10,313
Total, Aydin Sancak	100,257	6,346	0	532	543	107,678
Saruhan Sancak						
Total, excluding Nomads	73,984	13,400				87,384
Nomadic tribes	8,405	—	—	—	—	8,405
Total, Saruhan Sancak	82,389	13,400	0	0	0	95,789
Muğla Sancak						
Izmir (town)	9,430[h]	6,637	35	3,530	2,205	21,837
Urla	1,806	2,647	29	50		4,532
Ayasefid	882	108				990
Birunabad	1,475	1,205	21	11	30	2,742
Tiryanda	1,248	1,260	11			2,519
Cumaabad	892	87	22			1,001
Karaburun	2,240	1,027	55		4	3,326
Çeşme	1,196	5,560	23	49	5	6,833
Seferihisar	2,105	219	31		1	2,356
Kuşadasi	2,698	674		66	32	3,470
Söke	1,381	1,124			74	2,579
Mandiçe	1,618	358	17			1,993
Balat	1,144	538	29			1,711
Karpuzlu	1,684	6				1,692
Çine	3,951	54			3	4,008
Şahme	930	30				960
Talma	2,454	23	75			2,552
Ineabad	1,786	213	73			2,072
Kizilhisar	590	38	99			727
Immigrants	1,278					1,278
Yörüks	4,732					4,732
Foreigners[y]	—	847	—	—	—	847
Total, Muğla Sancak	45,520	22,657	520	3,706	2,354	74,757

1.1. The Ottoman Population in Rumili and Anatolia, 1831 (continued)

Census District	Muslims	Reaya[a]	Gypsies[b]	Jews	Armenians	Total
			ANATOLIA			
ANDOLU EYALET, continued						
Menteşe Sancak						
Muğla	2,981					2,981
Tavas	6,835					6,835
Yarangume (N)	2,987					2,987
Gebranes	767					767
Uzumlu	404					404
Ağırdos	1,241					1,241
Doğer	985					985
Eşen	1,721					1,721
Meğri	1,706					1,706
Dadya	1,282					1,282
Tarahya	942					942
Ula	1,261					1,261
Talaman	1,633					1,633
Kerme	779					779
Köyceğiz	3,343					3,343
Gökabad	472					472
Karaova	790					790
Mandalyan	2,076					2,076
Bodrum	1,190					1,190
Troloz	1,354					1,354
Eskihisar	331					331
Subice	3,373					3,373
Mazon	989					989
Bozuyük	2,321					2,321
Yerkeski	740					740
Mesuli	1,250					1,250
Milas	5,104					5,104
Nomads (ot Milas)	505					505
Foreigners	468	52				520
Non-Muslims	—	2,294	196	36	52	2,578
Total, Menteşe Sancak	49,830	2,346	196	36	52	52,460
Hamit Sancak						
Isparta	6,310					6,310
Pavlu	2,038					2,038
Eğridir	4,259					4,259
Karaağaç	4,987					4,987
Afşar	2,258					2,258
Yalvaç	7,930					7,930
Hoyran	1,060					1,060
Uluborlu	4,960					4,960
Badle	1,058					1,058
Ağros	2,007					2,007
Günan	631					631
Keçiborlu	1,813					1,813
Ağlasun	2,168					2,168
Incir	411					411
Burdur	8,505	683				9,188
Karaağaç	10,462					10,462
Kemerhamıt	1,321					1,321
Ibrala and Boyce	2,498					2,498
Gülhisar	4,248					4,248
Tefenni and Siroz	1,879					1,879
Denizli	7,487	358				7,845
Honaz	2,502	65				2,567
Ezineilazkiye	5,652	155				5,807
Ezineiçarsamba	4,254	7				4,261
Gökünük	1,843	—	—	—	—	1,843
Total, Hamit Sancak	92,541	1,268	0	0	0	93,809

Census District	Muslims	Reaya[a]	Gypsies[b]	Jews	Armenians	Total
			ANATOLIA			
ANDOLU EYALET, continued						
Teke Sancak						
Antalya (town)	2,879					2,879
Antalya (villages)	1,963					1,963
Istanoz (N)	5,033					5,033
Elmali	4,735					4,735
Kaş	2,933					2,933
Kalkat	1,672					1,672
Fenike	1,307					1,307
Eğridır and Kaddiç	1,893					1,893
Serik, Beşkonak, Karavelifer (N) and Has	2,110					2,110
Bucak and Germiye	1,724					1,724
Kizilkaya	942					942
Immigrants	961					961
Tribes	7,148					7,148
Tahtacı and Apdallar (Alevi groups)	539	—	—	—	—	539
Total, Teke Sancak	35,839	0	0	0	0	35,839
Karesi Sancak						
Balikesir	7,649	756				8,405
Gelenbe	2,255	127				2,382
Kozak	1,945	10				1,955
Bigadiç	4,219	62				4,281
Sindirgi	5,900	111				6,011
Kemer	3,649	123				3,772
Ayazmend	1,713	458				2,171
Manyas	1,271	91				1,362
Hat and Aşami	699	30				729
Edremit	4,952	289				5,241
Ivrindi	2,870	23				2,893
Ayvalik	16	1,932	—	—	—	1,948
Total, Karesi Sancak	37,138	4,012	0	0	0	41,150
Viranşehir Sancak						
Viranşehir	3,629					3,629
Şahabeddin	1,713					1,713
Kizilbel	1,817					1,817
Yenice	1,393					1,393
Çarşamba	4,047					4,047
Perşembe	2,931					2,931
Bendereğli	9,062					9,062
Bartin	7,135					7,135
Amasri (Amasra)	6,411					6,411
Ulus	3,110					3,110
Safranbolu	8,220					8,220
Effani	2,842					2,842
Kiçno	1,736					1,736
Zerzene	1,839					1,839
Aktaş	527					527
Tefen	623					623
Ova	1,343					1,343
Börek	801					801
Kurukavak	323					323
Reaya (in Safranbolu, Bartin, Bendereğli)	—	1,225	—	—	—	1,225
Total, Viranşehir Sancak	59,502	1,225	0	0	0	60,727
TOTAL, ANADOLU EYALET	1,084,459	76,960	884	5,037	6,095	1,173,435

1.1. The Ottoman Population in Rumili and Anatolia, 1831 (continued)

Census District	Muslims	Reaya[a]	Gypsies[b]	Jews	Armenians	Total
			ANATOLIA			
KARAMAN EYALET[z]						
Konya (town)	12,457					12,457
Konya (villages)	6,860	1,678				8,538
Konya Sancak	37,793					37,793
Beyşehir (town)	831					831
Beyşehir (villages)	4,005	52				4,057
Beyşehir Sancak	18,199					18,199
Akşehir (town)	2,171					2,171
Akşehir (villages)	3,443	1,000				4,443
Akşehir Sancak	8,391					8,391
Aksaray (town)	2,322					2,322
Aksaray (villages)	4,290	987				5,277
Aksaray Sancak	966					966
Kayseriyye (town)	13,466					13,466
Kayseriyye (villages)	21,005	15,901				36,906
Kayseriyye Sancak	5,014					5,014
Niğde (town)	3,353	14,703				18,506
Niğde (villages)	895					895
Niğde Sancak	41,025					41,025
Kirşehir (town)	3,051					3,051
Kirşehir (villages)	2,929	140				3,069
Kirşehir Sancak	7,908					7,908
Nomadic tribes[aa]	11,682					11,682
Settled tribes	17,186	—	—	—	—	17,186
TOTAL, KARAMAN EYALET	229,242	34,461	0	0	0	263,703
SIVAS EYALET						
Sivas Sancak	97,253	18,537				115,790
Divriği Sancak	14,593					14,593
Bozok Sancak						
Yozgat (town)	3,218					3,218
Kizilkoca	7,997					7,997
Selmanli	2,914					2,914
Budaközu	6,731					6,731
Akdağ	7,371					7,371
Sorkun	8,573					8,573
Karahisar Behramşah	3,819					3,819
Gedikçubuk	2,512					2,512
Emlak	2,919					2,919
Süleymanli	1,389					1,389
Boğazliyan	2,745					2,745
Reaya	—	9,826	—	—	—	9,826
Total, Bozak Sancak	50,188	9,826	0	0	0	60,014
Çorum Sancak						
Çorum[bb]	10,075					10,075
İskilip	11,450					11,450
Osmancik	4,349					4,349
Hacihamzaöerbendi	659					659
Saz	661					661
Kurds and other tribes	6,581	—	—	—	—	6,581
Total, Çorum Sancak	33,775	0	0	0	0	33,775
Canik Sancak	40,935	14,808[cc]				55,743

Census District	Muslims	Reaya[a]	Gypsies[b]	Jews	Armenians	Total
			ANATOLIA			
SIVAS EYALET, continued						
Amasya Sancak						
Amasya (town)	4,326	2,053				6,379
Ezinepazari, Akdağ, and Geldiklan (N)	8,156	134				8,290
Day, Zennunabad, and Kelkurasi	3,037	14				3,051
Kedegre (Köprü)	6,583	419	60			7,062
Havza	2,665[dd]	314				2,979
Ladik	2,257	222				2,479
Gümüş Madeni	2,751	444				3,195
Hacıköy	2,574	644				3,218
Zeytin	4,016					4,016
Merzifon	4,928	2,178	—	—	—	7,106
Total, Amasya Sancak	41,293	6,422	60	0	0	47,775
TOTAL, SIVAS EYALET	278,037	49,593	60	0	0	327,690
ADANA EYALET						
Adana Sancak						
Adana (town)	4,050	236			2,215	6,501
Yuregir (villages)	1,000					1,000
Yüregir (N)	677				168	845
Akçakoyunlu (tribe)	245					245
Sam Bayati (community)	113					113
Dindarlu (tribe)	107					107
Saricam (tribe)	550					550
Aşağı Dindarlu	552					552
Karaisali	1,182[ee]					1,182
Bilan Sancak	2,288	481	—	—	—	2,769
Total, Adana and Bilan Sancaks	10,764	717	0	0	2,383	13,864
Azir Sancak						
Azir[ff]	527	679				1,206
Derbendi Misis (village)	247	—	—	—	147	394
Total, Azir Sancak	774	679	0	0	147	1,600
Tarsus Sancak						
Tarsus (town)	2,891	493				3,384
Kusun	2,032					2,032
Yörük communities	569					569
Elvanlı	995					995
Ulaş	1,140					1,140
Kuş-tımur	1,307	113				1,420
Namrun	2,007[gg]				197	2,204
Karabalı tribe	1,710					1,710
Gökçe	2,157[hh]	99	—	—	—	2,256
Total, Tarsus Sancak	14,808	705	0	0	197	15,710
İçel Sancak						
Total of towns and villages in 12 kazas	20,567	270	481			21,318
Yörüks (nomads)	10,076	—	—	—	—	10,076
Total, İçel Sancak	30,643	270	481	0	0	31,394
Alaiye Sancak						
Alaiye	10,398	490				10,888
Söker (including Dusenbih)	3,492					3,492
Manavgat	3,210					3,210
İbradı	3,680					3,680
Nevahii Alaiye	8,012	—	—	—	—	8,012
Total, Alaiye Sancak	28,792	490	0	0	0	29,282
TOTAL, ADANA EYALET	85,781	2,861[ii]	481	0	2,727	91,850

I.1. The Ottoman Population in Rumili and Anatolia, 1831 (continued)

Census District	Muslims	Reaya[a]	Gypsies[b]	Jews	Armenians	Total
ANATOLIA						
CEZAYIR-I BAHR-I SEFID EYALET						
Kocaeli Sancak						
Iznikmit	5,597	5,972				11,569
Adapazari and Sapanca	5,337	4,274				9,611
Akhisar	3,628	1,314				4,942
Geyve	2,679	1,108				3,787
Iznik	3,220	957				4,177
Pazarköy	1,980	3,434				5,414
Yalakabad	918	3,011				3,929
Karamürsel	1,443	1,496				2,939
Kaymas	3,388	814				4,202
Şeyhler	3,382	479				3,861
Kandira and Gençli	3,066					3,066
Ağaçli	1,732					1,732
Hendek and Akyazi	2,107					2,107
Karasu	1,302					1,302
Ibsafi	780					780
Sariçayir	849					849
Beşdivan	342					342
Akabad	1,236					1,236
Foreigners	1,667	694				2,361
Şile[fl]	3,517	1,957	55			5,529
Taşköprü	3,766	41	29	—	—	3,836
Total, Kocaeli Sancak	51,936	25,551	84	0	0	77,571
Biga Sancak						
Kalaisultaniye	2,208					2,208
Kumkale	632					632
Ezineikazdaği	2,253					2,253
Bayramiç	3,327					3,327
Can	1,856					1,856
Ünye	2,323					2,323
Balye	5,992					5,992
Güvercinlik	575					575
Biga	1,925					1,925
Lapseki	2,442					2,442
Yörüks	4,333					4,333
Bozcaada (island)	439	793				1,232
Imroz (island)		2,505				2,505
Reaya (foreigners)		4,614				4,614
Exiles (in Bozcaada and Kumkale)	25					25
Consular service personnel				58		58
Marmara (island)	218	1,629				1,847
Paşa limani	660	2,003				2,633
Imrali (island)	—	224	—	—	—	224
Total, Biga Sancak	29,208	11,768	0	58	0	41,034
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Sancak[mm]						
Midilli	2,058	8,878				10,936
Kalonya	761	7,390				8,151
Molva	3,102	8,134				11,236
Yunda		690				690
Limni	511	4,937	43			5,491
Bozbaba		310				310
Taşoz		1,821				1,821
Semadirek	3	430				433
Istankoy	1,356	1,838				3,194
Sakiz	791	8,558	16	69		9,434
Rodos	3,095	7,420				10,515
Cyprus	14,983	29,190	43			44,216
Erdek	620	1,426				2,046
Kapu-dağı	111	2,530				2,641
Bandirma	884	848	—	—	773	2,505
Total, Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Sancak	28,275	84,400	102	69	773	113,619
TOTAL, CEZAYIR-I BAHR-I SEFID EYALET	109,419	121,719	186	127	773	232,224

Census District	Muslims	Reaya[a]	Gypsies[b]	Jews	Armenians	Total
ANATOLIA						
TRABZON EYALET						
Trabzon Sancak						
Trabzon	6,300					6,300
Künyen (*liva*)	20,532					20,532
Rize and Hemşin	30,547[f]					30,547
Giresun and Keşap	8,785					8,785
Görele	3,973					3,973
Vakfikebir and Sağir	5,962					5,962
Polathane	8,432					8,432
Yümrenek	6,755					6,755
Tonyan	1,910					1,910
Sürmene	12,985					12,985
Of	18,940					18,940
Reaya	—	11,431	—	—	—	11,431
TOTAL, TRABZON EYALET	125,121	11,431	0	0	0	136,552
ÇILDIR EYALET[nn]	73,282		191		4,887	78,360
KARS EYALET	17,580				2,161[oo]	19,741
Visitors and merchants in Kars and Çildir	—	105	—	—	—	105
TOTAL, ÇILDIR AND KARS EYALETS	90,862[pp]	105	191	0	7,048	98,206
TOTAL, ANATOLIA	2,002,921	297,130	1,802	5,164	16,643	2,323,660
SUMMARY						
EUROPE	487,971	783,333	33,905	10,133	2,099	1,317,441
ANATOLIA	2,002,921	297,130	1,802	5,164	16,643	2,323,660
GRAND TOTAL	2,490,892	1,080,463	35,707	15,297	18,742	3,641,101

Source: *Defter* (register) entitled "Memalik-i Mahrusa-i Sahanede 1247 Senesinde Mevcut Olan Nüfus Defteri," Istanbul University, Ms. Cat. D-8, no. 8867. (The original register, which is a summary of hundreds of other registers, consists of 119 pages of text plus 77 blank pages.)

Notes: The listing of localities in the original register followed to a large extent the form officially adopted by the General Directorate of Statistics; for that listing, elucidated by notes by Enver Ziya Karal, see *Osmanli Imparatorluğunda Ilk Nüfus Sayimi 1831* (Ankara, 1943). Each census taker in 1830/31 had his own methods, but I have tried to provide as uniform a listing as possible.

The totals in this table differ from those of the General Directorate because I have made (minor) necessary recalculations and corrections in the figures and have also rearranged the listed localities, grouping them in their proper administrative districts (in the register they are listed without regard to administrative boundaries); for the administrative listing, I follow Fazila Akbal, "1831 Tarihinde Osmanli Imparatorluğunda Idari Taksimat ve Nüfus," *Belleten* 15, no. 60 (1961): 617–28.

The largest administrative division at the time of the 1831 census was the *eyalet*, while the most important unit in the division was the *sancak*, headed by a *sancakbey* (the *liva* was the equivalent of a *sancak*). The *kaza* was the main judiciary district, while the *nahiye* was the rural district of a *kaza*. The majority of locality names in the table are of *kazas*; the names of other types of areas are specifically labeled.

Also listed under "census localities" are some non-geographical designations—the names of groups (e.g., "reaya," "nomads," "foreigners")—that are totalled for several localities rather than counted separately for each.

Males only were counted in this census.

[a] In the nineteenth century the term *reaya* came to be officially applied to Christians in general, whereas in the past it had covered all land cultivators regardless of religion; however, in practice, *reaya*, especially in the Balkans, meant Orthodox Christians, that is, the Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, and Vlahs. The census of 1831 for the first time distinguishes the Bulgarians, occasionally referring to them by their ethnic name. The census takers occasionally refer also to non-Muslims as a group as "reayay-i milel-i selase," that is, Christians of the three "nations," Orthodox, Armenians, and Jews; but more often than not these are listed separately in the old Ottoman tradition. (See also note *q* below.)

[b] In the original register the Muslim and Christian gypsies are listed separately; here the two groups are combined into one category. Their number is more or less equal.

[c] At the time of the census of 1831 the European section of the empire consisted of three *eyalets*: Rumeli, Silistre, and Bosnia. The last was not included in the census. The original register uses the term "Rumeli" for the European section of the realm, despite the fact that administratively Rumeli was an *eyalet* comprising only a portion of the European territory.

[d] The designation (N) after the name of a locality indicates that it is a *nahiye* (plural: *nevahi*)—a rural district of a *kaza*.

[e] Edirne, Ada, Çoke, Üsküdar, and Manastir are mentioned twice in the original register. They are so

I.1. The Ottoman Population in Rumili and Anatolia, 1831 (continued)

listed *here*, but this first set of population totals has been excluded from the final totals in this section, the second set of totals, immediately following, has been used.

[f] Of these, 44,391 are described as being Bulgarian and 568 as Latin, elsewhere they are described as "Pavlikan." Actually Filibe (or Philippopolis) had a large Greek population, as indicated by later censuses.

[g] Includes Jews living in Karlova.

[h] Of these, 877 lived in town, the rest lived in villages.

[i] These are specifically mentioned as being Bulgarians.

[j] Of these, 3,235 were townspeople, while 13,361 were villagers.

[k] Includes 750 soldiers.

[l] Includes Jews.

[m] In the original register it is stated that the count of Christians in these seven *kazas* is given in a different register (which could not be located), their number should be somewhat less than that of the Muslims, who were numerous in these areas, but one may safely estimate that the total of Christians was not less than 20,000.

[n] Muslims were found mostly in the town.

[o] Includes 35 persons described as European merchants.

[p] The figures for Babadağı are from a second register for the census of Silistre apparently compiled at about the same date as the 1831 census register (and used by Karal), see BA, Hatt-i Hümayun, no. 49088-A. None of the *kazas* listed in the 1831 census register is listed also in the second register, except for Babadağı. I have used the second set of figures for this *kaza* because the number of Christians is given; the 1831 census register gives a total of 1,968 Muslims and 14 gypsies only. It should be noted that the 1831 census register gives no figures for the town of Silistre itself. According to the census of 1866, Silistre had a total of 3,787 taxable inhabitants, including 2,351 Muslims; at the same time Babadağı had a total of 2,035 taxable inhabitants, of whom 1,200 were Muslims. About in 1850 the population of Babadağı (town) consisted of 2,555 Muslims (481 families) and 1,131 non-Muslims (229 families), for a total of 3,686 population in 710 families. The total for the entire *kaza* was 3,099 Muslim families, or 14,756 persons, and 2,622 non-Muslim families, or 15,016 persons, for a total of 5,721 families, or 29,772 people. See Hans-Jurgen Kornkrumpf, "Zur Verwaltungsgliederung der Dobrudscha in den letzten Jahren der Osmanischen Herrschaft," *Münchener Zeitschrift fur Balkankunde* 1 (Munich: Rudolf Trofenik, 1978), 139–55.

[q] In the census of Anatolia the term *reaya* often includes both the Greek Orthodox and the Armenians, if there is not separate listing of the latter.

[r] Includes 1,972 soldiers, 4,799 immigrants, and 6,392 visitors.

[s] Figures in parentheses indicate the number of villages in these *kazas*.

[t] There is no explanation for the failure to indicate the number of Muslims in the Bolu Sancak.

[u] These are specifically described as being Rum, or Greeks.

[v] The original 1831 census register from which most of the figures in this table have been compiled does not include results from Kastamonu. The figures are included in Karal's work and were taken, he states, from a special register for Kastamonu that he found in the library of Istanbul University, *Istatistik ve Defatir Katalog*, no. 8. Despite intensive search, I have been unable to locate this register, therefore the figures for Kastamonu are as given in Karal, *Osmanli Imparatorluğunda*, pp. 180–85. Note that there is no explanation for the failure to include any figures for Christians.

[w] The total number of *hanes*, or families, is 3,430.

[x] The total population for Urfa, Ayasefid, Birunabad, Tiryanda, and Cumaabad is 6,303 people in 2,817 *hanes*.

[y] The foreigners (*musteminun*) are described as being persons under the protection of foreign powers.

[z] In this tabulation for Karaman Eyalet, the *sancak* totals include persons living in the district outside the towns and villages.

[aa] The nomadic tribes include the Pehlivanlu, Cermandelu, Sherefli, Boynuincelu, Abdalan, and some Yörüks (Marchers). The last-named group (known also as Yürük) is of Turkish stock; it was conservatively estimated that there were about 250,000 Yörüks in Ottoman lands, to be found mostly in the mountainous areas of southern Anatolia.

[bb] The population of the town of Çorum was 4,822.

[cc] Greeks and Armenians are counted together.

[dd] Some 135 persons are designated as members of various tribes.

[ee] Includes 304 Yörüks.

[ff] This is the *sancak* area not in the village, and it includes Payas Kaza.

[gg] Includes 79 Tahtaci, 335 Dikili, and 245 Torak—that is, Alevi and other non-orthodox Muslims and persons practicing the trade of charcoal-making (*torak*).

[hh] Includes 1,083 Yörüks.

[ii] Includes Tahtacilar (Alevis).

[jj] Includes 4,800 persons classed as *fellahin*—that is, Egyptians (usually workers in the cotton fields)—who are listed in the Muslim totals of Adana (town), Yüregir (village and *nahiye*), Bilan Sancak, Azir Sancak, Tarsus (town), Kusun, and Evanli.

[kk] Includes some Armenians, as both Greeks and Armenians were included in the *reaya* total of Bilan Sancak, Azir Sancak, and Payas Kaza, Tarsus (town), Kuş-Timur, and Gökçe.

[ll] Şile and Taşköprü, although included under Kocaeli Sancak in this list, were not actually in that district.

[mm] The listed localities of Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Sancak are islands, with the exception of Erdek, Kapu-dağı, and Bandirma, which are non-insular *kazas*.

[nn] A total of 17 *livas* were included in this census. Çildir, which was composed of Sarad, Levane, Circiv, and Cebecik, was located east of Trabzon.

[oo] Includes some Catholic Armenians.

[pp] Includes a small number of tribesmen in each *eyalet*.

I.2. Ottoman Population, 1844–1856

A. BY REGION

European Turkey	
Thrace	1,800,000
Rumelia and Thessaly	2,700,000
Bulgaria	3,000,000
Albania	1,200,000
Bosnia and the Herzegovina	1,100,000
Wallachia, Moldavia, Servia (special autonomous status)	2,600,000
	1,400,000
	1,000,000
The Islands (Aegean)	700,000
Total	15,500,000
Asiatic Turkey	
Asia Minor	10,700,000
Syria, Mesopotamia, and Kurdistan	4,450,000
Arabia (Mecca, Medina, Ethiopia)	900,000
Total	16,050,000
Africa	
Egypt	2,000,000
Tripoli and Fezzan	600,000
Tunis	1,200,000
Total	3,800,000
GRAND TOTAL	35,350,000

B. BY ETHNIC ORIGIN

	In Europe	In Asia	In Africa	Total
Ottomans (Turks)	2,100,000	10,700,000		12,800,000
Greeks	1,000,000	1,000,000		2,000,000
Armenians	400,000	2,000,000		2,400,000
Jews	70,000	80,000		150,000
Slavs	6,200,000			6,200,000
Rumanians	4,000,000			4,000,000
Albanians	1,500,000			1,500,000
Tatars	16,000	20,000		36,000
Arabs		900,000	3,800,000	4,700,000
Syrians (Assyrians) and Chaldeans		235,000		235,000
Druses		30,000		30,000
Kurds		1,000,000		1,000,000
Turkomans		85,000		85,000
Tsigani (Gypsies)	214,000			214,000
Total	15,500,000	16,050,000	3,800,000	35,350,000

C. BY RELIGION

	In Europe	In Asia	In Africa	Total
Muslims	4,550,000	12,650,000	3,800,000	21,000,000
Greek Orthodox	10,000,000	3,000,000		13,000,000
Catholics	640,000	260,000		900,000
Jews	70,000	80,000		150,000
Other Sects				300,000
Total	15,260,000	15,990,000	3,800,000	35,350,000

Source: [Jean Henri] A[bdolomyne] Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey*, trans. Lady Easthope (London, 1856; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1973), pp. 18–19, 22.

Notes: Ubicini's figures are based on statistics compiled in the Ottoman census of 1844; the census figures cannot be found.

There are some differences between population figures in the English and French versions of Ubicini's book; those in the English translation are presumably more accurate.

As will be observed, these tabulations include Wallachia and Moldavia, both overwhelmingly Orthodox Christian; the inclusion of these two principalities and Serbia distorts the Muslim-Christian ratio in the last section of the table. The population of east Arabia is not included in this account.

I.3. Population and Number of Villages, Tuna Province, 1868 (H. 1285)

Sancak	Villages	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Rusçuk	833	138,692	95,834	234,526
Varna	391	58,689	20,769	79,458
Vidin	434	25,338	124,567	149,905
Sofia	711	24,410	147,095	171,505
Tirnova	453	71,645	104,273	175,918
Tulça	252	39,133	17,929	57,062
Niş	549	54,510	100,425	154,935
Total	3,623	412,417	610,892	1,023,309

Source: Tuna Vilayet Salname of 1285.

Notes: The yearbook from which this census list is taken was apparently the first one issued for Tuna Province.

The population totals and number of villages given in this census list are higher than those given for 1874 (see I.5) because figures for Niş are included.

This population list is significant, as it was intended to complement the property survey (*tahriri emlak*) carried out in the towns of Tuna Province in 1866, and it therefore includes areas omitted from that tabulation.

Women are not counted in this census, a fact noted in the yearbook. It is also reported that the male population had not been subjected to census since 1260 (1847) and that the registration of births and deaths had not been properly kept up.

I.4. Population and Number of Villages, Tuna Province, 1869 (H. 1286)

Sancak	*Hanes* (Families)	Villages	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Rusçuk	20,677	833	143,455	95,267	238,722
Varna	6,342	467	43,431	16,727	60,158
Vidin	9,340	523	25,701	125,692	151,093
Sofya	10,428	706	25,796	147,068	172,864
Tirnova	9,203	453	72,053	115,434	187,487
Tulça	5,959	248	39,059	23,461	62,520
Niş	9,763	1,208	29,331	131,265	160,596
Total	71,712	4,438	378,826	654,914	1,033,740

Source: Tuna Vilayet Salname of 1286.

I.5. Population and Number of Villages, Tuna Province, 1874 (H. 1291)

Administrative District	Villages	*Hanes* (Families)	Muslims	Non-Muslims
Rusçuk	92	13,548	24,293	21,056
Şumnu	156	23,270	34,624	12,854
Hezargrad	135	15,628	34,433	15,685
Cumaiatik	46	5,894	13,039	2,965
Silistre	235	10,912	21,616	12,133
Tutrakan	40	3,182	7,756	2,036
Ziştovi	39	8,018	8,088	14,859
Niğbolu	61	7,238	11,276	20,097
Pilevne	46	10,649	9,764	17,934
Total	850	98,339	164,889	119,619
Vidin	64	7,850	10,839	15,818
Lom	74	6,573	6,174	32,881
Adliye	43	5,172	2,737	19,773
Belgratçik	—	—	—	—
Berkofça	104	7,260	4,862	35,394
Ivraca	82	8,086	1,293	27,022
Rahova	60	4,359	1,856	7,523
Total	427	39,300	27,761	138,411
Sofya	198	14,851	42,796	9,263
Dubniçe	70	4,237	11,192	1,834
Orhaniye	29	8,221	19,706	2,312
Ihtiman	40	4,359	1,856	7,523
Köstendil	173	8,049	27,293	4,096
Samakov	58	7,013	21,334	2,701
Izladi	18	2,504	4,490	2,891
Radomir	127	4,600	16,532	1,520
Cuma	37	2,680	2,755	2,596
Total	750	56,514	147,954	34,736
Tirnova	122	17,592	22,561	42,555
Rahoviçe (N)	6	2,626	336	9,735
Bebrova and Elnene (N)	45	5,176	5,930	11,901
Dranova (N)	10	1,788	164	4,269
Travna (N)	6	1,882	—	7,087
Lofça	77	10,525	21,548	15,397
Osmanpazar	85	3,840	1,154	16,446
Kazgan (Kazan)	1	1,033	2,540	2,540
Selvi	33	7,631	7,813	13,332
Gabrova	18	3,724	45	14,866
Total	403	55,817	62,091	138,128
Tulça	16	4,350	1,419	7,711
Sine	11	595	34	2,653
Babadağı	57	5,721	4,756	15,016
Maçin	25	3,231	6,084	8,924
Köstence	34	4,507	16,233	301
Harsova	38	3,589	12,426	3,672
Mecidiye	55	4,773	12,022	909
Mahmudiye (N)	11	928	2,192	1,513
Kili (Isakça excluded) (N)	19	1,310	1,558	3,448
Total	266	29,004	56,724	44,147
Varna	67	5,959	7,978	5,170
Pravadi	91	4,744	9,311	4,029
Balçik	71	2,641	6,954	3,618
Pazarcik	108	5,163	13,960	3,385
Mankalye	70	7,451	6,675	499
Total	407	25,958	44,878	16,701
GRAND TOTAL	3,103	304,932	504,297	491,742

Source: Tuna Vilayet Salname of 1291.

Notes: Niş is excluded from this table, and, as usual, only males were counted.

The census districts named are mainly *kazas*; *nevahi* are identified by (N) following the name. The district listed first in each group is the central *kaza*.

I.6. Ottoman Population in Europe and Asia, 1872 and 1874

Region	Area (mi²)	Population: Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
EUROPE (1872)				
Vilayets				
Istanbul (Europe)	46.3	285,100	400,100	685,200
Edirne	1140.3	503,058	801,294	1,304,352
Skutari (Işkodra)	225.1	100,000	128,000	228,000
Prizren	667.8	728,286	470,868	1,199,154
Tuna	1684.0	817,200	1,199,230	2,016,430
Janina	661.5	249,699	460,802	710,501
Salonica	1008.0	429,410	807,928	1,237,338
Bosnia	1134.4	630,456	612,000	1,242,456
Crete	156.5	90,000	120,000	210,000
Total	6723.9	3,833,209	5,000,222	8,833,431
Serbia	791.0	4,965	1,314,424	1,319,389
Romania (Wallachia-Moldavia)	2201.0	3,000	4,497,000	4,500,000
Montenegro	80.0	—	100,000	100,000
TOTAL, EUROPE	9795.9	3,841,174	10,911,646	14,752,820
ASIA (1874)				
Vilayets				
Istanbul (Asia)	232.5	455,500	340,500	796,000
Bursa	1358.3	838,494	191,750	1,030,244
Aydin	938.7	600,000	380,000	980,000
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	264.4	95,044	347,991	443,035
Cyprus	173.2	44,000	100,000	144,000
Kastamonu	974.5	757,786	16,426	774,212
Ankara	1260.0	849,432	155,046	1,004, 478
Konya	1884.0	740,204	59,968	800,172
Adana	671.0	282,466	41,596	324,062
Trabzon and Canik	732.7	764,160	173,540	937,700
Sivas	1167.3	481,404	90,404	571,808
Erzurum	2345.2	624,346	260,840	885,186
Diyarbekir	1770.7	458,288	250,000	708,288
Baghdad	5877.0	2,200,00	—	2,200,200
Aleppo	1917.0	461,338	77,973	539,311
Syria	3109.7	638,920	334,200	973,120
Hejaz and Yemen	10,312.5	1,134,375	—	1,134,275
Total	34,988.7	11,425,757	2,820,234	14,245,991
Beylik of Samos	10.7	300	34,000	34,300
TOTAL, ASIA	34,998.7	11,426,057	2,854,234	14,280,291

SUMMARY

Region	Area (mi²)	Ottoman Population: Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Europe	9,795 9	3,841,174	10,911,646	14,752,820
Asia	34,998.7	11,426,057	2,854,234	14,280,291
Africa (including Egypt)	54,301.0	11,308,550	170,450	11,479,000
GRAND TOTAL	99,095.6	26,575,781	13,936,330	40,512,111

Source: A. Ritter zur Helle von Samo, *Die Völker des osmanischen Reiches* (Vienna, 1877).

I.7.A. Population of the Ottoman State, 1877/78 (H. 1294)

Main Census District	Sancak	Population	Buildings (Houses)	Kazas in District
Edirne	Edirne	190.585	20.200	Babayiatik, Pinarhisar, Çesriergene, Çermen, Çesrimustafapaşa, Havsa, Hatuneli, Oimetoka, Ferecik, Kirkkilise, Kizilağaç.
	Tekfurdağı	49.751	5.875	Çorlu, Hayrabolu, Lüleburgaz, Midye, Malkara, Vize.
	Gelibolu	58.561	9.080	Eureşe, Inoz, Şarkoy, Keşan, Gümulcine.
	Filibe	266.088	8.600	Ahiçelebi, Pazarcik, Çirpan, Hasköy, Kizanlik, Zağraiatik, Sultanyeri.
	Islimiye	87.691	8.700	Ahyolu, Aydos, Bergos, Zağraicedit, Karinabat, Müseurı.
Total	(5)	652.676	52.455	(35)
Tuna	Rusçuk	309.797	22.854	Pilevne, Cumaiatik, Ziştovi, Silistre, Şumnu, Niğbolu, Hezargrad, Tutrakan.
	Varna	85.805	9.849	Balçik, Pazarcik, Pravadi, Mankalya.
	Vidin	178.823	91.624	Ivraca, Berkofça, Belgratcik, Rahova, Adliye, Lom.
	Tulça	87.455	9.429	Babayiatik, Hirsova, Sunne, Köstence, Maçin, Mecidiye.
	Tirnova	245.894	26.495	Serli, Osmanpazari, Gabrova, Lofça.
Total	(5)	907.774	160.251	(28)
Sofya	Sofya	127.000	19.000	Orhaniye, Izladi, Cuma, Radomir, Samakov, Dupniçe.
	Niş	213.180	21.318	Ürgüp, Iznebol, Ivraniye, Şehirköy, Kurşunlu, Leskofça.
Total	(2)	340.180	40.318	(12)
Selanik	Selanik	177.761	13.990	Ustrumca, Petriç, Tikveş, Toyran, Avrathisari, Karaferye, Köprülü, Vodine, Yenicevardar.
	Serez	151.612	9.542	Demirhisar, Zihne, Menlik, Nevrekop.
	Drama	63.656	3.521	Daridere, Kavala, Yeniceikarasu.
Total	(3)	393.029	27.053	(16)
Bosna	Saray	167.776	39.272	Çelebipazari, Çaynice, Visoka, Kaladine, Konice, Vişegrad.
	Izvornik	262.352	59.241	Izvornik, Berçka, Pelne, Perçe, Gradagaç, Gradcaynice, Miglayi.
	Banaluka	132.128	19.382	Teşne, Derbend, Zayçe, Gradişka.
	Bihke	134.800	13.480	Istroşça, Peridor, Krupa, Kosteniçe, Kluç, Maden, Novasil.
	Travnik	185.024	42.510	Akhisar, Ihleune, Domana, Glamoç, Yayçe.
	Yenipazar	131.488	12.546	Akova, Brane, Bihor, Prebol, Tirgovişte, Taşlice, Kolaşin, Mitroviçe, Yenipazar, Yenivaroş.
Total	(6)	1.013.568	186.431	(39)
Hersek	Hersek	100.616	19.549	Bileke, Foça, Foynice, Lubuşka, Novesin.
	Gaçka	92.632	8.438	Ustruşça, Panaluka, Penve, Popov, Trebin, Ravice, Lubin, Nikşik.
Total	(2)	193.248	27.987	(13)
Manastir	Manastir	74.135	20.439	Istarova, Eğribucak, Ohri, Perlepe, Serfice, Florina, Kirçova, Kolonya, Kesriye, Görice, Nasliç.
	Prizrerf	175.365	74.135	Iştip, Ipek, Priştine, Gosine, Kalkandelen, Gilan, Lume, Vulçitrin, Yakova.
	Üsküp	112.550	98.725	Palanka, Radovişte, Karatova, Koçana, Kumanova.
	Debre	177.104	57.352	Ilbasan, Debreibala, Debreizir, Matu.
Total	(4)	539.154	250.651	(29)
Yanya	Yanya	102.513	15.270	Aydonat, Filan, Koniçe, Grebene.
	Tirhala	25.000	2.500	Alasonya, Irmiye, Tirhala, Çatalca, Golos, Karadice.
	Ergri	12.000	3.400	Balibogun, Permedi, Tepedelen, Delvinye.
	Preveze	26.000	3.400	Parga, Fener, Margiç, Narda.
	Berat	22.000	2.500	Esferbar, Avlonya, Timurice.
Total	(5)	187.513	27.070	(21)
Işkodra		135.000	37.500	Akçahisar, Olgun, Bar, Buka, Podgoriçe, Beklin, Tiran, Diraç, Razrime, Kovaya, Leş, Mardina. (12)
TOTAL, EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS		4.362.142	809.716	

I.7.A. Population of the Ottoman State, 1877/78 (continued)

Main Census District	Sancak	Population	Buildings (Houses)	Kazas in District
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid (Aegean Islands)	Biga	64.410	14.231	Ezine, Ayvacik, Bozcaada, Lapseki, Limni.
	Midilli	32.207	10.020	Molve
	Sakiz	18.599	7.500	Ibsara.
	Rodos	14.010	6.900	Sombeki, Kaşot, Mis.
	Kibris (Cyprus)	28.300	18.200	Baf, Değirmenlik, Tuzla, Limasol, Girne, Magosa.
	Istanköy	20.456	9.112	Batnos, Kalimboz.
Total	(6)	177.982	65.963	(18)
Girit (Crete)	Hanya	53.591	12.131	Elkiyan, Silne, Kisamu.
	Kandiye	86.814	22.251	Pedye, Rizo, Gürbur, Malviz.
	Resmo	39.529	13.213	Ameri, Potmu, Milo.
	Isfakye	23.946	9.312	Isfakye, Istanbul, Ivasal
	Laşit	28.954	8.221	Esine, Praptre, Meramile.
Total	(5)	232.834	65.128	(16)
Hüdavendigar	Bursa	120.426	53.920	Inegöl, Bilecik, Gemlik, Mudanya, Mihaliç, Yenişehir.
	Karesi	28.721	15.934	Edremit, Erdek, Ayvalik, Bigadiç, Soma, Kemeredremit.
	Karahisarisahip	77.264	18.033	Akaabat, Ağaçli, Bolvadin, Çay, Sandikli, Musluca (Aziziye).
	Kütahya	139.574	55.292	Eskişehir, Simav, Uşak, Gediz.
Total	(4)	365.985	143.179	(22)
Aydin	Izmir	155.000	27.000	Ödemiş, Urla, Çeşme, Menemen, Bayindir, Kuşadasi.
	Aydin	110.000	75.440	Buldan, Bozliğan, Denizli, Muğla, Nazilli.
	Saruhan	84.522	13.648	Atala, Akhisar, Eşme, Gördes, Manisa.
	Menteşe	22.500	11.300	Tavas, Köyceğiz, Marmaris.
Total	(4)	372.022	127.388	(19)
Ankara	Ankara	102.875	39.338	Ayaş, Beypazari, Zir, Çubukabat, Haymana, Seferihisar, Kurupazar, Mihaliç, Nalli.
	Yozgat	91.487	28.103	Akdağmadeni, Çorum, Boğazliyan, Sungurlu.
	Kayseri	65.443	23.200	Incesu, Develi.
	Kirşehir	22.994	6.908	Avanos, Keskin, Mecidiye.
Total	(4)	282.799	97.544	(18)
Konya	Konya	149.280	50.321	Ereğli, Espkeşan, Ilgin, Akşehir, Yenişehir, Bozkir, Hadim, Seydişehir, Karapinar, Larende.
	Teke (Antalya)	80.391	26.174	Akseki, Elmali, Kaş, Alaiye.
	Hamit (Isparta)	52.649	17.702	Eğridir, Uluborlu, Karaağaç, Yalvaç.
	Niğde	89.353	26.713	Ürgüp, Aksaray, Bor, Nevşehir.
	Burdur	38.720	13.337	Karaağaç, Tefenni.
Total	(5)	410.393	134.247	(24)
Kastamonu	Kastamonu	171.626	47.867	Araç, Iskilip, Inebol, Cide, Safranbolu, Taşköprü, Daday, Tosya.
	Bolu	129.586	40.030	Ereğli, Bartin, Düzce, Gerede, Göynük.
	Sinop	53.306	14.036	Istefan, Boyabat.
	Çankiri	68.388	17.568	Çerkeş, Kalecik.
Total	(4)	422.906	119.501	(17)
Sivas	Sivas	197.786	50.629	Tokat, Tenus, Hafik, Darende, Divrik, Koçgir, Gürün.
	Amasya	115.167	35.827	Erbaa, Zile, Osmancik, Köprü, Ladik, Madenisim, Merzifon.
	Karahisar-i Şarki	93.435	24.451	Alucra, Suşehri, Koyulhisar, Giresun, Milas.
Total	(3)	406.388	110.907	(19)
Trabzon	Trabzon	223.982	64.653	Ordu, Sürmene, Of, Aybasti, Tirebolu, Tonya, Görele, Vakfikebir.
	Batum	71.681	22.811	Atine, Icareler, Çürüksu, Hopa, Livana
	Gümüşhane	43.478	16.243	Şiran, Torui, Kelkit.
Total	(3)	339.141	103.707	(16)
Canik (Samsun)		129.929	46.315	Ünye, Bafra, Terme, Çarşamba, Niksar. (5)

I.7.A. Population of the Ottoman State, 1877/78 (continued)

Main Census District	Sancak	Population	Buildings (Houses)	Kazas in District
Erzurum	Erzurum	140,272	45,134	Ispir and Tortum, Keskin, Pasini Ulya, Pasini Sufla, Bayburt, Tercan, Tekman, Hinis.
	Erzincan	57,306	23,734	Ovacik, Kuruçay, Korucan, Kemah, Mazgirt.
	Bayazit	37,457	6,259	Ahtar, Karakilise, Patnos, Diyadin, Eleşkirt.
	Çildir	52,897	12,524	Ardanuç, Ardahan.
	Kars	120,000	45,000	Zarusat, Soregel and Akbaba, Kağizman, Cirfeles.
	Muş	24,900	15,900	Bitlis, Bulanik, Çukur and Kusur, Malazgirt, Mutki.
Total	(6)	432,832	148,551	(27)
Van		233,629	73,799	Erciş, Bargiri, Beytüşşebap, Hoşap, Haydaranli, Çolemerik, Şemdinan, Futurlbak, Gevar, Karcigan, Riskan, Lobtu, Adilcevaz. (13)
Diyarbekir	Diyarbekir	120,000	45,000	Siverek, Silvan, Lice.
	Mardin	249,000	15,900	Cizre, Şirnak, Avniye, Midyat.
	Siirt	15,000	9,200	Erde, Şirvan, Ridvan, Sason.
	Malatya	25,000	10,200	Akçadağ, Besni, Hisnimansur, Kahta.
Total	(4)	409,000	80,300	(15)
Mamuretülaziz		95,000	12,400	Eğin, Palu, Çarsancak, Arapkir, Keban. (5)
Erganimadeni		52,000	14,900	Maden.
Suriye (Syria)	Şam (Damascus)	—	—	Baalbek, Bakaiarabi, Bakaulaziz, Hacyar, Raşyan, Taaz.
	Hama	—	—	Hisnilekrat, Humus.
	Trablus (Tripoly)	—	—	Celile, Safita, Atar, Lazkiye.
	Havran	—	—	Cebelidruz, Aclun, Kuneytre.
	Akka	—	—	Hayfa, Safed, Taberye, Nasira.
	Belka	—	—	Salt, Maan.
Total	(6)	202,000	95,000	(21)
Cebelilübnan		110,000	18,000	Deyrülkamer.
Beyrut		120,000	12,375	Sur, Sayda, Merciun. (3)
Kudüs (Jerusalem)		130,000	19,400	Heze, Mecdil, Yafa. (3)
Adana	Adana	102,551	23,429	Tartuş, Karaisali, Mersin.
	Kozan	33,622	11,586	Bilayköy, Haçin, Karhi, Sis.
	Içel	45,107	16,205	Ermenek, Anamur, Sinanli, Sarikvan, Köseler.
	Payas	23,092	8,128	Osmaniye.
Total	(4)	204,372	59,348	(13)
Halep (Aleppo)	Halep	80,000	25,000	Edlep, Iskenderun, Antakya, Bebicebul, Bilan, Cesrişuur, Harm and Barisa, Reyhaniye, Ayintap, Kilis, Maarretülnuman.
	Maraş	67,000	14,000	Islahiye, Elbistan, Bulak, Pazarcik, Hassa, Zeytin, Göksun.
	Urfa	29,000	17,000	Birecik, Rumkale, Suruç.
	Zor	120,760	39,270	Ebulkemal, Basire, Rakka, Resulayn, Seyhan, Sence, Aşare, Ganze, Kevkep, Meskene, Yenişehir.
Total	(4)	296,760	95,270	(32)
Trablusgarp (Tripoli in Libya)	Trablusgarp	—	—	Zaviye, Giryan, Sahil, Menşiye.
	Bingazi	—	—	Ucele, Berika, Birasa, Cidabiye, Hasa, Derne, Kubbe, Mirlih.
	Fizan	—	—	—
	Cebeligarbiye	—	—	Havhan, Gidames, Kasto, Nalut.
	Humus	—	—	Urfele, Tehüne, Zilliteyn, Sert, Maslata, Misrata.
Total	(5)	1,010,000	19,000	(22)

I.7.A. Population of the Ottoman State, 1877/78 (continued)

Main Census District	Sancak	Population	Buildings (Houses)	Kazas in District
Bağdat (Baghdad)	Bağdat	250,000	65,000	Horasan, Hankin, Delim, Samra, Aziziye, Kazimiye, Kut, Mendili, Aneh.
	Musul	145,291	48,946	Dehuk, Zahu, Akra, Imadiye.
	Süleymaniye	124,790	23,570	Barban, Şehripaza, Cafaşayiri, Karadağ, Gülanber, Merke.
	Kerbela	—	—	—
	Hille	700,000	10,000	Divaniye, Sehmare, Şambe, Necefieşref, Hindiye.
	Şehrizor	127,060	39,270	Erbil, Ranye, Revandiz, Islahiye, Koysancak.
	Ammare	257,330	50,650	Ammare.
Total	(7)	1,604,471	237,436	(30)
Basra	Basra	62,905	19,084	Kurna.
	Müntefik	300,000	50,000	Sevkilşuyuh.
	Necet	32,619	9,065	Katif, Meberz.
Total	(3)	395,524	78,149	(4)
Yemen	Sana	94,000	32,000	Uns, Recilhiraz, Hace, Rada, Zeman, Umran, Kevkeban.
	Hudeyde	65,000	21,000	Ebuaris, Zübeyir, Zeydiye, Cil, Reyme, Hacur, Lehye.
	Asir	82,000	31,000	Ebha, Benişehir, Ricalilma, Sibya, Gan, Kanfide.
	Taaz	25,000	9,200	Eb, Hicriye, Adın, Muha.
Total	(4)	266,000	93,200	(24)
Hicaz	Mekke	—	—	Rabi, Lebed, Taif, Cidde.
	Medine	—	—	Yenbuulbahir.
	(2)			(5)
GRAND TOTAL		13,064,109	2,880,723	

I.7.B. Summary of Totals (Compiled by Author)

Main Census District	Population	Buildings
Edirne	652,676	52,455
Tuna	907,774	160,251
Sofya	340,180	40,318
Selanik	393,029	27,053
Bosna	1,013,568	186,431
Hersek	193,248	27,987
Manastir	539,154	250,651
Yanya	187,513	27,070
Işkodra	135,000	37,500
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	177,982	65,963
Girit	232,834	65,128
Hüdavendigar	365,985	143,179
Aydin	372,022	127,388
Ankara	282,799	97,544
Konya	410,393	134,247
Kastamonu	422,906	119,501
Sivas	406,388	110,907
Trabzon	339,141	103,707
Canik	129,929	46,315
Erzurum	432,832	148,551
Van	233,629	73,799
Diyarbekir	409,000	80,300
Mamuretülaziz	95,000	12,400
Erganimadeni	52,000	14,900
Suriye	202,000	95,000
Cebelilübnan	110,000	18,000
Beyrut	120,000	12,375
Kudüs	130,000	19,400
Adana	204,372	59,348
Halep	296,760	95,270
Trablusgarp	1,010,000	19,000
Bağdat	1,604,471	237,436
Basra	395,524	78,149
Yemen	266,000	93,000
Hicaz	—	—
Total	13,064,109	2,880,723

Notes to Tables I.7.A. and I.7.B.

Source: Salname of 1294.

Notes: This population list probably is based on the 1844 census results and estimates of population made after calculating the number of births and deaths (including losses in the war).

The main census districts in this list are primarily *vilayets*. Sofya and Hersek are *valiliks*—a term applied to a European province administered by a *vali* (viceroy); Canik (Samsun) Cebelilübnan, Beyrut, and Kudüs (Jerusalem) were *mulasarrıtliks*—i.e., small districts governed by a *mutasarrif* (a civil administrator traditionally charged with the collection and distribution of taxes); Mamuretülaziz and Erğanimadeni are *sancaks*; Basra still is listed as an *eyalet*, the name given the largest administrative divisions before the promulgation of the Vilayet Law (1864) and the reorganization that followed.

Also listed, but not included in the census, were some special districts: Mısir (Egypt) and Tunus (Tunisia) in Africa, Sisam (the island of Samos), and Eflak (Wallachia), Boğdan (Moldavia), Sirp (Serbia), and Karadağ (Montenegro) in Europe; the last two districts were *beyliks*.

Notes follow Table I.7.B.

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893

Administrative District	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M
AYDIN PROVINCE										
Izmir Sancak										
Izmir Central Kaza	34,566	44,722	24,028	29,058	3,151	3,659		20	372	365
Bergama	25,574	28,230	4,676	5,574	399	410	116	142		
Seferhisar	2,779	2,842	632	660	2	6				
Foçateyn (Foça)	1,703	2,059	5,023	5,573	13	34	1	45		
Urla	3,973	4,143	5,919	6,135	7	9				
Menemen	6,869	7,661	2,209	2,213	49	57				
Çeşme	1,770	1,907	12,981	13,845						
Kuşadasi	4,296	4,526	3,179	2,942	45	42		17		
Tire	15,183	15,118	1,075	1,190	5	7	19	31		
Ödemiş	26,833	26,984	1,773	1,997	512	581				
Bayindir	8,840	9,052	1,439	1,690	87	90		1		
Total, Izmir Sancak	132,386	147,244	62,934	70,877	4,270	4,895	136	256	372	365
Saruhan Sancak										
Manisa	33,557	34,629	7,130	8,268	1,102	1,125				
Kasaba (Turgutlu)	10,320	11,074	1,343	1,511	230	250				
Salihli	11,313	12,396	280	385						
Gördes	15,426	15,394	310	314						
Demirci	16,415	17,266	17	72	1	5				
Kula	12,612	13,355	1,556	1,588						
Eşme	8,586	9,341								
Akhisar	11,607	12,403	2,389	2,287	168	181				
Kirkağaç	8,396	8,336	1,306	1,296	390	380				
Alaşehir	12,414	13,324	1,265	1,275	7	11				
Soma	8,872	8,814	613	606						
Total, Saruhan Sancak	149,518	156,332	16,209	17,602	1,898	1,952				
Aydin Sancak										
Aydin Central Kaza	30,399	31,815	2,585	3,058	124	132			80	58
Nazilli	30,141	29,815	959	1,069	149	152				
Bozdoğan	13,808	13,887	16	50	5	3				
Söke	6,919	7,195	4,019	4,156	25	34				
Çine	12,809	12,443	159	131						
Total, Aydin Sancak	94,076	95,155	7,738	8,464	303	321			80	58
Denizli Sancak										
Denizli Central Kaza	16,902	16,512	856	902	250	251		1		
Tavas	26,430	26,466	1	28						
Çal	21,335	20,823	18	139				1		
Buldan	12,660	12,855		4						
Saray	8,680	9,225	271	343						
Garbikaraağaç (Acipayam)	18,459	19,058								
Menteşe Sancak										
Muğla	21,135	21,277	545	607						
Milas	13,522	13,466	833	1,012						
Bodrum	5,732	5,819	1,112	1,133						
Marmaris	6,221	6,114	304	330						
Köyceğiz	10,466	10,585	135	113			2	32		
Meğri (Fethiye)	10,174	10,696	1,938	2,110						
Total, Denizli and Menteşe Sancaks	171,716	172,896	6,013	6,721	250	251	2	34		
TOTAL, AYDIN PROVINCE	547,696	571,627	92,894	103,664	6,721	7,419	138	290	452	423

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites (Syriacs) F	Monophysites (Syriacs) M	Non-Muslim Gypsies F	Non-Muslim Gypsies M	Foreign Citizens F	Foreign Citizens M	Total F	Total M	Total Population
7,175	7,734	63	65	464	586					26,295	25,225	96,114	111,434	207,548
252	243									24	52	31,041	34,651	65,692
												3,413	3,508	6,921
53	44									1,374	1,399	8,167	9,154	17,321
142	140											10,041	10,427	20,468
128	101									30	50	9,285	10,082	19,367
54	69									33	43	14,838	15,864	30,702
												7,520	7,527	15,047
514	515											16,796	16,861	33,657
												29,118	29,562	58,680
18	13	14	11									10,398	10,857	21,255
8,336	8,859	77	76	464	586					27,756	26,769	236,731	259,927	496,658
652	693									122	813	42,563	45,528	88,091
340	391											12,233	13,226	25,459
												11,593	12,781	24,374
												15,736	15,708	31,444
											3	16,433	17,346	33,779
												14,168	14,943	29,111
												8,586	9,341	17,927
85	95											14,249	14,966	29,215
34	40									66	83	10,192	10,135	20,327
12	15											13,698	14,625	28,323
												9,485	9,420	18,905
1,123	1,234									188	899	168,936	178,019	346,955
941	954											34,129	36,017	70,146
100	95											31,349	31,131	62,480
6	5											13,835	13,945	27,780
												10,963	11,385	22,348
												12,968	12,574	25,542
1,047	1,054											103,244	105,052	208,296
										8	15	18,016	17,681	35,697
												26,431	26,494	52,925
												21,353	20,963	42,316
												12,660	12,859	25,519
												8,951	9,568	18,519
												18,459	19,058	37,517
2	1											21,682	21,885	43,567
168	188									53	50	14,576	14,716	29,292
45	37									3	3	6,892	6,992	13,884
	18											6,525	6,462	12,987
	15											10,603	10,745	21,348
10	16											12,122	12,822	24,944
225	275									64	68	178,270	180,245	358,515
10,731	11,422	77	76	464	586					28,008	27,736	687,181	723,243	1,410,424

continued on following page

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M
EDIRNE PROVINCE										
Edirne Central Sancak	57,162	60,046	37,449	40,381	1,917	1,924	14,708	16,213	136	173
Gelibolu Kaza	12,239	13,366	28,250	30,903	524	556	805	869		
Dedeağaç	13,205	15,327	12,093	11,734	33	254	5,835	6,614	35	35
Kirkkilise (Kırklareli)	17,111	19,216	26,208	27,455	45	63	16,320	17,679	44	40
Tekırdağı (Tekfurdağı)	21,397	23,235	18,361	20,532	5,403	5,601	1,765	2,010	274	287
Gümülcine	90,364	91,698	6,492	7,362	175	147	9,828	9,599	—	—
TOTAL, EDIRNE PROVINCE	211,478	222,888	128,853	138,367	8,097	8,545	49,261	52,984	489	535
ERZURUM PROVINCE[a]										
Erzurum Sancak										
Erzurum Central Kaza	13,473	13,636	244	242	4,577	5,153			375	416
Ova	21,862	23,847	3	8	8,765	9,613			200	203
Tercan	8,066	11,179	51	72	2,507	3,755				
Bayburt	20,030	22,797	280	375	4,557	5,098				
Ispir	14,563	15,588		1	1,100	1,199			42	37
Keskin	9,579	12,369	17	20	323	369			1,641	1,859
Tortum	21,448	25,224			546	621			171	183
Pasinler	15,665	19,691	9	12	2,863	3,915			116	179
Kığı	11,322	16,373	60	75	4,169	6,312				
Hinis	6,858	8,636	—	—	3,657	4,758			—	—
Total, Erzurum Sancak	142,866	169,340	664	805	33,064	40,793			2,545	2,877
Bayezit Sancak										
Bayezit Central Kaza	3,797	5,146			945	968				
Diyadin	4,870	5,226			132	210				
Tutak (Antap)	3,137	4,496			105	108				
Karakilise (Karaköse)	2,294	3,905			969	1,211				
Eleşkirt	6,799	7,729			1,650	1,957			565	743
Total, Bayezit Sancak	20,897	26,502			3,801	4,454			565	743
Erzincan Sancak										
Erzincan Central Kaza	19,879	21,644	91	115	6,125	6,561				
Refahiye	10,009	10,631	557	544	376	393				
Kemah	6,468	7,393	281	299	1,483	1,671				
Kiruçay (Iliç)	4,874	5,045	—	—	1,231	1,186				
Total, Erzincan Sancak	41,230	44,713	929	958	9,215	9,811				
TOTAL, ERZURUM PROVINCE	204,993	240,555	1,593	1,763	46,080	55,058			3,110	3,620
ADANA PROVINCE										
Adana Sancak										
Adana Central Kaza	26,709	31,340	712	893	4,336	5,276			306	342
Tarsus	19,023	20,839	281	365	470	704			139	196
Mersin	9,707	10,030	505	697	121	309			131	166
Karaisali	10,090	11,505	—	—	20	19			—	—
Total, Adana Sancak	65,529	73,714	1,498	1,955	4,947	6,308			576	704
Kozan Sanjak										
Sis (Kozan)	8,679	9,659			6,645	7,381			27	29
Kadirli	6,665	7,444			351	369				
Sayimbeyli (Haçin)	6,141	6,885			4,907	5,297			73	72
Feke	4,497	5,299	544	600	821	1,015			—	—
Total, Kozan Sancak	25,982	29,287	544	600	12,724	14,062			100	101
Içel Sancak										
Silifke	12,058	11,770	378	523	45	68			5	13
Mut	5,979	5,993	7	24						
Ermenek	12,309	11,723		3	21	35				
Gülnar	8,128	8,175	114	136	9	9				4
Anamur	10,674	11,883	145	185	—	—			—	—
Total, Içel Sancak	49,148	49,544	644	871	75	112			5	17

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites (Syriacs) F	Monophysites (Syriacs) M	Non-Muslim Gypsies F	Non-Muslim Gypsies M	Foreign Citizens F	Foreign Citizens M	Total F	Total M	Total Population
4,370	4,548	18	24		4							115,760	123,313	239,073
790	814									25	88	42,633	46,596	89,229
11	24											31,212	33,988	65,200
425	475	27	30							99	92	60,279	65,050	125,329
780	876	92	88									48,072	52,629	100,701
232	372	—	—	—	—					90	150	107,181	109,328	216,509
6,608	7,109	137	142		4					214	330	405,137	430,904	836,041
3	3	164	165					8	7	97	121	18,941	19,743	38,684
												30,830	33,671	64,501
												10,624	15,006	25,630
												24,867	28,270	53,137
											11	15,705	16,836	32,541
											10	11,560	14,627	26,187
												22,165	26,028	48,193
		95	136									18,748	23,933	42,681
		322	412									15,873	23,172	39,045
		152	208									10,667	13,602	24,269
3	3	733	921					8	7	97	142	179,980	214,888	394,868
												4,742	6,114	10,856
											3	5,002	5,439	10,441
												3,242	4,604	7,846
										13	37	3,276	5,153	8,429
		21	31							—	—	9,035	10,460	19,495
		21	31							13	40	25,297	31,770	57,067
		39	49									26,134	28,369	54,503
												10,942	11,568	22,510
		80	66									8,312	9,429	17,741
		—	—									6,105	6,231	12,336
		119	115									51,493	55,597	107,090
3	3	873	1,067					8	7	110	182	256,770	302,255	559,025
		304	332			39	76					32,406	38,259	70,665
		94	88									20,007	22,192	42,199
												10,464	11,202	21,666
		—	—			—	—					10,110	11,524	21,634
		398	420			39	76					72,987	83,177	156,164
		42	45									15,393	17,114	32,507
												7,016	7,813	14,829
		331	351									11,452	12,605	24,057
		59	84									5,921	6,998	12,919
		432	480									39,782	44,530	84,312
												12,486	12,374	24,860
												5,986	6,017	12,003
												12,330	11,761	24,091
												8,251	8,324	16,575
												10,819	12,068	22,887
												49,872	50,544	100,416

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I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M
ADANA PROVINCE, continued										
Cebelibereket (Osmaniye) Sancak										
Barpuz	1,432	1,588			147	210				
Hassa	2,923	4,157	14	11	136	154			69	81
Islahiye	3,819	4,536			118	175				
Bulanik (Bahçe)	4,251	4,496			911	1,122				
Osmaniye	3,634	4,129			39	61				
Payas	6,266	6,941	55	70	1,655	1,843			—	—
Total, Cebelibereket Sancak	22,325	25,847	69	81	3,006	3,565			69	81
TOTAL, ADANA PROVINCE	162,984	178,392	2,755	3,507	20,752	24,047			750	903
IŞKODRA (SCUTARI) PROVINCE[b]										
Işkodra Sancak										
Akçahisar	6,132	6,264							923	873
Draç Sancak										
Draç Central Kaza	1,383	1,634	712	802					114	87
Tiran	15,749	15,777	386	501					23	27
Kuvaya	8,372	8,523	1,295	1,456						
Sirak	7,532	7,234	375	386					379	371
Total, Draç Sancak	33,036	33,168	2,768	3,145					516	485
TOTAL, IŞKODRA PROVINCE	39,168	39,432	2,768	3,145					1,439	1,358
ANKARA PROVINCE										
Ankara Sancak										
Ankara Central Kaza	8,686	8,532	843	794	376	349			2,846	2,733
Zir (Simdibuak)	7,310	7,014			1,118	1,096				
Ayaş	10,852	10,933		2	2	9				
Beypazari	8,327	7,924								9
Nallihan	7,516	7,354			403	424				
Mihaliççik (Eskişehir; Kuyucak)	9,340	9,189								
Sivrihisar	14,048	12,284			1,848	1,803				
Haymana	11,945	13,383	11	12	2	3				
Bala	11,316	11,556								
Çubuk	9,236	8,518								
Kalecik	17,226	17,550			227	252				
Kizilcahamam (Yabanabat)	22,643	22,302	—	—	—	—			—	—
Total, Ankara Sancak	138,445	136,539	854	808	3,976	3,936			2,846	2,742
Kayseri Sancak										
Kayseri Central Kaza	42,140	43,023	9,196	9,210	12,178	12,772			380	335
Develi	10,746	11,032	886	935	5,241	5,605				
Incesu	6,575	6,841	2,356	2,312	—	23			—	—
Total, Kayseri Sancak	59,461	60,896	12,438	12,457	17,419	18,400			380	335
Yozgat Sancak										
Yozgat Central Kaza	22,239	22,878	564	592	4,134	4,325				
Çorum	23,830	24,551	45	101	200	297				
Sungurlu	30,156	33,789	333	357	1,367	1,476				
Boğazliyan	16,091	17,359	218	270	4,076	4,770				
Maden (Akdağmadeni)	13,713	13,971	2,677	2,391	767	925				
Total, Yozgat Sancak	106,029	112,548	3,837	3,711	10,544	11,793				
Kirşehir Sancak										
Kirşehir Central Kaza	25,692	27,907	15	23	318	390				
Keskin	19,465	20,014	362	410	161	161				
Çiçekdağı (Mecidiye)	5,055	5,745								
Avanos	8,357	9,613	—	—	241	151				
Total, Kirşehir Sancak	58,569	63,279	377	433	720	702				
TOTAL, ANKARA PROVINCE	362,504	373,262	17,506	17,409	32,659	34,831			3,226	3,077

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites (Syriacs) F	Monophysites (Syriacs) M	Non-Muslim Gypsies F	Non-Muslim Gypsies M	Foreign Citizens F	Foreign Citizens M	Total F	Total M	Total Population
												1,579	1,798	3,377
		58	72									3,200	4,475	7,675
												3,937	4,711	8,648
		140	144									5,302	5,762	11,064
												3,673	4,190	7,863
												7,976	8,854	16,830
		198	216									25,667	29,790	55,457
		1,028	1,116			39	76					188,308	208,041	396,349
												7,055	7,137	14,192
										19	29	2,228	2,552	4,780
										3	5	16,161	16,310	32,471
										3	3	9,670	9,982	19,652
										—	—	8,286	7,991	16,277
										25	37	36,835	36,335	73,180
										25	37	43,400	43,972	87,372
												12,983	12,602	25,585
225	188	7	6									8,537	8,237	16,774
												10,854	10,955	21,809
	2	109	127									8,327	7,924	16,251
												7,919	7,778	15,697
												9,340	9,189	18,529
												15,896	14,087	29,983
												11,958	13,398	25,356
												11,316	11,556	22,872
												9,236	8,518	17,754
											3	17,453	17,805	35,258
—	—	—	—							—	—	22,643	22,302	44,945
225	190	116	133								3	146,462	144,351	290,813
		664	651									64,558	65,991	130,549
		120	118									16,993	17,690	34,683
		—	—									8,931	9,176	18,107
		784	769									90,482	92,857	183,339
		111	96									27,048	27,891	54,939
		16	17									24,091	24,966	49,057
		66	63									31,922	35,685	67,607
		18	25									20,403	22,424	42,827
		—	—									17,157	17,287	34,444
		211	201									120,621	128,253	248,874
												26,025	28,320	54,345
		14	12									20,002	20,597	40,599
												5,055	5,745	10,800
		—	—									8,598	9,764	18,362
		14	12									59,680	64,426	124,106
225	190	1,125	1,115								3	417,245	429,887	847,132

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M
IZMIT SPECIAL DISTRICT										
Izmit Central Kaza	9,285	9,963	1,696	1,880	7,826	8,011	5	8	63	70
Adapazari	18,991	21,327	1,307	1,210	5,432	5,270				
Kandira	21,011	19,675	990	1,098	626	633				
Geyve	11,528	10,605	2,229	2,291	2,818	3,055				
Karamürsel	4,960	5,772	5,136	5,887	1,607	1,942	—	—	—	—
TOTAL, IZMIT SPECIAL DISTRICT	65,775	67,348	11,352	12,366	18,309	18,911	5	8	63	70
* BAĞDAT (BAGHDAD) PROVINCE										
Bağdat Central Kaza	756	103,625				349				875
Hille		26,916								
Kerbela	—	18,811			—	—			—	—
TOTAL, BAĞDAT PROVINCE	756	149,352				349				875
BASRA PROVINCE										
Basra Central Kaza		5,729				32				75
Ammare		3,658				3				33
Kurna	—	767			—	—			—	—
TOTAL, BASRA PROVINCE		10,154				35				108
BEYRUT PROVINCE[c]										
Beyrut Sancak										
Beyrut Central Kaza	10,969	11,693	6,473	6,821	32	54			7,037	7,468
Sayda (Sidon)	16,570	17,215	66	82					2,352	2,714
Sur	11,061	10,656	142	160					1,938	2,072
Mercium	6,607	6,281	1,826	1,902	—	—			892	899
Total, Beyrut Sancak	45,207	45,845	8,507	8,965	32	54			12,219	13,153
Akka (Acre) Sancak										
Akka Central Kaza	9,686	10,328	1,369	1,545					1,510	1,703
Hayta	6,592	7,343	220	232					616	749
Safat	6,306	6,576	97	121					481	633
Nasira	3,463	3,385	1,406	1,453					442	497
Tabarya	2,505	2,656	22	32					80	78
Total, Akka Sancak	28,552	30,288	3,114	3,383					3,129	3,660
Lazkiye Sancak										
Lazkiye Central Kaza	17,634	19,754	870	982					266	270
Cebele	10,351	8,297								
Merkap	14,851	13,761	1,179	1,215					463	572
Sakyun	12,006	13,864	487	645					2	2
Total, Lazkiye Sancak	54,842	55,676	2,536	2,842					731	844
Trablusşam Sancak										
Trablus Central Kaza	15,749	16,781	3,520	4,237					1,467	2,058
Akar	6,198	6,340	3,309	4,610					2,031	2,854
Safita	13,593	13,783	884	1,179					78	124
Hisnülekrat	7,686	7,978	3,356	3,517					152	251
Total, Trablusşam Sancak	43,226	44,882	11,069	13,543					3,728	5,287
Belka Sancak										
Nablis	13,804	16,982	285	367					13	22
Benisaap	14,963	16,308	6	46						
Cemain	9,837	11,443								
Cenin	13,609	16,570	155	158					—	—
Total, Belka Sancak	52,213	61,303	446	571					13	22
TOTAL, BEYRUT PROVINCE	224,040	237,994	25,672	29,304	32	54			19,820	22,966

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites (Syriacs) F	Monophysites (Syriacs) M	Non-Muslim Gypsies F	Non-Muslim Gypsies M	Foreign Citizens F	Foreign Citizens M	Total F	Total M	Total Population
78	84	333	382							51	54	19,337	20,452	39,789
3	3	162	162							27	40	25,912	28,012	53,924
												22,627	21,406	44,033
	1	36	43								1	16,611	15,996	32,601
—	—	—	—							—	18	11,703	13,619	25,322
81	88	521	587							78	113	96,190	99,485	195,675
33	11,942		17		49		371				11,420	789	128,648	129,437
	510						2						27,428	27,428
—	230	—	—	—	—	—	—			—	21,850	—	40,891	40,891
33	12,682		17		49		373				33,270	789	196,967	197,756
													6,114	6,114
	278												3,963	3,963
	143		126										776	776
—	—	—	9									—	10,853	10,853
	421		135											
582	615	153	189	145	97							25,391	26,937	52,328
277	297	64	82	21	16							19,350	20,406	39,756
		50	57		1							13,191	12,946	26,137
—	—	426	441	—	—							9,751	9,523	19,274
859	912	693	769	166	114							67,683	69,812	137,495
62	61	60	70	104	112							12,791	13,819	26,610
212	291	5	10	59	65							7,704	8,690	16,394
94	99											6,978	7,429	14,407
		139	149	663	695							6,113	6,179	12,292
408	391	—	—	3	4							3,018	3,161	6,179
776	842	204	229	829	876							36,604	39,278	75,882
												18,770	21,006	39,776
												10,351	8,297	18,648
												16,493	15,548	32,041
												12,495	14,511	27,006
												58,109	59,362	117,471
31	32	15	23	5	8							20,787	23,139	43,926
			3									11,538	13,807	25,345
												14,555	15,086	29,641
—	—	—	—	—	—							11,194	11,746	22,940
31	32	15	26	5	8							58,074	63,778	121,852
41	42	112	134	98	130							14,353	17,677	32,030
	3											14,969	16,314	31,283
	3	13	14	79	77							9,837	11,446	21,283
—	—	—	—	—	—							13,856	16,862	30,718
41	48	125	148	177	207							53,015	62,299	115,314
1,707	1,834	1,037	1,172	1,177	1,205							273,485	294,529	568,014

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I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M
BITLIS PROVINCE[c]										
Bitlis Central Sancak	18,817	25,650			12,051	18,394			10	16
Siirt	22,181	26,914			5,457	6,514			1,058	1,388
Muş Sancak	19,789	22,858			25,698	28,078			1,103	1,373
Genç Sancak	12,536	18,309			2,375	2,791				
TOTAL, BITLIS PROVINCE	73,323	93,731			45,581	55,777			2,171	2,777
BIGA SPECIAL DISTRICT										
Çanakkale	4,093	4,225	2,532	2,407	432	532				
Ezine	13,826	14,693	2,094	2,332	195	274				
Ayvacik	7,668	8,634	612	1,059						
Biga	16,735	19,807	1,447	1,713	144	136				
Lapseki	4,707	5,080	335	570	8	20	180	222		
TOTAL, BIGA SPECIAL DISTRICT	47,029	52,439	7,020	8,081	779	962	180	222		
CEZAYIR-I BAHR-I SEFID (AEGEAN ISLANDS) PROVINCE[e]										
Rodos Sancak										
Rodos	3,024	3,443	9,537	11,174	2		1			
Sombeki	15	21	2,691	3,185						
Meyis	110	115	2,083	2,552						
Kirpa			3,225	3,209						
Kaşut		22	803	805						
Total, Rodos Sancak	3,149	3,601	18,339	20,925	2		1			
Sakiz Sancak										
Sakiz Central Kaza	792	916	16,527	18,579	9	5				
Istanköy	1,202	1,237	5,116	5,343						
Kalimnos	18	46	4,666	4,816						
Leros	6	12	3,674	2,949						
Kalyot	4	17	3,998	4,197						
Ipsara	5	4	501	418						
Total, Sakıs Sancak	2,027	2,232	34,482	36,302	9	5				
Midilli Sancak										
Midilli Central Kaza	2,261	2,533	17,864	17,231	8	24				
Mulve	3,022	4,570	13,320	13,737	12	12				
Pilmar	301	358	9,218	9,506						
Yunda	39	50	2,059	2,358						
Total, Midilli Sancak	5,623	7,511	42,461	42,832	20	36				
Limni Sancak										
Limni Central Kaza	944	1,048	9,539	10,101						
Imroz	46	53	4,603	4,754						
Bozcaada	629	618	1,163	1,316	3	3				
Total, Limni Sancak	1,619	1,719	15,305	16,171	3	3				
TOTAL, CEZAYIR-I BAHR-I SEFID PROVINCE	12,418	15,063	110,587	116,230	34	44	1			
ÇATALCA SPECIAL DISTRICT										
Çatalca Central Kaza	3,093	3,510	4,907	5,438			604	756		
Silivri	1,690	2,131	4,526	4,915	436	439	1,368	1,436		
Büyükçekmece	2,071	2,596	7,522	8,540	11	13	657	765		
TOTAL, ÇATALCA SPECIAL DISTRICT	6,854	8,237	16,955	18,893	447	452	2,629	2,957		

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites (Syriacs) F	Monophysites (Syriacs) M	Non-Muslim Gypsies F	Non-Muslim Gypsies M	Foreign Citizens F	Foreign Citizens M	Total F	Total M	Total Population
		239	322			96	165					31,213	44,547	75,760
		202	233			755	965					29,653	36,014	65,667
		195	307					70	89			46,855	52,705	99,560
												14,911	21,100	36,011
		636	862			851	1,130	70	89			122,632	154,366	276,998
766	729	19	27							125	167	7,967	8,087	16,054
114	126											16,229	17,425	33,654
	3									8	22	8,288	9,718	18,006
												18,326	21,656	39,982
	17											5,230	5,909	11,139
880	875	19	27							133	189	56,040	62,795	118,835
1,316	1,374									344	394	14,224	16,385	30,609
												2,706	3,206	5,912
3	3									2	3	2,198	2,673	4,871
										25	35	3,250	3,244	6,494
										778	781	1,581	1,608	3,189
1,319	1,377									1,149	1,213	23,959	27,116	51,075
80	99			14	18					1,507	1,486	18,929	21,103	40,032
32	35											6,350	6,615	12,965
										91	79	4,775	4,941	9,716
										54	59	3,734	3,020	6,754
2	4											4,004	4,218	8,222
2	2											508	424	932
116	140			14	18					1,652	1,624	38,300	40,321	78,621
										40	165	20,173	19,953	40,126
												16,354	18,319	34,673
												9,519	9,864	19,383
										62	103	2,160	2,511	4,671
										102	268	48,206	50,647	98,853
										47	71	10,530	11,220	21,750
												4,649	4,807	9,456
										41	62	1,836	1,999	3,835
										88	133	17,015	18,026	35,041
1,435	1,517			14	18					2,991	3,238	127,480	136,110	263,590
								1	4			8,605	9,708	18,313
444	521							219	208			8,683	9,650	18,333
	1											10,261	11,915	22,176
444	522							220	212			27,549	31,273	58,822

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I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M
HALEP (ALEPPO) PROVINCE										
Halep Central Sancak	228,413	226,148	3,562	3,988	10,100	11,505			7,722	7,758
Maraş	54,267	61,413			9,508	11,511			1,903	2,085
Urfa	56,827	57,531		2	4,146	5,637			244	224
TOTAL, HALEP PROVINCE	339,507	345,092	3,562	3,990	23,754	28,653			9,869	10,067
HUDAVENDIGAR (BURSA) PROVINCE										
Bursa Sancak										
Bursa	44,641	45,022	10,702	10,584	3,232	2,594		22	357	293
Mudanya	2,348	2,543	5,631	6,161						
Gemlik	7,403	7,937	3,120	3,455	7,810	8,813				
Orhaneli (Adranos)	19,290	19,139								
Mihaliç (Karacabey)	9,421	10,681	3,436	3,830	377	377				
Kirmasti (M. Kemalpaşa)	19,128	21,000	514	540	404	409				
Total, Bursa Sancak	102,231	106,322	23,403	24,570	11,823	12,193		22	357	293
Ertuğrul Sancak										
Bilecik	24,211	22,932	3,942	3,602	3,213	3,124			378	372
Sögüt	19,167	19,308	767	775	1,779	2,183			15	26
Inegöl	19,451	18,892			2,688	2,816			47	47
Yenişehir	13,950	14,304	878	862	760	833				
Total, Ertuğrul Sancak	76,779	75,436	5,587	5,239	8,440	8,956			440	445
Kütahya Sancak										
Kütahya Central Kaza	58,853	56,532	2,245	2,157	1,443	1,365			432	341
Uşak	37,070	34,535	725	707	340	320				
Gediz	16,932	15,966								
Simav	16,606	15,930	15	60	2	7			2	2
Eskişehir	27,470	28,608	308	512	568	604		3	81	108
Total, Kütahya Sancak	156,931	151,571	3,293	3,436	2,353	2,296		3	515	451
Afyonkarahisari (Karahisar-i Sahip) Sancak										
Afyon Central Kaza	38,405	38,274			2,615	2,699				
Emirdağ (Aziziye)	11,542	12,022	3	6	23	35		1		
Bolvadin	15,779	16,212								
Sandikli	36,592	36,713	25	69	36	42				
Total, Afyonkarahisari Sancak	102,318	103,221	28	75	2,674	2,776		1		
Karesi Sancak										
Balikesir	53,972	56,353	958	1,002	956	844	265	988		
Sindirği	11,650	11,604	400	437						
Erdek	1,485	1,585	14,462	14,703	8	10				
Bandirma	14,519	15,473	2,762	2,725	2,282	2,175			443	406
Gönen	11,997	11,926	855	837	5	8		5		
Edremit	12,851	14,148	2,591	2,937	4	6				
Burhaniye (Kemer)	8,183	8,962	1,035	1,398	1	8				
Ayvalik	40	50	9,798	10,335						
Bigadiç	11,778	11,378	52	99						
Total, Karesi Sancak	126,475	131,479	32,913	34,473	3,256	3,051	265	993	443	406
TOTAL, HÜDAVENDIGAR PROVINCE	564,734	568,029	65,224	67,793	28,546	29,272	265	1,019	1,755	1,595
DIYARBEKIR PROVINCE										
Diyarbekir Sancak										
Diyarbekir Central Kaza	22,280	20,388	80	112	5,772	6,311			1,194	1,366
Siverek	13,514	14,957			726	675			50	21
Lice	8,785	10,284			2,171	2,476				
Derik	4,524	5,262			148	175			74	88
Silvan	5,186	6,189	78	84	3,049	3,511			69	83
Total, Diyarbekir Sancak	54,289	57,080	158	196	11,866	13,148			1,387	1,558

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites (Syriacs) F	Monophysites (Syriacs) M	Non-Muslim Gypsies F	Non-Muslim Gypsies M	Foreign Citizens F	Foreign Citizens M	Total F	Total M	Total Population
4,697	4,659	2,371	2,541	84	109	1,255	1,361					258,204	258,069	516,273
107	91	1,701	1,781	189	109							67,675	76,990	144,665
177	182	321	367			489	629					62,204	64,572	126,776
4,981	4,932	4,393	4,689	273	218	1,744	1,990					388,083	399,631	787,714
1,281	1,303	145	151	5	7					533	718	60,896	60,694	121,590
												7,979	8,704	16,683
		37	34							97	116	18,467	20,355	38,822
												19,290	19,139	38,429
38	49	25	23							2	4	13,299	14,964	28,263
												20,046	21,949	41,995
1,319	1,352	207	208	5	7					632	838	139,977	145,805	285,782
		78	77									31,822	30,107	61,929
												21,728	22,292	44,020
		89	85									22,275	21,840	44,115
		4	5							—	4	15,592	16,008	31,600
		171	167								4	91,417	90,247	181,664
												62,973	60,395	123,368
										14	8	38,149	35,570	73,719
												16,932	15,966	32,898
												16,625	15,999	32,624
12	40									5	76	28,444	29,951	58,395
12	40									19	84	163,123	157,881	321,004
												41,020	40,973	81,993
												11,568	12,064	23,632
												15,779	16,212	31,991
												36,653	36,824	73,477
												105,020	106,073	211,093
										14	22	56,165	59,209	115,374
												12,050	12,041	24,091
154	146									194	260	16,303	16,704	33,007
										59	68	20,065	20,847	40,912
3	6											12,860	12,782	25,642
1	4									95	99	15,542	17,194	32,736
										4	4	9,223	10,372	19,595
										703	751	10,541	11,136	21,677
												11,830	11,477	23,307
158	156									1,069	1,204	164,579	171,762	336,341
1,489	1,548	378	375	5	7					1,720	2,130	664,116	671,768	1,335,884
132	153	473	510			1,969	2,077	25	28			31,925	30,945	62,870
70	39	112	101			261	187					14,733	15,980	30,713
		143	148			348	444					11,447	13,352	24,799
		69	78			48	51					4,863	5,654	10,517
		24	21			239	285					8,645	10,173	18,818
202	192	821	858			2,865	3,044	25	28			71,613	76,104	147,717

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I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M
DIYARBEKIR PROVINCE, continued										
Mardin Sancak										
Mardin Central Kaza	11,266	11,292							1,994	2,233
Midyat	9,742	11,784			24	29			93	118
Cizre	3,168	2,867							790	791
Avniye	10,112	11,788							51	70
Nusaybin	2,849	2,289			—	—			—	—
Total, Mardin Sancak	37,137	40,020			24	29			2,928	3,212
Maden (Ergani) Sancak										
Maden Central Kaza	18,976	20,053	372	440	1,729	2,250		73	165	132
Çermik	11,050	13,363			2,330	2,614			200	211
Palu	17,035	20,588	—	—	6,104	6,729	—	—	—	—
Total, Maden Sancak	47,061	54,004	372	440	10,163	11,593	—	73	365	343
TOTAL, DIYARBEKIR PROVINCE	138,487	151,104	530	636	22,053	24,770		73	4,680	5,113
Zor Sancak[g]										
Deyr	7,801	7,464			28	55			125	175
Aşare	5,334	5,170								
Resülayn	4,152	3,942			—	—			—	—
Total, Zor Sancak	17,287	16,576			28	55			125	175
SURIYE (SYRIA) PROVINCE[h]										
Şam (Damascus) Sancak										
Şam Central Kaza	53,935	44,686	1,991	2,260	96	103			2,249	2,535
Duma	21,185	20,927	93	107					75	115
Hasbiya	2,665	3,078	1,406	1,573					422	468
Raşya	1,535	1,993	769	883					269	321
Vadiülacem	17,110	17,077	784	1,033					153	187
Baalbek	6,241	6,765	489	733					1,693	2,253
Beka	5,999	6,633	1,064	1,347					2,298	2,944
Nebak	15,828	15,762	768	969	—	—			1,480	1,957
Total, Şam Sancak	124,498	116,921	7,364	8,905	96	103			8,639	10,780
Hama Sancak										
Hama Central Kaza	22,362	20,875	2,692	3,231					205	246
Selimiye	158	172								
Humus	21,337	20,154	2,672	3,787					2,302	2,926
Hamidiye	6,541	5,913	380	368					22	20
Total, Hama Sancak	50,398	47,114	5,744	7,336					2,529	3,192
TOTAL, SURIYE PROVINCE	174,896	164,035	13,108	16,291	96	103			11,168	13,972
SELANIK (SALONICA) PROVINCE										
Selanik Sancak										
Selanik Central Kaza	14,303	15,186	17,815	19,170	61	88	279	838	230	241
Avrathisari	11,427	12,193	1,252	1,421			6,958	7,626	22	30
Toyran	9,627	9,796	764	827		1	2,708	2,897	179	197
Usturmca	7,855	7,905	6,619	7,107			1,423	1,542		
Köprülü	8,778	9,315	203	217			15,608	17,235		
Yenice	10,825	11,748	8,363	9,792			668	700	4	6
Vodine	7,227	7,735	6,669	7,539			1,861	2,082		
Tikveş	9,671	10,238	68	192			10,033	11,286		
Kesendire	1,856	2,482	14,361	16,006	4	3				
Lankaza	14,328	15,106	9,271	10,267			808	843		
Gevgili	8,309	8,754	6,745	7,813			2,756	3,028	694	708
Karaferiye	3,389	3,936	7,232	7,871			960	1,214		
Aynaroz		57		4,195				2,251		
Katrin	1,220	1,972	9,751	10,914	—	—	4	199	—	—
Total, Selanik Sancak	108,815	116,423	89,113	103,331	65	92	44,066	51,741	1,129	1,182

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites (Syriacs) F	Monophysites (Syriacs) M	Non-Muslim Gypsies F	Non-Muslim Gypsies M	Foreign Citizens F	Foreign Citizens M	Total F	Total M	Total Population
		218	214			1,646	1,913					15,124	15,652	30,776
		146	200			1,614	2,043					11,619	14,174	25,793
85	64	24	36			103	94					4,170	3,852	8,022
		63	79			260	318					10,486	12,255	22,741
154	107	—	—			1,279	1,210					4,282	3,606	7,888
239	171	451	529			4,902	5,578					45,681	49,539	95,220
		27	23					39	33			21,308	22,938	44,246
128	119	477	430									14,185	16,737	30,922
—	—	164	201					18	20			23,321	27,538	50,859
128	119	668	654					57	53			58,814	67,213	126,027
569	482	1,940	2,041			7,767	8,622	82	81			176,108	192,856	368,964
	2	1	1									7,955	7,697	15,652
												5,334	5,170	10,504
—	—	—	—									4,152	3,942	8,094
	2	1	1									17,441	16,809	34,250
3,088	3,177	32	29	43	47		6					61,434	52,843	114,277
												21,353	21,149	42,502
5	7	152	162									4,650	5,288	9,938
		9	13									2,582	3,210	5,792
												18,047	18,297	36,344
												8,423	9,751	18,174
		5	2									9,366	10,926	20,292
		22	29									18,098	18,717	36,815
3,093	3,184	220	235	43	47	—	6					143,953	140,181	284,134
		13	11	2	2							25,274	24,365	49,639
												158	172	330
		102	121									26,413	26,988	53,401
		—	—	—	—							6,943	6,301	13,244
		115	132	2	2							58,788	57,826	116,614
3,093	3,184	335	367	45	49		6					202,741	198,007	400,748
17,169	17,354							376	434			50,233	53,311	103,544
												19,659	21,270	40,929
79	88							2	5			13,359	13,811	27,170
281	292											16,178	16,846	33,024
												24,589	26,767	51,356
29	73										1	19,889	22,320	42,209
												15,757	17,356	33,113
7	20										5	19,779	21,741	41,520
								64	60			16,285	18,551	34,836
4	3							37	40			24,448	26,259	50,707
												18,504	20,303	38,807
183	210							11	28			11,775	13,259	25,034
									137				6,640	6,640
7	25											10,982	13,110	24,092
17,759	18,065							490	710			261,437	291,544	552,981

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I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M
SELANIK PROVINCE, continued										
Serez Sancak										
Serez Central Kaza	14,935	16,275	14,951	16,197		5	9,338	10,156		
Cumaibala	3,015	3,109	7	109			7,998	8,105		
Zihne	3,327	3,901	10,405	11,398			1,864	2,587		
Nevrekop	27,267	29,218	562	591			14,341	15,722		
Demirhisar	7,638	8,048	6,484	6,985			4,874	5,817		
Petriç	4,713	4,910	32	39			7,915	8,702		
Menlik	3,691	4,018	1,368	1,331			5,127	5,817		
Razlik	4,973	4,822	—	—	—	—	7,334	7,740		
Total, Serez Sancak	69,559	74,301	33,809	36,650		5	58,791	64,646		
Drama Sancak										
Drama Central Kaza	24,120	25,051	5,659	6,632		4	1,607	1,651		
Kavala	6,239	6,936	650	1,100	10	25				
Sarişaban	8,183	8,277	58	235	—	—	—	182		
Total, Drama Sancak	38,542	40,264	6,367	7,967	10	29	1,607	1,833		
TOTAL, SELANIK PROVINCE	216,916	230,988	129,289	147,948	75	126	104,464	118,220	1,129	1,182
SIVAS PROVINCE										
Sivas Sancak										
Sivas Central Kaza	31,934	33,762	290	252	9,990	10,456			808	874
Hafik	16,443	16,061			5,526	5,369				
Şarkişla (Tenus)	14,666	16,253			5,669	6,288				
Yildizeli	15,627	17,070	11	14	421	468				
Zara (Koçgiri)	16,711	18,849	1,297	1,350	1,940	2,149				
Divriği	12,158	13,020			3,853	4,133				
Darende	7,923	8,678			1,113	1,163				
Gürün	5,671	5,980		3	3,006	3,152			178	169
Emirdağ (Aziziye)	27,389	31,453	304	313	1,493	1,548			—	—
Total Sivas Sancak	148,527	161,126	1,902	1,932	33,011	34,726			986	1,043
Amasya Sancak										
Amasya Central Kaza	18,335	18,835	678	736	3,030	3,134			10	13
Vezirköprü (Köprö)	13,284	16,142	928	932	487	507				
Merzifon	9,171	9,616	74	89	2,528	2,789			140	139
Gümüşhaciköy	9,938	10,309	1,045	1,104	1,286	1,314				
Mecitözü	15,992	15,547	80	72	63	69				
Osmancik	8,594	8,997		3	26	19				
Ladik	5,477	5,879	1,000	994	85	94				
Havza	6,723	6,907	1,863	1,766	39	55			—	—
Total, Amasya Sancak	87,514	92,232	5,668	5,696	7,544	7,981			150	152
Karahisar-i Sarki (Şebinkarahisar) Sancak										
Karahisar-i Şarki Central Kaza	9,500	9,921	3,814	4,698	3,491	3,627				
Mesudiye (Melet; Hamidiye)	12,224	14,998	1,479	1,653	86	132				
Suşehri	8,086	9,423	578	801	4,440	5,271				
Koyulhisar	7,791	8,576	279	314	24	25				
Alucra	10,765	11,391	202	206	—	—				
Total, Karahisar-i Şarki Sancak	48,366	54,309	6,352	7,677	8,041	9,055				
Tokat Sancak										
Tokat Central Kaza	30,818	34,526	1,079	1,088	4,277	4,921			370	351
Zile	23,011	25,447	26	23	964	1,054				
Erbaa	17,329	18,346	1,843	1,855	790	851				
Niksar	7,571	8,863	946	1,081	826	1,002			—	—
Total, Tokat Sancak	78,729	87,182	3,894	4,047	6,857	7,828			370	351
Foreigners within the province	3,565	5,008	193	452	565	937				
TOTAL, SIVAS PROVINCE	366,701	399,857	18,009	19,804	56,018	60,527			1,506	1,546

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites (Syriacs) F	Monophysites (Syriacs) M	Non-Muslim Gypsies F	Non-Muslim Gypsies M	Foreign Citizens F	Foreign Citizens M	Total F	Total M	Total Population
514	481									303	344	40,041	43,458	83,499
13	18											11,033	11,341	22,374
15	12									27	39	15,638	17,937	33,575
20	33											42,190	45,564	87,754
												18,996	20,850	39,846
	6									3	3	12,663	13,660	26,323
										1	5	10,187	11,171	21,358
—	—	143	140							—	—	12,450	12,702	25,152
562	550	143	140							334	391	163,198	176,683	339,881
30	28									6	18	31,422	33,384	64,806
112	100									32	37	7,043	8,198	15,241
—	—									—	—	8,241	8,694	16,935
142	128									38	55	46,706	50,276	96,982
18,463	18,743	143	140							862	1,156	471,341	518,503	989,844
		44	55									43,066	45,399	88,465
												21,974	21,430	43,404
												20,335	22,541	42,876
												16,059	17,552	33,611
		37	30									19,985	22,378	42,363
												16,011	17,153	33,164
		27	26									9,063	9,867	18,930
		240	256									9,095	9,560	18,655
		20	27									29,206	33,341	62,547
		368	394									184,794	199,221	384,015
		64	66							5	20	22,122	22,804	44,926
		119	95									14,818	17,676	32,494
		258	301									12,171	12,934	25,105
		70	80									12,339	12,807	25,146
		51	54									16,186	15,742	31,928
												8,620	9,019	17,639
												6,562	6,967	13,529
—	—	—	—							—	—	8,625	8,728	17,353
		562	596							5	20	101,443	106,677	208,120
												16,805	18,246	35,051
												13,789	16,788	30,577
												13,104	15,495	28,599
												8,094	8,915	17,009
												10,967	11,597	22,564
												62,759	71,041	133,800
104	105	16	21			129	141	20	20			36,813	41,173	77,986
												24,001	26,524	50,525
						46	65					20,008	21,117	41,125
—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	9,343	10,946	20,289
104	105	16	21			175	206	20	20			90,165	99,760	189,925
		17	20			25	29					4,365	6,446	10,811
104	105	963	1,031			200	235	25	40			443,526	483,145	926,671

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I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M
SUBURBS ADMINISTERED BY ISTANBUL MUNICIPALITY										
Küçükçekmece	1,833	3,507	4,769	6,176	505	891	15		25	36
Gebze	7,633	8,189	1,947	2,178	2	6	3			
Kartal	2,073	3,022	3,093	3,827	401	468			1	2
Beykoz	1,665	1,955	604	729					49	91
Şile	4,964	5,350	3,166	3,281		3				
Adalar (Islands)	78	186	2,495	3,006	196	337	3		66	67
TOTAL, ISTANBUL SUBURBS	18,246	22,209	16,074	19,197	1,104	1,705	21		141	196
TRABZON PROVINCE										
Trabzon Sancak										
Trabzon Central Kaza	37,091	42,038	13,027	14,561	4,440	5,106			588	621
Ordu	39,596	40,175	4,702	5,696	3,586	3,966				
Giresun	27,877	28,907	5,118	6,251	610	629				
Tirebolu	16,622	17,607	2,659	3,213	232	281				
Görele	14,584	14,889	331	377	99	82				
Vakfikebir	9,080	9,305			29	27				
Akçaabat	19,062	19,742	1,838	1,997	1,367	1,591				
Sürmene	15,003	20,926	2,339	2,624	71	107				
Of	30,163	29,697	351	446						
Total, Trabzon Sancak	209,078	223,286	30,365	35,165	10,434	11,789			588	621
Canik (Samsun) Sancak										
Canik Central Kaza	15,502	17,917	15,297	17,628	454	709			41	23
Çarşamba	22,684	24,913	1,497	1,617	4,670	5,105				
Ünye	21,348	21,960	1,781	1,914	1,662	1,973				
Fatsa	13,739	14,156	706	946	354	448				
Terme	9,085	9,953	205	223	763	878				
Bafra	19,200	19,736	11,068	11,766	466	546				
Total, Canik Sancak	101,558	108,635	30,554	34,094	8,369	9,659			41	23
Lazistan Sancak										
Rize	31,595	41,154	308	333						
Pazar(atina)	17,246	16,192			20	22				
Hopa	15,046	14,305		52	2	5				
Total, Lazistan Sancak	63,887	71,651	308	385	22	27				
Gümüşhane Sancak										
Gümüşhane Central Kaza	10,200	11,756	2,666	2,793	514	638				
Torul	9,001	10,457	8,000	8,679						
Kelkit	11,059	12,191	163	141	58	55				
Şiran	7,115	7,406	834	892	100	121				
Total, Gümüşhane Sancak	37,375	41,810	11,663	12,505	672	814				
TOTAL, TRABZON PROVINCE	411,898	445,382	72,890	82,149	19,497	22,289			629	644
KASTAMONU PROVINCE										
Kastamonu Central Kaza	28,107	26,288	813	782	261	300				
Inebolu	29,678	29,004	739	758	9	8				
Safranbolu	24,070	25,127	1,658	1,668						
Tosya	16,288	16,731	256	255						
Taşköprü	19,564	20,075	300	296						
Daday	20,734	19,714	6	4	86	96				
Araç	15,878	17,253								
Cide	19,437	19,538								
Total, Kastamonu Sancak	173,756	173,730	3,772	3,763	356	404				

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites (Syriacs) F	Monophysites (Syriacs) M	Non-Muslim Gypsies F	Non-Muslim Gypsies M	Foreign Citizens F	Foreign Citizens M	Total F	Total M	Total Population
				12	19					52	135	7,196	10,779	17,975
												9,582	10,376	19,958
	1									32	49	5,600	7,369	12,969
												2,318	2,775	5,093
											6	8,130	8,640	16,770
30	35	5	2	9	18					736	668	3,615	4,322	7,937
30	36	5	2	21	37					820	858	36,441	44,261	80,702
		41	51									55,187	62,377	117,564
		146	142									48,030	49,979	96,009
												33,605	35,787	69,392
												19,513	21,101	40,614
												15,014	15,348	30,362
												9,109	9,332	18,441
												22,267	23,330	45,597
												17,413	23,657	41,070
												30,514	30,143	60,657
		187	193									250,652	271,054	521,706
	5	25	23									31,319	36,305	67,624
		193	224									29,044	31,659	60,903
												24,791	25,847	50,638
										2	7	14,801	15,557	30,358
												10,053	11,054	21,107
												30,734	32,048	62,782
	5	218	247							2	7	140,742	152,670	293,412
												31,903	41,487	73,390
												17,266	16,214	33,480
												15,048	14,362	29,410
												64,217	72,063	136,280
												13,380	15,187	28,567
												17,001	19,136	36,137
												11,280	12,367	23,667
												6,049	8,419	16,468
												49,710	55,129	104,839
	5	405	440							2	7	505,321	550,916	1,056,237
												29,181	27,370	56,551
												30,426	29,770	60,196
												25,728	26,795	52,523
												16,544	16,986	33,530
												19,864	20,371	40,235
												20,626	19,814	40,640
												15,878	17,253	33,131
												19,437	19,536	38,975
												177,884	177,897	355,781

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I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M
KASTAMONU PROVINCE, continued										
Bolu Sancak										
Bolu Central Kaza	21,632	21,034		17	397	428				
Bartin	24,284	25,535	200	180	95	100				13
Ereğli (K. Deniz)	15,926	17,981	363	372						
Gerede	20,174	19,130	27	97		7				
Göynük	8,377	7,762	2	9						23
Düzce	14,497	16,015	22	58	13	52		2		
Mudurnu (Mud)	13,341	13,148								
Hamidiye	21,389	28,231	—	—	162	192	—	—	—	—
Total, Bolu Sancak	139,620	148,836	614	733	667	779		2		36
Sinop Sancak										
Sinop Central Kaza	19,519	20,735	2,048	2,015	123	150				
Boyabat	20,132	22,549	22	62						
Ayancik	13,960	14,629	575	638	—	—				
Total, Sinop Sancak	53,611	57,913	2,645	2,715	123	150				
Çankiri Sancak										
Çankiri Central Kaza	41,190	42,917	368	390	155	143				
Çerkeş	26,957	27,529								
Iskilip	20,724	22,517	—	—	—	—				
Total, Çankiri Sancak	88,871	92,963	368	390	155	143				
TOTAL, KASTAMONU PROVINCE	455,858	473,442	7,399	7,601	1,301	1,476		2		36
KOSOVA PROVINCE[1]										
Usküp (Skopje) Sancak										
Usküp Central Kaza	19,469	20,787	3,219	3,436			10,829	11,668		
Iştip	11,437	12,729					8,131	9,444		
Karatova	2,193	2,139	11	24			9,369	10,249		
Radovişte	4,698	5,821					3,541	3,823		
Kumanova	5,935	6,333	12	75			13,591	15,887		
Planka	1,013	1,065	171	217			8,904	9,292		
Kaçana	10,684	11,555	34	49			15,897	17,223		
Total, Usküp Sancak	55,429	60,429	3,447	3,801			70,262	77,586		
Priştine Sancak										
Priştine Central Kaza	24,634	27,980					7,271	7,997		
Vilçitrin	6,759	14,193					811	2,116		
Metroviçe	1,033	3,401					512	3,398		
Gilan	14,288	18,450					9,645	9,660		
Preşuva	7,770	8,168					12,179	13,868		
Total, Priştine Sancak	54,484	72,192					30,418	37,039		
Yenipazar Sancak										
Senice	5,485	7,548					3,697	4,063		
Yenipazar	9,145	9,958					7,386	7,796		
Akova	6,168	7,272					2,217	2,416		
Yenivaroş	680	658					3,449	3,594		
Aşağikolaşin		2,472						554		
Total, Yenipazar Sancak	21,478	27,908					16,749	18,423		
Taşlica Sancak										
Taşlica Central Kaza	6,155	7,789	2,592	4,545						
Prepol	3,097	3,514	4,850	5,168						
Total, Taşlica Sancak	9,252	11,303	7,442	9,713						

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites (Syriacs) F	Monophysites (Syriacs) M	Non-Muslim Gypsies F	Non-Muslim Gypsies M	Foreign Citizens F	Foreign Citizens M	Total F	Total M	Total Population
												22,029	21,492	43,521
												24,579	25,815	50,394
												16,289	18,353	34,642
												20,201	19,257	39,458
												8,379	7,771	16,150
											1	14,532	16,128	30,660
												13,341	13,148	26,489
										—	—	21,551	28,423	49,974
											1	140,901	150,387	291,288
								30	36			21,720	22,936	44,656
								864	935			21,018	23,546	44,564
								—	—			14,535	15,267	29,802
								894	971			57,273	61,749	119,022
												41,713	43,450	85,163
												26,957	27,529	54,486
												20,724	22,517	43,241
												89,394	93,496	182,890
								894	971		1	465,452	483,529	948,981
308	416										38	33,825	36,345	70,170
260	250											19,828	22,423	42,251
												11,573	12,412	23,985
				43	54							8,282	9,698	17,980
							1				7	19,539	22,302	41,841
												10,088	10,574	20,662
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26,615	28,827	55,442
568	666			43	54		1				45	129,750	142,581	272,331
152	153						764				869	32,821	36,999	69,820
												7,570	16,309	23,879
												1,545	6,799	8,344
							716				900	24,649	29,010	53,659
												19,949	22,036	41,985
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	86,534	111,153	197,687
152	153						1,480				1,769			
5	7											9,187	11,618	20,805
78	72											16,609	17,826	34,435
												8,385	9,688	18,073
2	3											4,131	4,255	8,386
													3,026	3,026
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	38,312	46,413	84,725
												8,747	12,334	21,081
												7,947	8,682	16,629
												16,694	21,016	37,710

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I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M
KOSOVA PROVINCE, continued										
Ipek Sancak										
Ipek Central Kaza		8,114						4,348		
Yakova		9,721						261		
Tergoviŝte		4,606						781		
Berane		620						1,640		
Gosine	—	2,259					—	356		
Total, Ipek Sancak		25,320						7,386		
Prizren Sancak										
Prizren Central Kaza		35,492						7,100		
Lume		7,011								
Kalkandelen	—	29,212	—	4,990			—	9,830		
Total, Prizen Sancak		71,715		4,990				16,930		
TOTAL, KOSOVA PROVINCE	140,643	268,867	10,889	18,504			117,429	157,364		
KONYA PROVINCE										
Konya Sancak										
Konya Central Kaza	46,348	46,468	2,150	1,866	760	806			9	28
Akŝehir	21,158	22,107	872	839	1,582	1,552				
Ilgin	10,943	11,128	12	43						
Seydiŝehir	8,596	9,304	46	47						
Bozkir	18,369	19,100	44	50						
Hadim	5,637	6,026								
Beyŝehri	17,702	17,621	96	57						
Karaman (Larende)	18,223	18,504	60	64	287	316				
Ereğli	11,682	12,348	87	80	221	220			6	2
Karapinar	8,214	8,024								
Koçhisar	8,770	11,857	—	9	—	3			—	—
Total, Konya Cancak	175,642	182,487	3,367	3,055	2,850	2,897			15	30
Hamitabat (Isparta) Sancak										
Isparta	21,878	21,683	2,265	2,259	300	319				
Uluborlu	7,636	6,597	429	392						
Yalvaç	12,919	12,720								
Karaağaç	10,203	9,974								
Eğridir	9,803	9,884	678	657	—	—				
Total, Hamitabat Sancak	62,439	60,858	3,372	3,308	300	319				
Teke (Antalya) Sancak										
Antalya	37,494	35,468	2,072	1,987	26	23				
Alanya (Alaiye)	17,699	19,261	439	515						
Akseki	13,545	13,838		7						
Elmali	11,752	11,846	104	105	118	128				
Kaş	8,716	8,766	2	5	—	—				
Total, Teke Sancak	89,206	89,179	2,617	2,619	144	151				
Burdur Sancak										
Burdur Central Kaza	18,766	18,447	874	880	409	401				
Tefenni	8,363	9,424	—	—	—	—				
Total, Burdur Sancak	27,129	27,871	874	880	409	401				
Niğde Sancak										
Niğde	17,149	19,719	7,365	8,360	370	473				
Nevŝehir	14,093	16,277	4,353	4,565	192	285			19	17
Ürgüp	9,956	9,924	1,636	1,498	9	7				
Aksaray	17,279	20,128	1,118	1,319	200	278				
Gülŝehri (Arapsun)	5,380	5,649	2,019	1,916	10	10				
Bor	9,665	9,351	469	520	247	261				
Ulukiŝla (Hamidiye)	3,551	4,300	631	700	—	—			—	—
Total, Niğde Sancak	77,073	85,348	17,591	18,878	1,028	1,314			19	17
TOTAL, KONYA PROVINCE	431,489	445,743	27,821	28,740	4,731	5,082			34	47

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites (Syriacs) F	Monophysites (Syriacs) M	Non-Muslim Gypsies F	Non-Muslim Gypsies M	Foreign Citizens F	Foreign Citizens M	Total F	Total M	Total Population
					374								12,836	12,836
					949								10,931	10,931
													5,387	5,387
													2,260	2,260
				—	10							—	2,625	2,625
					1,333								34,039	34,039
					960								43,552	43,552
													7,011	7,011
				—	—							—	44,032	44,032
					960								94,595	94,595
805	901	43	54	1,481	4,107							271,290	449,797	721,087
												49,267	49,168	98,435
		22	19									23,634	24,517	48,151
												10,955	11,171	22,126
												8,642	9,351	17,993
												18,413	19,150	37,563
												5,637	6,026	11,663
												17,798	17,678	35,476
												18,570	18,884	37,454
												11,996	12,650	24,646
												8,214	8,024	16,238
		—	—									8,770	11,869	20,639
		22	19									181,896	188,488	370,384
												24,443	24,261	48,704
												8,065	6,989	15,054
												12,919	12,720	25,639
												10,203	9,974	20,177
												10,481	10,541	21,022
												66,111	64,485	130,596
104	112											39,696	37,590	77,286
												18,138	19,776	37,914
												13,545	13,845	27,390
												11,974	12,079	24,053
												8,718	8,771	17,489
104	112											92,071	92,061	184,132
												20,049	19,728	39,777
												8,363	9,424	17,787
												28,412	29,152	57,564
												24,884	28,552	53,436
		9	12									18,666	21,156	39,822
												11,601	11,429	23,030
		25	30									18,622	21,755	40,377
												7,409	7,575	14,984
		10	12									10,391	10,144	20,535
		—	—									4,182	5,000	9,182
		44	54									95,755	105,611	201,366
104	112	66	73									464,245	479,797	944,042

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I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M
KUDÜS SPECIAL DISTRICT										
Kudüs Central Kaza	26,317	28,047	5,750	6,272	343	504			18	33
Yafa	21,281	23,894	1,826	2,071	40	52			172	199
Gazze	27,951	31,566	379	389						
Halilürahman	18,852	21,705	1	14	—	—			—	—
TOTAL, KUDÜS SPECIAL DISTRICT	94,401	105,212	7,956	8,746	383	556			190	232
ELAZIZ (ELAZIĞ) PROVINCE[1]										
Elaziz Central Kaza	64,244	70,517	168	184	23,940	27,156			373	391
Malatya	55,361	68,977	4	5	4,427	4,605			491	660
Hozat (Dersim)	10,489	11,688	90	92	4,845	5,792				
Mazgirt	7,979	10,933	—	—	976	1,437			—	—
TOTAL, ELAZIZ PROVINCE	138,073	162,115	262	281	34,188	38,990			864	1,051
MUSUL PROVINCE[k]										
Musul Central Kaza		27,881		1		45				2,809
Dehük		4,834								1,742
Akra		6,183								170
Zaku		1,655								228
Zibar		2,610								76
Sincar		3,442								
Kerkük		22,008		2						243
Salahiye		9,559								
Erbil		10,677								340
Ranye		5,389								
Köysancak		8,680								205
Ravandiz		11,147								
Süleymaniye		14,556								54
Gülanber		6,313								
Morge		6,320								
Şehirpazar		5,330								
Bazyan		4,408								2
Umadiye	—	13,601	—	—	—	—			—	1,213
TOTAL, MUSUL PROVINCE		164,593		3		45				7,082
MANASTIR PROVINCE[l]										
Manastir Sancak										
Manastir Central Kaza	15,535	14,982	19,503	21,574	12	14			29,816	31,678
Pirlepe	6,969	7,301	598	650					20,236	23,527
Ohri	7,754	8,606	1,505	1,544					16,266	17,040
Filorina	6,409	6,454	12,950	14,212					1,544	1,810
Kirçova	6,579	6,703	3	61	—	—			10,216	10,663
Total, Manastir Sancak	43,246	44,046	34,559	38,041	12	14			78,078	84,718
Görice Sancak										
Görice Central Kaza	15,129	17,630	14,666	15,809					1,045	1,089
Kesriye	5,943	7,170	5,014	6,411					15,912	19,676
Istrova	10,089	11,017	1,450	1,578						
Kolonya	4,466	5,045	2,841	2,973						
Total, Görice Sancak	35,627	40,862	23,971	26,771					16,957	20,765
Serfice Sancak										
Serfice Central Kaza	1,797	2,249	6,043	6,849						
Alasonya	1,040	1,148	11,676	12,955		1				
Kozana	7,511	7,506	5,988	6,645		2				
Cuma	13,656	15,191	1,344	1,551			2,424	2,950		
Nasliç	3,352	3,767	11,379	11,995						1
Grebene	2,066	2,470	12,980	15,019	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total, Serfice Sancak	29,422	32,331	49,410	55,014		3	2,424	2,950		1
TOTAL, MANASTIR PROVINCE	108,295	117,239	107,940	119,826	12	17	97,459	108,433		1

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites (Syracs) F	Monophysites (Syracs) M	Non-Muslim Gypsies F	Non-Muslim Gypsies M	Foreign Citizens F	Foreign Citizens M	Total F	Total M	Total Population
3,535	3,570	238	296	2,878	3,174			35	49			39,114	41,945	81,059
167	227	46	63	312	393					475	631	24,319	27,530	51,849
		6	5	14	19							28,350	31,979	60,329
291	320	—	—	3	56			—	—	143	148	19,290	22,243	41,533
3,993	4,117	290	364	3,207	3,642			35	49	618	779	111,073	123,697	234,770
		1,826	2,381	185	196							90,736	100,825	191,561
		248	298	98	70							60,629	74,615	135,244
	2	120	98									15,544	17,672	33,216
—	—	—	—	—	—							8,955	12,370	21,325
	2	2,194	2,777	283	266							175,864	205,482	381,346
	692		74									31,502		31,502
	496											7,072		7,072
	283											6,636		6,636
	543											2,426		2,426
	57											2,743		2,743
												3,442		3,442
	441											22,694		22,694
	157											9,716		9,716
	620											11,637		11,637
	45											5,434		5,434
	134											9,019		9,019
	359											11,506		11,506
	218											14,828		14,828
	59											6,372		6,372
	35											6,355		6,355
												5,330		5,330
	26											4,436		4,463
—	121	—	28									14,963		14,963
	4,286		102									176,111		176,111
2,095	2,179	16	18							15	16	66,992	70,461	137,453
										8	8	27,841	31,486	59,327
												25,495	27,190	52,685
												20,903	22,476	43,379
		3	1									16,801	17,428	34,229
2,095	2,179	19	19							23	24	158,032	169,041	327,073
												30,840	34,528	65,368
407	367											27,276	33,624	60,900
												11,539	12,595	24,134
—	—											7,307	8,018	15,325
407	367											76,962	88,765	165,727
												7,840	9,098	16,938
	15									5	15	12,721	14,134	26,855
												13,499	14,153	27,652
												17,424	19,692	37,116
	9											14,731	15,772	30,503
—	—									—	—	15,046	17,489	32,535
	24									5	15	81,261	90,338	171,599
2,502	2,570	19	19							28	39	316,255	348,144	664,399

continued on following page

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M
VAN PROVINCE										
Van Sancak										
Van Central Kaza	8,324	9,772			14,052	19,001				
Erciş	3,836	3,899			1,418	2,293				
Adilcevaz	2,963	3,266			1,661	2,379				
Karıçkan	2,618	3,575			1,748	2,618				
Gevaş	1,864	2,564			2,023	2,779				
Mekri	1,576	1,972			2,152	2,082				
Muradiye (Bargiri)	1,805	1,696			619	764				
Çatak (Sitak)	2,188	2,664			1,715	2,078				
Total, Van Sancak	25,174	29,408			25,388	33,994				
Hakkari Sancak										
Mamuretülhamidiye	2,281	2,549			626	440				
Total, Hakkari Sancak	2,281	2,549			626	440				
TOTAL, VAN PROVINCE	27,455	31,957			26,014	34,434				
YANYA (JANINA) PROVINCE										
Yanya Sancak										
Yanya Central Kaza	2,124	2,635	37,694	39,564						
Aydonat	1,681	2,310	4,843	5,748						
Filat	4,582	5,358	6,878	7,354						
Meçva			2,336	2,723						
Leshovik	2,219	2,528	6,585	6,976						
Koniçe	614	815	7,173	7,965						
Pogon	413	540	10,160	9,943						
Permedi	8,747	9,714	5,031	5,380						
Total, Yanya Sancak	20,380	23,900	80,700	85,653						
Ergiri Sancak										
Ergiri Central Kaza	5,767	6,024	9,458	9,439						
Delvine	2,810	3,075	6,571	7,154						
Tepedelen	9,211	10,456	3,113	3,135						
Kurveles	5,295	5,241	2,533	2,635						
Total, Ergiri Sancak	23,083	24,796	21,675	22,363						
Berat Sancak										
Berat Central Kaza	34,033	38,119	16,895	18,791						
Goşince	3,597	3,954	86	178						
Avlonya	11,376	13,614	1,916	2,595					35	48
Lusne	5,450	5,950	156	163					—	—
Total, Berat Sancak	54,456	61,637	19,053	21,727					35	48
Prevese Sancak										
Prevese Central Kaza	754	887	4,233	5,422						
Loros	383	785	7,179	7,862						
Margiliç	6,533	7,821	4,956	5,481						
Total, Prevese Sancak	7,670	9,493	16,368	18,765						
TOTAL, YANYA PROVINCE	105,589	119,826	137,796	148,508					35	48
ISTANBUL CITY AND GREATER ISTANBUL	183,571	201,339	60,937	91,804	65,720	83,870	400	3,977	3,233	3,209

I.8.A. Ottoman General Census of 1881/82–1893 (continued)

Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites (Synacs) F	Monophysites (Synacs) M	Non-Muslim Gypsies F	Non-Muslim Gypsies M	Foreign Citizens F	Foreign Citizens M	Total F	Total M	Total Population
												22,376	28,773	51,149
												5,254	6,192	11,446
												4,624	5,645	10,269
												4,366	6,193	10,559
												3,887	5,343	9,230
												3,728	4,054	7,782
												2,424	2,460	4,884
												3,903	4,742	8,645
												50,562	63,402	113,964
												2,907	2,989	5,896
												2,907	2,989	5,896
												53,469	66,391	119,860
1,531	1,803									93	114	41,442	44,116	85,558
										5	5	6,529	8,063	14,592
18	20											11,478	12,732	24,210
										8	32	2,344	2,755	5,099
	3											8,804	9,507	18,311
	3											7,787	8,783	16,570
4	12											10,577	10,495	21,072
3	1											13,781	15,095	28,876
1,556	1,842									106	151	102,742	111,546	214,288
	1										1	15,225	15,464	30,689
										150	230	9,531	10,460	19,991
												12,324	13,591	25,915
												7,828	7,876	15,704
—	—									—	—			
	1									150	231	44,908	47,391	92,299
2	3											50,930	56,913	107,843
												3,683	4,132	7,815
12	19											13,339	16,276	29,615
												5,606	6,113	11,719
—	—											73,558	83,434	156,992
14	22													
60	132									45	154	5,092	6,595	11,687
12	34											7,574	8,681	16,255
	4									45	116	11,534	13,422	24,956
—	—									—	—			
72	170									90	270	24,200	28,698	52,898
1,642	2,035									346	652	245,408	271,069	516,477
21,967	22,394	331	488	554	528					28,038	101,205	364,751	508,814	873,565

Notes follow Table I.8.D.

I.8.B. Summary: Totals for Principal Administrative Districts

District	Muslims		Greeks		Armenians		Bulgarians		Catholics	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Aydin	547,696	571,627	92,894	103,664	6,721	7,419	138	290	452	423
Edirne	211,478	222,888	128,853	138,367	8,097	8,545	49,261	52,984	489	535
Erzurum	204,993	240,555	1,593	1,763	46,080	55,058			3,110	3,620
Adana	162,984	178,392	2,755	3,507	20,752	24,047			750	903
Işkodra	39,168	39,432	2,768	3,145					1,439	1,358
Ankara	362,504	373,262	17,506	17,409	32,659	34,831			3,226	3,077
Izmit Special District	65,775	67,342	11,358	12,366	18,309	18,911	5	8	63	70
Bağdat	756	149,352				349				875
Basra		10,154				35				108
Beyrut	224,040	237,994	25,672	29,304	32	54			19,820	22,966
Bitlis	73,323	93,731			45,581	55,777			2,171	2,777
Biga Special District	47,029	52,439	7,020	8,081	779	962	180	222		
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	12,418	15,063	110,587	116,230	34	44	1			
Çatalca Special District	6,854	8,237	16,955	18,893	447	452	2,629	2,957		
Halep	339,507	345,092	3,562	3,990	23,754	28,653			9,869	10,067
Hüdavendigar	564,734	568,029	65,224	67,793	28,546	29,272	265	1,019	1,755	1,595
Diyarbekir	138,487	151,104	530	636	22,053	24,770		73	4,680	5,113
Zor Sancak	17,287	16,576			28	55			125	175
Suriye	174,896	164,035	13,108	16,291	96	103			11,168	13,972
Selanik	216,916	230,988	129,289	147,948	75	126	104,464	118,220	1,129	1,182
Sivas	366,701	399,857	18,009	19,804	56,018	60,527			1,506	1,546
Istanbul Suburbs	18,246	22,209	16,074	19,197	1,104	1,705		21	141	196
Trabzon	411,898	445,382	72,890	82,149	19,497	22,289			629	644
Kastamonu	455,858	473,442	7,399	7,601	1,301	1,476		2		36
Kosova	140,643	268,867	10,889	18,504			117,429	157,364		
Konya	431,489	445,743	27,821	28,740	4,731	5,082			34	47
Kudüs Special District	94,401	105,212	7,956	8,746	383	556			190	232
Elaziz	138,073	162,115	262	281	34,188	38,990			864	1,051
Musul		164,593		3		45				7,082
Manastir	108,295	117,239	107,940	119,826	12	17	97,459	108,433		1
Van	27,455	31,957			26,014	34,434				
Yanya	105,589	119,826	137,796	148,508					35	48
Total	5,709,493	6,492,734	1,036,710	1,142,746	397,291	454,584	371,831	441,593	63,645	79,699
Istanbul City and Greater Istanbul	183,571	201,339	60,937	91,804	65,720	83,870	400	3,977	3,233	3,209
GRAND TOTAL	5,893,064	6,694,073	1,097,647	1,234,550	463,011	538,454	372,231	445,570	66,878	82,908

I.8.B. Summary: Totals for Principle Administrative Districts (continued)

Jews		Protestants		Latins		Monophysites (Syriacs)		Non-Muslim Gypsies		Foreign Citizens		Total		Total Population
F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
10,731	11,422	77	76	464	586					28,008	27,736	687,181	723,243	1,410,424
6,608	7,109	137	142		4					214	330	405,137	430,904	836,041
3	3	873	1,067					8	7	110	182	256,770	302,255	559,025
		1,028	1,116			39	76					188,308	208,041	396,349
										25	37	43,400	43,972	87,372
225	190	1,125	1,115								3	417,245	429,887	847,132
81	88	521	587							78	113	96,190	99,485	195,675
33	12,682		17		49		373				33,270	789	196,967	197,756
	421		135										10,853	10,853
1,707	1,834	1,037	1,172	1,177	1,205							273,485	294,529	568,014
		636	862			851	1,130	70	89			122,632	154,366	276,998
880	875	19	27							133	189	56,040	62,795	118,835
1,435	1,517			14	18					2,991	3,238	127,480	136,110	263,590
444	522							220	212			27,549	31,273	58,822
4,981	4,932	4,393	4,689	273	218	1,744	1,990					388,083	399,631	787,714
1,489	1,548	378	375	5	7					1,720	2,130	664,116	671,768	1,335,884
569	482	1,940	2,041			7,767	8,622	82	81			176,108	192,922	369,030
	2	1	1									17,441	16,809	34,250
3,093	3,184	335	367	45	49		6					202,741	198,007	400,748
18,463	18,743	143	140							862	1,156	471,341	518,503	989,844
104	105	963	1,031					200	235	25	40	443,526	483,145	926,671
30	36	5	2	21	37					820	858	36,441	44,261	80,702
	5	405	440							2	7	505,321	550,916	1,056,237
								894	971		1	465,452	483,529	948,981
805	901	43	54	1,481	4,107							271,290	449,797	721,087
104	112	66	73									464,245	479,797	944,042
3,993	4,117	290	364	3,207	3,642			35	49	618	779	111,073	123,697	234,770
	2	2,194	2,777	283	266							175,864	205,482	381,346
	4,286		102										176,111	176,111
2,502	2,570	19	19							28	39	316,255	348,144	664,399
												53,469	66,391	119,860
1,642	2,035									346	652	245,408	271,069	516,477
59,922	79,723	16,628	18,791	6,970	10,188	10,401	12,197	1,509	1,644	35,980	70,760	7,710,380	8,804,659	16,515,039
21,967	22,394	331	488	554	528					28,038	101,205	364,751	508,814	873,565
81,889	102,117	16,959	19,279	7,524	10,716	10,401	12,197	1,509	1,644	64,018	171,965	8,075,131	9,313,473	17,388,604

Notes follow Table I.8.D.

I.8.C. Supplement to 1881/82–1893 Census Results: Population Estimates

District or Unit	Area and/or Group	Estimated Population
Administrative Districts with Uncompleted Census		
Erzurum	Celalis and other tribes	100,000
Işkodra	Işkodra Sancak	250,000
Bitlis	Sason, Mutki, and some tribes	200,000
Bağdat	Nomadic tribes and women	600,000
Basra	Nomadic tribes and women	300,000
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	Sporato Islands	100,000
Halep	Tribes	100,000
Zor Sancak	Tribes and Bedouins	150,000
Kosova	Prizren, Ipek, and Yenipazar Sancaks	200,000
Elaziz	Dersim Sancak	100,000
Musul	Estimates of tribes and women not covered by the census	250,000
Manastir	Debre and Ilbasan Sancaks	400,000
Suriye	Havran Sancak and tribes of Hama Sancak (partly subject to the census)	200,000
Van	Hakkari Sancak	150,000
Total		3,100,000
Administrative Units Not Included in Census		
Asir and Yemen		2,500,000
Hicas (Hejaz)		3,500,000
Trablusgarp (Tripoli in Libya)		800,000
Bengazi Mutasarriflik		500,000
Total		7,300,000
Special Administrative or Autonomous Units		
Misir (Egypt)		6,000,000
Tunis (Tunisia) Eyalet		1,500,000
Sarki Rumeli (Eastern Rumelia)		500,000
Bulgarian Principality		1,500,000
Girit (Crete)		200,000
Bosnia and Herzegovina[n]		1,336,091
Kıbrıs (Cyprus)		120,000
Cebelilübnan (Mount Lebanon)		100,000
Sisam (Samos) Beylik		50,000
Total		11,306,091

I.8.D. Final Summary: Counted and Estimated Totals

Counted population of all administrative units included in census	17,388,562
Estimated population of areas with uncompleted census	3,100,000
Estimated population of administrative units not included in census	7,300,000
Estimated population of special and autonomous provinces	11,306,091
Ottoman citizens in foreign countries	14,978
TOTAL	39,109,631

Notes to Tables I.8.A, I.8.B, I.8.C, and I.8.D.

Source: BA (Y)(P)/11s 311, no. 215.

Notes: Females were counted for the first time in the 1881/82–1893 census, and the columns headed *F* give their number; the columns headed *M*, of course, give the tabulation of males. Females were excluded, however, totally or largely, from the census count in Bağdat, Basra, and Musul Provinces and Ipek and Prizren Sancaks.

In 1880 boundary changes, reflected in the 1881/82 census, took place as follows: the *sancak* of Manastir (Bitolia) was elevated to the rank of province by adding to it portions of Kosova (Prizren, Diakovo, and Dibra) and of Selanik (to which it had previously been attached); Üsküp (Skopje) was detached from Selanik and added to Kosova.

This census tabulation is for the most part by *vilayet* (province), *sancak* (county/district), and *kaza* (judicial district), with *kaza* populations being totaled to give the *sancak* population and *sancaks* totaled for the province figure. Some of the listed main units (including some provinces as well as special districts and urban areas) do not have *sancak* divisions, however, but only *kazas*. *Sancaks* are identified as such; unlabeled small divisions are *kazas*.

Districts in which the census was certified as completed were Aydin, Edirne, Adana, Ankara, Izmit, Biga, Diyarbekir, Selanik, Kastamonu, Konya, Kudüs, and Yanya; in some other areas the census was quite close to completion, while some districts lagged far behind in their count, as indicated by the lettered notes.

[a] Census completed except for the Celali tribe.

[b] Census completed only for Draç Sancak and dependent *kazas* and the centrally dependent Akçahisar Kaza.

[c] Census completed except for Lazkiye Sancak.

[d] Census far from completion.

[e] Census completed except for the Sporato Islands.

[f] Census completed except for tribal population.

[g] Tribes excluded from census.

[h] Census completed except in Havran Sancak, which was excluded from the census, as were a few tribes.

[i] Census completed except in Prizren, Ipek, and Yenipazar.

[j] Dersim Sancak excluded from census.

[k] Tribes excluded from census (as well as females).

[l] Census completed except for the *sancaks* of Debre and Ilbasan.

[m] Census completed except in Hakkari Sancak.

[n] The following is a breakdown of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Muslims, 492,710; Orthodox Christians, 571,250; Catholics, 265,788; Jews, 5,805; other religious groups, 538; total, 1,336,091.

I.9. Ottoman Population, 1894

Administrative District	Muslims		Greeks[a]		Armenians		Bulgarians		Catholics	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Edirne	222,888	211,478	138,367	128,853	8,545	8,097	52,984	49,261	535	489
Erzurum	240,655	204,993	1,763	1,593	55,058	46,080		2	3,620	3,110
Adana	178,392	162,984	3,507	2,755	17,736	15,079			903	750
Ankara	373,262	362,504	17,409	17,506	34,831	32,959			3,127	3,226
Aydin	571,128	547,368	102,924	92,507	7,419	6,521	288	138	424	452
Işkodra (Scutari)	39,432	39,168	3,145	2,768					1,358	1,439
İzmit Sancak	67,342	65,775	12,366	11,342	18,911	18,309	8	5	70	63
Bağdat (Baghdad)	149,352	756			349				875	
Basra	8,154				35				108	
Bitlis	93,731	73,323			55,777	45,581			2,777	2,171
Beyrut	237,994	224,040	29,304	25,672	54	32			22,966	19,820
Biga Sancak	52,439	47,029	8,081	7,020	955	776	222	180		
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	15,069	13,414	116,101	110,489	47	36	1			
Çatalca Sancak	8,237	6,854	18,893	16,955	452	447	2,957	2,629		
Halep (Aleppo)	345,092	339,507	3,990	3,562	28,653	23,754			10,067	9,869
Hüdavendigar	568,027	564,734	67,793	65,224	29,272	28,546	1,019	865	1,591	1,755
Diyarbekir	151,104	138,487	558	452	24,770	22,053	7		5,197	4,758
Zor Sancak	18,732	19,533			55	28			175	125
Sivas	399,857	366,702	19,804	18,009	60,382	55,884			1,601	1,622
Selanik (Salonica)	230,948	216,916	147,948	129,286	126	75	118,216	105,064	1,182	1,129
Suriye (Syria)	164,035	174,896	16,291	13,108	103	96			13,972	11,168
Şehremaneti Mülhakati[b]	22,209	18,246	19,197	16,074	1,705	1,104	21		196	141
Trabzon	445,445	411,898	82,149	72,890	22,282	19,498			644	629
Kastamonu	473,442	555,858	7,440	7,099	1,772	1,601	2		36	
Konya	445,737	431,489	28,740	27,794	5,082	4,731			47	34
Kosova	268,862	140,870	18,504	10,889			157,367	117,459		
Kudüs-ü Şerif (Jerusalem) Sancak	105,212	94,401	8,750	7,956	556	383			232	190
Musul	164,591		3		45				7,082	
Mamuretülaziz	162,115	138,073	281	262	38,990	34,188			1,051	864
Manastir	117,239	108,295	119,826	107,940	17	12	108,433	97,459	1	
Van	31,957	27,455			34,434	26,014				
Yanya	119,826	105,589	148,498	137,796					48	35
Total	6,492,505	5,812,635	1,141,632	1,035,801	448,413	391,884	441,525	373,062	79,885	63,839
Oersaadet ve Bilad-i Selase[c]	298,306	221,888	99,281	62,586	89,181	68,950	5,758	606	3,466	3,170
GRAND TOTAL	6,790,811	6,034,523	1,240,913	1,098,387	537,594	460,834	447,283	373,668	83,351	67,009

I.9. Ottoman Population, 1894 (continued)

Jews		Protestants		Latins		Syrians		Non-Muslim Gypsies		Foreign Citizens		Total		Total Population
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
7,113	6,608	142	137		4					330	214	430,904	405,141	836,045
13	3	1,097	873					7	8	182	110	302,395	256,772	559,167
		1,116	1,028			76	36					201,730	182,632	384,362
190	225	1,115	1,125							3		429,937	417,545	847,482
11,489	10,784	76	77	586	464					27,736	28,006	722,070	686,317	1,408,387
										37	25	43,972	43,400	87,372
88	81	587	521							113	78	99,485	96,174	195,659
12,682	33	17		49		373				33,270		196,967	789	197,756
421		135										8,853		8,853
		862	636			1,130	851	89	70			154,366	122,632	276,998
1,834	1,707	1,172	1,037	1,205	1,177							294,529	273,485	568,014
875	880	26	19							189	133	62,787	56,037	118,824
1,521	1,435			18	14					3,238	2,991	135,995	128,379	264,374
522	444							212	220			31,273	27,549	58,822
4,932	4,980	4,689	4,393	218	274	1,990	1,744					399,631	388,083	787,714
1,548	1,486	375	378	7	5					2,140	1,720	671,772	664,713	1,336,485
482	569	2,041	1,940			8,622	7,767	81	82			192,862	176,108	368,970
2		1,	1									18,965	19,687	38,652
105	104	1,031	963					235	200	40	25	483,055	443,509	926,564
18,743	18,463	140	143							1,156	862	518,459	471,938	990,397
3,184	3,093	367	335	49	45	6						198,007	202,741	400,748
36	30	2	5	37	21					858	820	44,261	36,441	80,702
5		440	404							7	2	550,972	505,321	1,056,293
								971	894	1		483,664	565,452	1,049,116
112	104	73	66									479,791	464,218	944,009
901	805	54	43	4,107	1,481							449,795	271,547	721,342
4,117	3,993	364	290	3,643	3,206			49	35	779	618	123,702	111,072	234,774
4,286		1,040										177,047		177,047
2		2,777	2,164	266	283							205,482	175,834	381,316
2,570	2,502	19	19							39	28	348,144	316,255	664,399
												66,391	53,469	119,860
2,035	1,641									652	346	271,059	245,407	516,466
79,808	59,970	19,758	16,597	10,185	6,974	12,197	10,398	1,644	1,509	70,770	35,978	8,798,322	7,808,647	16,606,969
23,304	22,065	1,073	595	1,775	1,478					9,564	27,188	621,708	408,526	1,030,234
103,112	82,035	20,831	17,192	11,960	8,452	12,197	10,398	1,644	1,509	170,334	63,166	9,420,030	8,217,173	17,637,203

Source: BA(Y) (Sadaret, Hususi Maruzatı) H 3 C 1312, no. 2072 of R 20 Teşrinisani 1310 (2 December 1894).

Note: This table is based on the 1893 census in which various tribes and the populations of Hejaz and Yemen were not counted. The full title of this tabulation is "List Indicating the Population of the Capital and Its Boroughs and the Subjects Who Were Counted in the Vilayets Subject to Census." It was compiled by the premier's office in answer to a direct request by the sultan.

[a] The term "Greek" includes also those attached to the Orthodox church whose language is Arabic; the "Greeks" in Syria and Jerusalem should be in some other category.

[b] Şehremaneti Mulhakati is Greater Istanbul, and it includes the *kazas* of Küçükçekmece, Gebze, Kartal, Beykoz, Şile, and Adalar.

[c] Dersaadet ve Bilad-i Selase is the Capital City and the Three Boroughs, consisting of Istanbul, Beyoğlu, and Üsküdar.

I.10. Muslims and Non-Muslims in the Ottoman State, 1894

Administrative District	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Bulgarians	Jews	Catholics	Protestants	Latins	Syrians	Others	Total
Edirne	434,366	267,220	16,642	102,245	13,721	1,024	279			544	836,041
Erzurum	559,508	3,356	101,138		6	3,730	1,970			292	670,000
Adana	349,636	6,262	32,815		1	1,653	2,144		115	371	392,997
Ankara	763,262	34,915	67,790		415	6,353	2,240			25	875,000
Aydin	1,150,109	195,431	13,940	426	22,273	876	153	1,050		55,742	1,440,000
Işkodra	330,728	5,913				2,797				62	339,500
Izmit	152,659	23,708	37,220	43	129	133	1,108				215,000
Bagdat	752,000		349		12,715	875	17	49	373	33,270	799,648
Basra	313,147		358		421	108	135		831	5,000	320,000
Bitlis	366,066		101,358			4,948	1,498		1,130		475,000
Beyrut	467,020	54,967	86		3,541	42,786	2,209	2,382			572,991
Biga	104,144	15,100	1,731	402	1,755		46			322	123,500
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	30,869	226,590	83	2	2,956			32			260,532
Çatalca	18,701	35,848	899	5,586	966						62,000
Halep	810,619	7,552	52,407		9,913	19,936	9,082	491	3,734		913,734
Hicaz	3,700,000									50,000	3,750,000
Hüdavendigar	1,161,000	133,017	57,818	1,884	3,037	3,350	753	15		3,860	1,364,734
Dersaadet	521,128	152,741	144,807	4,377	44,361	6,442	819	1,082		129,243	1,005,000
Diyarbekir	327,173	1,010	46,823	7	1,051	9,955	3,981				390,000
Zor	186,517		83			400					187,000
Sivas	793,000	37,813	116,266		209	3,223	1,994			70	952,575
Selanik	463,000	277,000	1,257	223,000	37,206	2,311	283			2,018	1,006,075
Suriye	546,926	29,399	199		6,277	25,140	702	94	4,263		613,000
Şehremaneti Mulhakati	50,251	35,268	2,809	21	66	337	12	58		1,678	90,500
Trabzon	874,029	155,039	41,780		5	1,273	844			30	1,073,000
Kastamonu	939,037	14,539	3,373	5		36				10	957,000
Konya	885,217	56,534	9,813		216	81	139				952,000
Kosova	419,390	29,393		274,826	1,706		97	5,588			731,000
Kudüs	213,310	16,706	939	422	8,110		654	6,849	10		247,000
Girit	74,150	175,000	500		200					150	250,000
Musul	408,000	3	7,127		4,383				162		419,675
Manastir	630,000	228,121	29		5,072					67	1,069,181
Mamuretülaziz	423,842	543	73,178		9	1,915	4,971	542			505,000
Van	212,552		60,448								273,000
Yanya	235,948	286,294			3,677					998	527,000
Yemen	1,840,000	500								709,500	2,550,000
Total	21,507,304	2,505,782	994,065	819,138	184,397	139,765	36,130	18,232	10,618	993,252	27,208,683

Source: BA (Y)/(Sadaret, Hususi Maruzati)/3 C 1312, no. 2072.
Note: This table, compiled by the prime minister's office, covers areas the population of which was only partially tabulated in the 1893 census.

I.11. Muslim and Non-Muslim Subjects Counted in the Census up to 1895

Administrative District	Muslims		Greeks		Armenians		Bulgarians		Catholics	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Edirne	211,478	222,888	128,853	138,367	8,097	8,545	49,261	52,984	489	535
Erzurum	235,543	274,405	1,750	1,861	51,240	59,079			3,906	4,098
Adana	165,148	178,981	2,831	3,543	15,031	17,732			960	996
Ankara	396,142	412,560	15,093	14,876	33,806	35,073			3,336	3,266
Aydın	573,692	583,870	102,355	108,048	7,004	6,970	168	378	1,092	1,204
Işkodra	39,168	39,432	2,768	3,145					1,439	1,358
İzmit Sancak	68,169	70,271	11,986	12,802	19,300	19,349			29	23
Bağdat	756	149,352				349				875
Basra		8,154				35				108
Bitlis	104,992	132,400			44,725	58,990			2,513	3,123
Beyrut	224,040	237,994	25,672	29,304	32	54			19,820	22,966
Biga Sancak	56,598	61,284	8,259	8,622	884	878	261	309		
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	13,414	15,069	110,489	116,101	36	47		1		
Çatalca Sancak	6,854	8,237	16,955	18,893	447	452	2,629	2,957		
Halep	343,945	348,434	3,546	4,018	24,216	28,765			8,803	8,896
Hüdavendigar (Bursa)	577,922	581,544	66,226	69,140	29,123	29,661	875	1,040	1,847	1,685
Diyarbekir	144,768	175,443	640	659	21,659	24,309			3,699	4,145
Zor	65,958	65,900			182	288				
Sivas	381,336	409,012	19,267	21,940	57,819	62,403			1,567	1,545
Selanik	216,916	230,948	129,289	147,948	75	126	105,064	118,216	1,129	1,182
Suriye	276,142	276,100	15,452	16,949	137	147			8,143	9,409
Şehremaneti Mulhakatı[a]	18,246	22,209	16,074	19,197	1,104	1,705		21	141	196
Trabzon	424,292	445,311	78,324	84,724	20,599	22,594			684	699
Kastamonu	477,121	489,302	7,783	8,093	2,798	3,017				
Konya	445,976	451,902	30,155	31,289	4,775	5,097			35	47
Kosova	140,870	268,862	10,889	18,504			117,459	157,367		
Kudüs	128,480	138,134	8,538	9,231	388	400			195	229
Musul		239,386		13		73				5,653
Mamuretülaziz (Elazig)	228,924	248,492	476	479	37,917	41,503			1,179	1,210
Manastir	108,295	117,239	107,940	119,826	12	17	97,459	108,433		1
Van	40,879	56,462			28,280	36,349				
Yanya	105,589	119,826	137,796	148,498					35	48
Total	6,221,653	7,079,403	1,059,406	1,156,070	409,686	464,007	373,176	441,706	61,041	73,497
Istanbul	221,888	298,306	62,586	99,281	68,950	89,181	606	5,758	3,170	3,466
GRAND TOTAL	6,443,541	7,377,709	1,121,992	1,255,351	478,636	553,188	373,782	447,464	64,211	76,963
GRAND TOTAL, BOTH SEXES	13,821,250		2,377,343		1,031,824		821,246		141,174	

I.11. Muslim and Non-Muslim Subjects in Census up to 1895 (continued)

Jews		Protestants		Latins		Chaldeans		Old Syrians		Maronites		Non-Muslim Gypsies		Foreign Citizens		Total Population
F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
6,608	7,113	137	142	4										214	330	836,045
3	3	960	1,148													
		1,028	1,116					39	76			15	17	116	180	634,324
225	186	1,387	1,351													387,481
12,519	12,650	47	66									379	435			918,117
														28,296	27,617	1,465,976
107	100	551	602											25	37	87,372
33	12,682		17		49				373					27	59	203,375
	421		135												33,270	197,756
		778	973					1,419	1,727							8,853
1,707	1,834	1,037	1,172	1,177	1,205											351,640
1,061	1,041	22	35													568,014
1,435	1,521			14	18									98	156	139,508
444	522													2,991	3,238	264,374
5,177	5,333	4,483	4,777	366	353	62	89	1,807	2,039	996	1,014	220	212			58,822
1,486	1,534	390	394	5	7									504	1,562	799,185
679	612	2,035	2,258			485	552	9,333	10,108			137	131	1,645	2,220	1,367,012
												6	6		3	401,399
110	137	1,348	1,299													132,328
18,463	18,743	143	140									765	947			959,495
3,223	3,441	530	541	535	476			1,872	2,411	2,497	2,938			862	1,156	990,400
30	36	5	2	21	37											620,943
		442	457											820	858	80,702
												15	26	97	135	1,078,399
118	118	173	199													988,114
805	901	43	54	1,481	4,107							245	267	5	5	970,406
4,884	4,142	321	364	3,729	4,010											721,342
	4,675		135						1,159			45	55	2,674	2,783	308,602
	1	3,535	3,764	305	321		1,322	821	821							251,094
2,502	2,570	19	19													571,070
														28	39	664,399
1,642	2,035															161,970
63,261	82,353	19,414	21,160	7,637	10,583	547	1,963	15,291	18,714	3,493	3,952	1,827	2,096	346	652	516,467
														38,748	74,300	17,704,984
22,065	23,304	595	1,073	1,478	1,775											
														27,188	99,564	1,030,234
85,326	105,657	20,009	22,233	9,115	12,358	547	1,963	15,291	18,714	3,493	3,952	1,827	2,096	65,936	173,864	18,735,218
190,983		42,242		21,473		2,510		34,005		7,445		3,923		239,800		18,735,218

Source: BA (Y).(P).1171, "Sicill-i Nüfus, Idare-i Umumiyyesi" of 17 Ramazan 1312 (R. 2 Mart 1311, 14 March 1895).

Notes: The figures do not cover areas (Basra, Hejaz, Scutari-Işkodra, etc.) where the census was not completed in 1893. Crete is excluded.

[a] This is Greater Istanbul, including Küçükçekmece, Gebze, Kartal, Beykoz, Şile, and Adalar (Marmara Islands).

I.12. Muslims and Non-Muslims in the Ottoman State, 1896

Administrative District	Muslims		Greeks		Armenians		Bulgarians		Catholics	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Selanik	222,322	228,134	135,168	146,845	29	19	110,411	121,195	1,127	1,157
İzmit	69,415	72,412	12,071	12,860	19,360	19,416			29	23
Çatalca	7,180	7,879	17,421	18,828	449	458	2,737	3,042		
Trabzon	427,951	446,752	79,944	85,296	20,633	22,536			402	706
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	13,400	15,000	125,100	131,000	34	49				
Musul		196,126		13		73				44,182
Halep	383,945	408,434	7,635	7,973	24,216	28,765			5,762	6,044
Biğa	56,638	61,344	8,328	8,735	886	882	269	301		
Kastamonu	468,996	478,605	7,788	7,999	2,880	2,995				
Bitlis	155,179	210,742			38,725	49,997			2,913	3,123
Konya	444,804	452,408			4,809	5,161				
Diyarbekir	186,611	176,323	662	681	21,260	23,633			4,472	5,105
Adana	73,685	177,964	2,782	2,920	16,029	16,660			769	863
Zor	66,187	66,233	11	9	21	44			56	62
Edirne	254,759	265,988	135,433	147,140	8,592	8,861	56,683	59,850	580	940
Erzurum	235,558	274,422	1,750	1,861	51,240	59,079			3,906	4,098
Ankara	396,542	413,060	15,412	15,311	33,806	35,073			3,336	3,262
Mamuretülaziz (Elaziğ)	228,924	248,492	476	479	37,917	41,503			1,179	1,210
Hüdavendigar	577,922	581,544	66,363	69,271	29,123	29,661	875	1,040	1,847	1,685
Kosova	140,870	268,862	10,889	18,504			117,459	157,367		
Manastir	108,295	117,239	107,940	119,826	12	17	97,459	108,433		1
Aydin	573,692	583,870	102,355	108,048	7,004	6,970	168	378	1,092	1,204
Suriye	276,142	276,100	15,452	16,949	137	147			9,647	11,284
Sivas	387,263	423,653	20,125	23,080	57,981	62,398			1,610	1,562
Yanya	105,196	110,781	143,931	148,115	5	4	1	1		1
Van	73,623	100,150			31,450	30,483			11,429	13,625
Beyrut	244,186	250,186	26,088	29,908	40	46			23,820	27,676
Kudüs	128,480	138,134			388	400			195	229
Işkodra	39,168	39,432	2,768	3,145					1,439	1,358
Bağdat	756	149,352				349				875
Basra		8,154				35				108
Şehremaneti Mulhakati[a]	18,246	22,209	16,074	19,197	1,104	1,705		21	141	196
Total	6,365,835	7,269,994	1,061,966	1,143,993	408,130	447,419	386,062	451,628	75,751	130,579
İstanbul	221,888	298,306	62,586	99,281	68,950	89,181	606	5,758	3,170	3,466
GRAND TOTAL	6,587,723	7,568,300	1,124,552	1,243,274	477,080	536,600	386,668	457,386	78,921	134,045
GRAND TOTAL, BOTH SEXES	14,156,023		2,367,826		1,013,680		844,055		212,966	

I.12. Muslims and Non-Muslims in the Ottoman State (continued)

Jews		Old Syrians		Protestants		Latins		Foreign Citizens		Total		Total Population
F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
20,562	21,422			165	164			586	686	490,370	519,622	1,009,992
				506	602					101,381	105,313	206,694
449	529							93	142	28,329	30,878	59,207
				444	457			97	135	529,471	555,892	1,085,363
1,400	1,500					12	20	2,900	3,200	142,846	150,769	293,615
	4,675		6,812		135						252,016	252,016
5,037	5,333	1,807	2,039	4,483	4,777	300	419	504	1,562	433,689	465,346	899,035
1,094	1,083			23	36			98	160	67,336	72,541	139,877
										479,664	489,599	969,263
		1,419	1,727	770	973					199,006	266,562	465,568
										449,613	457,569	907,182
693	612	9,038	9,948	2,043	2,317	8	15			224,787	218,634	443,421
			13	1,183	1,990					94,448	200,410	294,858
		110	97							66,385	66,445	132,830
7,528	7,979			98	100		4			463,673	490,862	954,535
3	3			960	1,148			116	180	293,533	340,791	634,324
225	188			1,387	1,351					450,708	468,245	918,953
	1	821	821	3,535	3,764	305	321			273,157	296,591	569,748
1,486	1,534			390	394	5	7	1,645	2,220	679,656	687,356	1,367,012
805	901			43	54	1,481	4,107			271,547	449,795	721,342
2,502	2,570			19	19			28	39	316,255	348,144	664,399
12,519	12,650			47	66			28,290	27,617	725,167	740,803	1,465,970
3,223	3,441	2,865	3,474	530	541	535	476			308,531	312,412	620,943
111	134			1,353	1,299					468,443	512,126	980,569
1,829	2,148						1			250,862	261,051	511,913
925	975									117,427	145,233	262,660
4,009	4,290	130	146	1,150	1,205	1,207	1,370			300,630	314,827	615,457
4,884	4,142			321	364	3,729	4,010	2,764	2,783	140,671	150,062	290,733
								25	37	43,400	43,972	87,372
33	12,682		373		17		49		33,270	789	196,967	197,756
	421		135								8,853	8,853
30	36			5	2	21	37	820	858	36,441	44,261	80,702
69,347	89,249	16,190	25,450	19,455	21,910	7,603	10,836	37,876	72,889	8,448,215	9,663,947	18,112,162
22,065	23,304			595	1,073	1,478	1,775	27,188	99,564	408,526	621,708	1,030,234
91,412	112,553	16,190	25,450	20,050	22,983	9,081	12,611	65,064	172,453	8,856,741	10,285,655	19,142,396
203,965		41,640		43,033		21,692		237,517		19,142,396		

Source: BA (Y).(P) 1313/1459.

Note: This table is based on the 1893 census; it includes estimates for tribes not subject to the census and the annual population figures reported by the province officials (the full original title of the list refers to the estimate of tribes and to results "obtained by cable").

[a] Greater Istanbul in this case includes Küçükçekmece, Gebze, Kartal, Şile, and Adalar.

I.13. Ottoman Population, 1897

Administrative District	Muslims M	Muslims F	Greeks M	Greeks F	Armenians M	Armenians F	Bulgarians M	Bulgarians F	Catholics M	Catholics F	Jews M	Jews F
Dersaadet	298,306	221,888	99,281	62,586	89,181	68,950	5,758	606	3,466	3,170	23,304	22,065
Edirne	273,776	265,255	149,919	139,049	9,080	8,898	62,243	59,627	958	596	8,377	7,980
Aydin	605,277	598,499	117,643	111,955	6,965	7,127	376	172	498	526	13,924	13,777
Erzurum	274,689	238,757	1,706	1,590	58,509	51,309			4,139	4,060	3	3
Adana	179,586	176,326	3,012	2,874	16,673	16,206			875	785		
Işkodra	38,426	40,573	2,891	2,913					1,285	1,441		
Ankara	454,995	440,201	18,024	18,743	37,434	36,597			3,790	3,745	339	354
Izmit	83,700	71,865	14,196	13,526	21,750	21,861			38	40	99	100
Beyrut	254,322	250,697	30,285	26,846	55	34			9,988	9,361	4,282	4,543
Bitlis	126,643	98,129			56,621	44,965			2,413	2,225		
Bağdat	165,249	6,149			255	1			458		13,440	1,227
Basra	79,248	13	5		33				341		440	1
Biga	63,011	58,316	9,011	8,670	910	932	318	294			1,182	1,191
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	16,124	14,454	130,494	122,572	3	7					1,555	1,478
Çatalca	8,452	7,868	18,958	17,562	469	460	3,048	2,739			539	464
Halep	357,070	355,515	4,228	3,588	28,329	25,136			8,868	9,122	5,436	5,325
Hüdavendigar	621,290	613,014	73,182	70,956	32,944	32,833	1,148	1,119	1,672	1,829	1,828	1,565
Diyarbekir	177,969	151,874	723	698	23,958	22,244			5,205	4,203	657	724
Zor	25,138	25,629		2	209	156			82	41	2	
Selanik	227,545	224,630	152,834	141,790	23	31	124,945	114,345	1,220	1,196	22,302	21,121
Suriye	258,456	217,978	20,205	15,515	175	161			11,435	8,206	3,526	3,371
Sivas	413,281	394,370	22,468	19,555	62,801	60,403			1,512	1,663	134	119
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	25,859	21,869	20,046	16,930	1,839	1,235	17		214	164	38	30
Trabzon	473,581	460,147	92,568	88,476	24,278	22,918			744	740		
Kosova	278,040	154,138	22,044	14,376	1		157,635	118,067	898	1	938	947
Kastamonu	477,953	467,239	8,642	8,398	3,435	3,217						
Konya	473,816	469,116	34,680	33,421	5,467	5,120			50	35	129	129
Kudüs	112,099	105,247	9,986	9,084	398	427			254	215	5,443	6,466
Manastir	120,712	132,250	137,569	134,636	14	8	93,817	83,933			3,053	2,861
Namuretülaziz	198,405	181,687	479	479	38,062	36,142			1,154	1,202	1	
Musul	179,831	6,987	13		74				4,355	1	4,568	
Van	45,294	31,662			26,085	28,966						
Yanya	111,670	109,805	145,839	141,973			1	1			2,228	1,916
Total	7,499,813	6,612,147	1,340,931	1,228,863	546,030	496,344	449,306	380,903	65,912	54,567	117,767	97,757

Source: IUKTY 9184.

I.13. Ottoman Population, 1897 (continued)

Administrative District	Protestants M	Protestants F	Latins M	Latins F	Maronites M	Maronites F	Chaldeans M	Chaldeans F	Old Syrians M	Old Syrians F	Non-Muslim Gypsies M	Non-Muslim Gypsies F	Total M	Total F	Total Population
Dersaadet	1,073	595	1,775	1,478									522,144	381,338	903,482
Edirne	99	101	3	1									504,455	481,507	985,962
Aydin	66	47	862	705							3	2	745,614	732,810	1,478,424
Erzurum	1,165	965									60	60	340,271	296,744	637,015
Adana	1,204	1,198							15	10			201,365	197,399	398,764
Işkodra													42,602	44,927	87,529
Ankara	1,649	1,644									615	496	516,846	501,780	1,018,626
Izmit	640	624	1	2			1						120,425	108,018	228,443
Beyrut	1,372	1,242	1,377	1,393	11,156	13,504			155	145	2	4	312,994	307,769	620,763
Bitlis	949	877					1,313	1,153	1,745	1,609			189,684	148,958	338,642
Bağdat	29		45	3			517	12					179,993	7,392	187,385
Basra													80,067	14	80,081
Biga	43	26											74,475	69,429	143,904
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid			28	21									148,204	138,532	286,736
Çatalca											216	226	31,682	29,319	61,001
Halep	4,833	4,948	362	372	1,029	1,007	88	64	2,079	1,839			412,322	406,916	819,238
Hüdavendigar	448	446	13	7									732,525	721,769	1,454,294
Diyarbekir	2,485	2,186	15	8			789	673	10,648	9,434	82	82	222,531	192,126	414,657
Zor		1											25,431	25,829	51,260
Selanik	183	196									3,371	3,241	532,423	506,550	1,038,973
Suriye	553	414	180	59	3,077	2,643			2,905	2,272	3		300,515	250,619	551,134
Sivas	1,320	1,386									959	805	502,475	478,401	980,876
Şehremaneti Mülhakati			37	21									48,050	40,249	88,299
Trabzon	2	5									26	16	591,199	572,301	1,163,500
Kosova	548	554	2,941	1,663							1,674	1,174	464,719	290,920	755,639
Kastamonu	53	44											490,083	478,898	968,981
Konya											256	230	514,398	508,051	1,022,449
Kudüs	207	178	4,330	4,025							58	43	132,775	125,685	258,460
Manastir	436	349									1,332	1,247	356,933	355,284	712,217
Namuretülaziz	18	16	310	297					761	745	8	13	239,198	220,581	459,779
Musul	3,479	3,355			1,158				1,192				194,670	10,343	205,013
Van	109												71,488	60,628	132,116
Yanya			1								1,644	1,603	261,383	255,298	516,681
Total	22,963	21,397	12,280	10,055	15,262	17,154	3,866	1,902	19,500	16,054	10,309	9,241	10,103,939	8,946,384	19,050,323

1.14. Ottoman Population Growth, 1874/75–1894/95 (R. 1290–1310)

Year	Population	Increase
1290	19,865,800	
1300	24,675,950	4,810,150
1310	27,299,500	2,553,550

Source: IUKTY 9075.

Note: This accounting of population growth over a twenty-year period compiled by Ottoman officials is evidence of the changing attitude of the Ottoman government toward census and population statistics.

I.15. Foreign Citizens in the Ottoman State, 1899 (R. 1315)

Administrative District	Foreign Citizens M	Foreign Citizens F	Foreign Citizens Total
Istanbul	99,564	27,188	126,752
Edirne	287	197	484
Aydin	27,558	28,247	55,805
Erzurum	191	116	307
Işkodra	29	26	55
Ankara	1		1
Izmit	59	27	86
Beyrut	1,483	1,259	2,742
Bağdat	33,270	—	33,270
Basra	559	—	559
Biga	157	95	252
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	330	252	582
Çatalca	142	93	235
Halep	1,596	511	2,107
Hüdavendigar	2,177	1,608	3,785
Diyarbekir	9	10	19
Selanik	682	583	1,265
Sivas	67	39	106
Şehremaneti Mulhakati	860	868	1,728
Trabzon	135	97	232
Konya	5	5	10
Kudüs	2,783	2,674	5,457
Manastir	33	23	56
Mamuretülaziz	33	26	59
Yanya	348	245	593
Total	172,358	64,189	236,547

Source: IUKTY 9184.

Note: This tabulation of foreigners was compiled by the Statistical Directorate of the Trade and Construction Ministry in 1915, but it was based on the original statistical list (compiled eighteen years earlier). "The General Statistics of the Ottoman State in R. 1313 [1897]."

I.16.A. Summary of Census of Ottoman Population, 1906/7

Administrative District	Muslims		Cossacks		Greeks		Armenians		Bulgarians		Wallachians		Greek Catholics		Armenian Catholics		Protestants	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Istanbul																		
1st district	57.680	32.809			13.771	7.625	6.405	6.168	542	99			11	13	46	31	96	102
2d district	25.710	22.281			9.687	7.410	1.156	1.060	138	29			2	3	156	153	152	152
3d district	34.679	32.197			7.182	5.731	4.012	4.004	386	84					12	12	1	2
4th district	16.797	13.658			12.433	8.789	4.838	3.717	171	50					491	515		
5th district	2.393	2.118			2.671	2.349	474	474	8	1					27	12	220	32
6th district	39.468	23.867			32.660	22.354	7.044	7.206	899	240			141	117	3.726	3.536	190	162
7th district	3.335	2.025			3.309	2.828	359	381	17	14					11	12	13	10
8th district	5.956	4.829			2.402	1.590	216	204	10	12					8	9	3	
9th district	19.536	18.412			3.861	2.549	3.727	4.007	91	28					67	37	81	77
10th district	6.597	5.992			3.908	4.056	2.181	2.330	28	22			14	16	232	245	44	33
Total, Istanbul	212.151	158.188			91.884	65.281	30.412	29.551	2.290	579			168	149	4.770	4.562	900	570
The Vicinity of Istanbul																		
Beykoz	2.308	2.015			882	754												
Şile	6.705	6.326			4.256	4.252												
Gebze	10.046	9.023			2.654	2.257												
Küçükçekmece	8.285	5.571			1.594	1.225	900	400										
Kartal	6.260	4.881			785	618	326	510										
Total, Vicinity of Istanbul	33.604	27.816			10.171	9.106	1.226	510										
1. Aydın (İzmir)	176.157	165.279			100.516	92.764	6.544	5.729	136	49			17	11	330	342	98	162
Manisa	180.148	174.279			23.093	21.120	2.340	2.194							4	8	100	87
Aydın	108.219	108.274			14.646	12.698	453	383	17	18					32	42		
Menteşe (Muğla)	83.650	85.258			8.967	7.904	8	6										
Denizli	125.837	124.451			1.864	1.533	331	299										
Total, Aydın	674.011	657.541			149.086	136.019	9.676	8.611	153	67			17	11	366	392	198	249
2. Ankara	179.956	170.635			1.835	1.532	5.047	4.802					7	7	3.196	3.336	426	361
Yozgat	82.259	73.670			5.565	4.805	16.735	13.935							14	7	546	481
Kayseri	72.804	65.469			12.422	11.590	22.491	20.130							848	731	1.115	936
Kirşehir	87.506	81.469			1.472	1.414	1.619	1.481							6	2	92	83
Çorum	102.257	95.541			601	540	1.817	1.723									67	55
Total, Ankara	524.782	486.784			21.895	19.881	47.709	42.071					7	7	4.064	4.076	2.246	1.916
3. Adana	53.571	49.673			1.391	1.043	7.531	6.941					32	27	468	401	518	466
Mersin	42.293	41.093			1.898	1.552	2.409	1.764					110	98	328	304	307	279
Cebelibereket (Payas)	33.836	29.868			91	158	6.700	5.837					10	4	130	132	707	626
Kozan	32.242	28.919			981	857	8.402	7.092					1		847	683	973	857
İçel	61.402	62.898			1.697	1.399	175	196					1					
Total, Adana	223.344	212.451			6.058	5.009	25.217	21.830					154	129	1.773	1.520	2.505	2.228
4. Erzurum	189.498	160.213			2.127	856	36.961	33.618					1	4	2.259	3.561	706	609
Erzincan	58.805	57.036			1.162	949	12.037	11.343									124	138
Bayazid	39.590	29.043			380	330	3.565	3.266							598	452	20	22
Hınıs	9.582	7.739					4.787	3.733									215	155
Total, Erzurum	297.475	254.031			3.669	2.135	57.350	51.960					1	4	2.857	4.013	1.065	924
5. Bitlis	24.656	19.335					15.623	12.209							70	60	359	295
Muş	31.688	23.465					27.709	22.060							1.360	1.088	321	208
Siirt	30.715	28.784					3.643	3.023							1.402	1.194	189	179
Genç	21.761	17.502					3.383	2.569										
Total, Bitlis	108.820	89.086					50.358	39.861							2.832	2.342	869	682
6. Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	6.995	6.390			36.478	32.621	18	13	18						10	13	4	3
Midilli	9.697	8.267			58.169	55.313	39	19	1						7	5		
Sakız	1.303	1.144			52.355	46.494	18	22										
Limni	1.976	1.829			17.813	17.599	2											
Total, Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	19.971	17.630			164.815	152.027	77	54	19						17	18	4	3
7. Hüdavendigar (Bursa)	133.141	126.600			30.048	28.284	16.978	15.962							338	397	204	228
Ertuğrul (Bilecik)	102.937	98.210			7.257	7.146	12.341	11.459							279	233	321	279
Kütahya	192.880	187.652			5.270	4.813	3.636	3.492							448	475	114	96
Karahisar (Afyon)	130.855	127.526			390	178	3.307	3.195							1	1	2	7
Karesi (Balikesir)	170.272	160.425	782	804	42.144	40.838	3.628	3.867	2.544	2.452					68	48	22	26
Total, Hüdavendigar	730.085	700.413	782	804	85.109	81.259	39.890	37.975	2.544	2.452					1.134	1.154	663	636

I.16.A. Summary of Census of Ottoman Population, 1906/7 (continued)

Latins		Maronites		Suryani (Syriac)		Chaldeans		Jacobites		Jews		Samaritans		Yezidis		Gypsies		Foreigners		Total		Total Population
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
25	16			16	2					569	516							2.298	887	81.459	48.268	129.727
										5.293	5.405					3		1.236	828	43.527	37.321	80.848
35	53									147	147						3	791	430	47.245	42.663	89.908
6	5									2.233	2.358							2.966	1.580	39.935	30.672	70.607
1										79	72							197	207	6.070	5.265	11.335
1.048	1.331			360	118	291	108			12.263	12.395					80	88	89.884	21.661	188.054	93.183	281.237
26	30									91	100							625	280	7.786	5.680	13.466
										142	140							352	276	9.089	7.060	16.149
18	19									2.042	2.055					46	45	2.517	1.645	31.986	28.874	60.860
25	24			8	14					887	845							345	244	14.269	13.821	28.090
1.184	1.478			384	134	291	108			23.746	24.033					129	136	101.211	28.038	469.420	312.807	782.227
																				3.190	2.769	5.959
																		2		10.963	10.578	21.541
																				12.700	11.280	23.980
																				10.779	7.196	17.975
																				7.371	5.609	12.980
																		—	—	2	45.003	37.432	82.435
701	701	2		1						12.327	12.306							33.403	22.549	330.232	299.892	630.124
				1		7	8			1.789	1.739							356	275	207.838	199.710	407.548
										1.503	1.406							403	213	125.273	123.034	248.307
										785	666							4		93.414	93.834	187.248
																11	13	10	5	128.053	126.301	254.354
701	701	2		2		7	8			16.404	16.117					11	13	34.176	23.042	884.810	842.771	1.727.581
										633	632							2		191.102	181.305	372.407
																192	177	5	4	105.316	93.079	198.395
																		20	28	109.700	98.884	208.584
																				90.695	84.449	175.144
																		—	—	104.742	97.859	202.601
										633	632					192	177	27	32	601.555	555.576	1.157.131
27	40			648	493	209	150			5	5									64.400	59.239	123.639
52	49			63	71	61	11			34	36									47.510	45.257	92.767
96	79			2		1	3			2	1									41.575	36.708	78.283
1				34	27	1				3	2									43.485	38.437	81.922
5	1			1						7	3									63.288	64.497	127.785
181	169			748	591	227	164			51	47									260.258	244.138	504.396
1				21	10	6	10			6	4					10	14	104	47	231.700	198.946	430.646
				24	25													10	3	72.162	69.494	141.656
						1	2									45	28			44.199	33.143	77.342
																				14.584	11.627	26.211
1				45	35	7	12			6	4					55	42	114	50	362.645	313.210	675.855
				189	155															40.897	32.054	72.951
																				61.078	46.821	107.899
				1.466	1.000															37.415	34.180	71.595
																				25.144	20.071	45.215
				1.655	1.155															164.534	133.126	297.660
1	3									2.183	2.098							49	46	45.756	41.187	86.943
				1						25	16							1.399	1.305	69.338	64.925	134.263
37	27									196	179							940	861	54.849	48.727	103.576
						1				35	30							87	69	19.914	19.527	39.441
38	30			1		1				2.439	2.323							2.475	2.281	189.857	174.366	364.223
										1.951	1.809					704	621			183.364	173.901	357.265
										74	65									123.209	117.392	240.601
										76	75					118	113	289	195	202.831	196.911	399.742
										5	2									134.560	130.909	265.469
										142	138									219.602	208.598	428.200
										2.248	2.089					822	734	289	195	863.566	827.711	1.691.277

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I.16.A. Summary of Census of Ottoman Population, 1906/7 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims		Cossacks		Greeks		Armenians		Bulgarians		Wallachians		Greek Catholics		Armenian Catholics		Protestants	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
8. Diyarbekir	67.555	53.761			256	197	12.960	12.316							842	785	953	866
Mardin	50.988	40.628													3.215	3.040	387	324
Erganimadeni	53.419	49.218			307	365	9.419	8.915							288	233	508	533
Total, Diyarbekir	171.962	143.607			563	562	22.379	21.231							4.345	4.058	1.848	1.723
9. Sivas	208.262	190.605			3.301	2.451	42.320	37.024							1.082	999	940	942
Amasya	107.067	100.269			12.341	11.292	10.928	12.882							263	278	905	864
Karahisari Şarki	67.336	61.101			9.718	10.649	10.649	9.770									55	45
Tokat	123.383	114.765			6.934	10.688	10.688	9.795							325	353	260	242
Total, Sivas	506.048	466.740			32.294	35.080	74.585	69.471							1.670	1.630	2.160	2.093
10. Trabzon	265.886	251.617			43.254	38.874	13.216	12.151							624	590	617	591
Canik (Samsun)	130.267	122.690			47.750	43.468	12.006	10.124	1						96	118	613	628
Lazistan (Rize)	98.063	97.382			938	696	14	17										
Gümushane	55.733	50.350			19.887	20.607	1.280	1.247										
Total, Trabzon	549.949	522.039			111.829	103.645	26.516	23.539	1						720	708	1.230	1.219
11. Konya	247.943	238.671	105	101	5.348	4.650	4.785	4.276					48	31	3	3	126	84
Nigde	111.296	102.261			28.284	26.116	2.130	1.798					1		24	18	311	255
Burdur	36.517	36.633			1.344	1.278	595	561									28	25
Isparta	73.491	73.622			4.618	4.668	408	460										
Antalya	113.502	111.777			5.174	5.081	270	254	5									
Total, Konya	582.749	562.964	105	101	44.768	41.793	8.188	7.349	5				49	31	27	21	465	364
12. Kastamonu	167.453	155.253			4.614	4.446	1.727	1.581									3	3
Bolu	152.192	142.575			1.525	1.289	833	805	6				7	2	8			
Çankiri	77.526	69.966			649	691	218	204					4	1	2		3	
Sinop	167.673	155.499			5.319	4.528	2.368	2.073										
Total, Kastamonu	564.844	523.293			12.107	10.954	5.146	4.663	6				11	3	10		6	3
13. Mamuretülaziz	81.877	72.422			338	313	25.156	23.374							736	558	2.288	2.943
Malatya	93.362	86.857					4.760	5.055							751	751	340	344
Dersim	30.165	26.101					5.183	3.984							1.651	1.773	211	228
Total, Mamuretülaziz	205.404	185.380			338	313	35.099	32.413							3.138	3.082	2.839	3.515
14. Beyrut	42.064	41.142			8.666	7.761	14	4							4.529	4.432	649	624
Akka	30.798	30.072			3.041	2.943									3.498	2.969	204	189
Trablusşam	45.275	43.949			13.218	9.819									292	217	101	35
Lazkiye	58.564	56.392			2.740	2.476									270	186	3	2
Nablus	59.177	52.787			594	463									6	2	175	146
Total, Beyrut	235.878	224.342			28.259	23.462	14	4							8.595	7.806	1.132	996
15. Bağdat	109.568	1.973					371								723		40	
Divaniye	29.185	1.311					2											
Kerbela	20.376	530																
Total, Bağdat	159.129	3.814					373								723		40	
16. Basra	7.460						36								165			
Amara	2.000														169			
Müntefik																		
Necd																		
Total, Basra	9.460						36								334			
17. Haleb	239.392	233.507			4.729	4.174	15.097	12.792					4.042	3.851	2.685	2.498	3.529	3.187
Maraş	69.449	62.101					12.731	10.218					12	10	2.191	2.315	2.346	2.541
Urfa	75.035	60.724			10	7	7.003	6.517							499	435	750	791
Total, Haleb	383.876	356.332			4.739	4.181	34.831	29.527					4.054	3.861	5.375	5.248	6.625	6.519
18. Suriye	152.185	158.302			10.953	9.087	196	164					7.311	6.904	90	102	385	324
Hama	47.114	50.398			7.386	5.744							296	305			132	115
Kerk																		
Havran																		
Total, Suriye	199.299	208.700			18.339	14.831	196	164					7.607	7.209	90	102	517	439
19. Trablusgarb	122.696	114.219			68	70	43	17					13	15				
Humus	63.625	56.271			5	2												
Cebeligarbi	42.682	37.000																
Fizan																		
Bingazi																		
Total, Trablusgarb	229.003	207.490			73	72	43	17					13	15				

I.16.A. Summary of Census of Ottoman Population, 1906/7 (continued)

Latins		Maronites		Suryani (Syriac)		Chaldeans		Jacobites		Jews		Samaritans		Yezidis		Gypsies		Foreigners		Total		Total Population
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
				3.322	2.787					187	202									86.075	70.914	156.989
				6.907	6.246					235	239									61.732	50.477	112.209
										150	152									64.091	59.416	123.507
				10.229	9.033					572	593									211.898	180.807	392.705
				1	2											577	531	29	31	255.905	232.021	487.926
																169	139			132.111	126.149	258.260
																				87.927	81.704	169.631
										150	149					427	396			142.167	136.388	278.555
				1	2					150	149					1.173	1.066	29	31	618.110	576.262	1.194.372
1																		59	43	323.657	303.866	627.523
				3	3					20	17							969	254	191.725	177.302	369.027
																		9	1	99.024	98.096	197.120
																		2	2	76.902	72.206	149.108
1				3	3					20	17							1.039	300	691.308	651.470	1.342.778
1				1		2	2			4						2	4			256.368	247.622	506.190
						1														142.047	130.448	272.495
																				38.484	38.497	76.981
																50	40			78.567	78.790	157.357
										139	119					212	191	30		119.332	117.422	236.754
1				1		3	2			143	119					264	235	30		636.798	612.979	1.249.777
																127	116	21	22	173.945	161.421	335.366
1										33	20					30	23	27	20	154.662	144.734	299.396
				1						9	5							14	1	78.426	70.868	149.294
																				175.360	162.100	337.460
1				1						42	25					157	139	62	43	582.393	539.123	1.121.516
264	258			345	452	2	4											26	30	111.032	100.354	211.386
67	81			142	130													1	1	99.423	93.219	192.642
																				37.210	32.086	69.296
331	339			487	582	2	4											27	31	247.665	225.659	473.324
82	106	5.329	5.284	89	89					841	819									62.263	60.261	122.524
737	729	621	564							3.118	3.185									42.017	40.651	82.666
8	5	4.989	3.643							29	29									63.912	57.697	121.609
		659	611																	62.236	59.667	121.903
228	184									46	41	95	71							60.321	53.694	114.015
1.055	1.024	11.598	10.102	69	89					4.034	4.074	95	71							290.749	271.970	562.719
55	2			327						12.933	70									124.017	2.045	126.062
										533	22									29.720	1.333	31.053
										155	2									20.531	532	21.063
55	2			327						13.621	94									174.268	3.910	178.178
										266										7.927		7.927
										174										2.343		2.343
										440										10.270		10.270
755	715	1.033	967	1.451	1.298	192	163			5.938	5.015	52	44					241	130	279.136	268.341	547.477
538	518			124	108															87.391	77.811	165.202
23	14			1.022	786	200	205			373	338					158	108			85.073	69.927	155.000
1.316	1.247	1.033	967	2.597	2.194	392	368			6.311	5.353	52	44			158	108	241	130	451.600	416.079	867.679
39	56	2.730	2.221	755	655	24	24			4.939	4.596			57	40			13	9	179.677	182.484	362.161
2	2	33	52	2.863	2.172															57.826	58.788	116.614
41	58	2.763	2.273	3.618	2.827	24	24			4.939	4.596			57	40			13	9	237.503	241.272	478.775
										4.964	4.804									127.784	119.125	246.909
										1.104	1.103							70	37	64.804	57.413	122.217
										430	385									43.112	37.385	80.497
										6.498	6.292							70	37	235.700	213.923	449.623

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I.16.A. Summary of Census of Ottoman Population, 1906/7 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims		Cossacks		Greeks		Armenians		Bulgarians		Wallachians		Greek Catholics		Armenian Catholics		Protestants	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
20. Musul	43.775				1		45								3.882		74	
Kerkük	67.458				2										788			
Suleymaniye	36.929														56			
Total, Musul	148.162				3		45								4.726		74	
21. Van	29.408	25.174					33.994	25.388										
Total, Van	29.408	25.174					33.994	25.388										
22. Işkodra																		
Draç	40.508	40.642			3.291	2.807	3	3					1.058	1.120				
Total, Işkodra	40.508	40.642			3.291	2.807	3	3					1.058	1.120				
23. Selanik	118.262	108.324			99.039	86.646	269	155	44.841	37.640	8.744	7.717	1.597	1.084	26	24	101	91
Serez	34.837	33.331			18.577	27.441	22	9	35.643	33.391	2.064	1.836			8		13	16
Drama	65.330	59.520			18.522	13.656	132	50	3.026	1.169	75	50	7	5			64	44
Total, Selanik	218.429	201.175			136.138	127.743	423	214	83.510	72.200	10.883	9.603	1.604	1.089	34	24	178	151
24. Edirne	89.007	64.886			53.066	50.192	2.493	2.406	18.759	18.024			164	106			20	24
Gümülcine	121.725	118.145			11.614	9.931	262	231	14.929	13.685			8	9			10	3
Kirkkilise	41.252	37.086			35.752	34.749	91	58	14.727	15.009			101	106	1			
Dedeağaç	23.438	20.297			14.508	13.065	215	241	8.625	8.298			3	4				
Tekfurdağı	40.408	36.405			28.114	25.313	11.876	7.138	2.768	2.978			68	52	25	23	76	70
Gelibolu	13.374	12.581			33.239	31.365	550	583	669	805								
Total, Edirne	329.204	289.400			176.293	164.615	15.487	10.657	60.677	58.799			344	277	26	23	106	97
25. Kosova	59.301	54.302			4.636	3.968	1		75.913	68.632							119	54
Priştine	72.462	50.828							37.082	29.873								
Ipek	20.760								8.523									
Senice	28.328	21.528							18.691	16.969								
Prezrin	72.086				4.990				17.135				235					
Total, Kosova	252.937	126.658			9.626	3.968	1		157.344	115.474			235				119	54
26. Manastir	47.943	47.248			43.905	41.824	1	1	88.236	83.382	356	296						
Sertice	40.031	36.839			62.037	56.210	2		1.769	1.624	941	773						
Debre	32.526								10.555									
Ilbasan	30.364	7.692							818									
Gorice	44.081	41.827			43.760	38.265	2	2	5.814	4.890	1.724	1.466					1	4
Total, Manastir	194.945	133.606			149.702	136.299	5	3	107.192	89.896	3.021	2.535					1	4
27. Yanya	13.646	11.222			70.330	65.507												
Ergiri	35.050	32.243			37.986	36.866												
Preveze	9.493	7.670			16.765	16.368												
Berat	61.637	54.454			21.717	19.053							49	35				
Total, Yanya	119.826	105.589			148.798	137.794							49	35				
28. Biga	6.154	5.944			3.994	3.717	645	615	3	3			2	8			30	26
Ezine	8.064	7.370			2.760	2.630	336	285										
Biga and Lapseki	38.150	35.215			3.175	2.939	220	202	376	350								
Ayvacik	10.110	9.328			9.328	8.778	5	3										
Bayramiç	10.230	10.206			569	401	12	13	1								2	6
Total, Biga	72.708	68.063			19.826	18.465	1.218	1.118	380	353			2	8			32	32
29. Izmit	19.535	17.755			2.588	2.361	11.082	10.456					1		214	188	514	500
Adapazari	38.251	34.797			4.095	3.600	7.967	7.902									311	317
Karamürsel and Yalova	11.012	9.611			7.849	7.284	2.657	2.487	1									
Geyve	15.946	15.357			3.198	3.196	4.147	4.035									102	82
Kandira	19.546	18.750			875	820	272	260										
Total, Izmit	104.290	96.270			18.605	17.261	26.125	25.140	1				1		214	186	927	899
30. Zor	20.717	19.869			4	9	31	28					17	9	151	82		
Resülayn	1.245	1.180					1											
Aşara	9.020	8.342																
Ebukemal																		
Total, Zor	30.982	29.391			4	9	32	28					17	9	151	82		
31. Kudüs	27.093	25.997			5.819	5.438	322	300					18	12			230	209
Yafa	23.739	21.139			2.051	1.820	45	39					199	172			46	35
Gazze	31.456	27.849			380	377												
Halilürrahman	21.631	18.797																
Birulsebi and Nasira																		
Total, Kudüs	103.919	93.782			8.250	7.635	367	339					217	184			276	244
32. Çatalca	12.502	10.626			23.314	21.011	505	491	3.985	3.603								
Total, Çatalca	12.502	10.626			23.314	21.011	505	491	3.985	3.603								

I.16.A. Summary of Census of Ottoman Population, 1906/7 (continued)

Latins		Maronites		Suryani (Syriac)		Chaldeans		Jacobites		Jews		Samaritans		Yezidis		Gypsies		Foreigners		Total		Total Population
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
						719		1.024		2.071				2.830						54.421		54.421
										1.758										70.006		70.006
										336										37.321		37.321
						719		1.024		4.165				2.830						161.748		161.748
																				63.402	50.562	113.964
																				63.402	50.562	113.964
149	144																	23	28	45.104	44.744	89.848
149	144																	23	28	45.104	44.744	89.848
14	12			4						24.269	24.520					948	795	164	98	298.278	267.106	565.384
4	1									741	679					1.036	993	2	2	92.957	97.699	190.656
										1.163	1.013					471	493	273	256	89.063	76.256	165.319
18	13			4						26.183	26.212					2.455	2.281	439	356	480.298	441.061	921.359
										7.769	7.765					990	923	13	8	172.281	144.334	316.615
1	2									640	650					99	102	46	26	149.336	142.784	292.120
										821	878					293	280			93.038	88.166	181.204
										167	159							6	7	46.962	42.071	89.033
										1.365	1.289					387	312	199	136	85.286	73.716	159.002
										1.241	1.095							74	46	49.347	46.475	95.822
1	2									12.003	11.836					1.769	1.617	340	223	596.250	537.546	1.133.796
605										630	568									141.205	127.524	268.729
1.242	1.303									153	152									110.939	82.156	193.095
419																				29.702		29.702
										83	83									47.101	38.580	85.681
																				94.446		94.446
2.266	1.303									865	803									423.393	248.260	671.653
										2.332	2.227					271	264	16	15	183.060	176.257	358.317
1	2									17	7					423	288	22		105.243	95.743	200.986
																				43.081		43.081
																				31.182	7.692	38.874
										445	431					417	441			96.244	87.326	183.570
1	2									2.794	2.665					1.111	993	38	15	458.810	366.018	824.828
										1.829	1.549							151	106	85.956	78.384	164.340
										14	7							231	150	73.281	69.266	142.547
										170	72							270	90	28.698	24.200	52.898
										22	14									83.425	73.556	156.981
										2.035	1.642							652	346	271.360	245.406	516.766
										1.435	1.394							408	404	12.671	12.111	24.782
										89	76									11.249	10.361	21.610
										76	63							14	8	42.011	38.777	80.788
										1								3		19.447	18.109	37.556
										134	117							18	10	10.966	10.753	21.719
										1.735	1.650							443	422	96.344	90.111	186.455
2	1			2	1	5	3			111	125							76	69	34.130	31.459	65.589
										57	44							41	43	50.722	46.703	97.425
3	4																			21.522	19.386	40.908
																				23.393	22.670	46.063
										3	1							3	2	20.699	19.833	40.532
5	5			2	1	5	3			171	170							120	114	150.466	140.051	290.517
1				93	51															21.014	20.048	41.062
				1						3										1.250	1.180	2.430
																				9.020	8.342	17.362
1				94	51					3										31.284	29.570	60.854
3.072	2.636									3.543	3.525					49	35			40.146	38.352	78.498
393	311									217	162									26.690	23.678	50.368
11	9																			31.847	28.235	60.062
										220	216									21.851	19.013	40.864
3.476	3.156									3.980	3.903					49	35			120.534	109.278	229.812
										938	828					284	265	102	75	41.630	36.899	78.529
										938	828					284	265	102	75	41.630	36.899	78.529

Notes follow Table I.16.B.

I.16.B. Final Summary of Ottoman Population, 1906/7

Administrative District	Muslims		Cossacks		Greeks		Armenians		Bulgarians		Wallachians		Greek Catholics		Armenian Catholics		Protestants	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Istanbul	212.151	158.188			91.884	65.281	30.412	29.551	2.290	579			168	149	4.770	4.562	800	570
The Vicinity of Istanbul	33.604	27.816			10.171	9.106	1.226	510										
Aydın	674.011	657.541			149.086	136.019	9.676	8.611	153	67			17	11	366	392	198	249
Ankara	524.782	486.784			21.895	19.881	47.709	42.071					7	7	4.064	4.076	2.246	1.916
Adana	223.344	212.451			6.058	5.009	25.217	21.830					154	129	1.773	1.520	2.505	2.228
Erzurum	297.475	254.031			3.669	2.135	57.350	51.960					1	4	2.857	4.013	1.065	924
Bitlis	108.820	89.086					50.358	39.861							2.832	2.342	869	682
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	19.971	17.630			164.815	152.027	77	54	19						17	18	4	3
Hudavendigar	730.085	700.413	782	804	85.109	81.259	39.890	37.975	2.544	2.452					1.134	1.154	663	636
Diyarbekir	171.962	143.607			563	562	22.379	21.231							4.345	4.058	1.848	1.723
Sivas	506.048	466.740			32.294	35.080	74.585	69.471							1.670	1.630	2.160	2.093
Trabzon	549.949	522.039			111.829	103.645	26.516	23.539	1						720	708	1.230	1.219
Konya	582.749	562.964	105	101	44.768	41.793	8.188	7.349	5				49	31	27	21	465	364
Kastamonu	564.844	523.293			12.107	10.954	5.146	4.663	6				11	3	10		6	3
Mamuretülaziz	205.404	185.380			338	313	35.099	32.413							3.138	3.082	2.839	3.515
Beyrut	235.878	224.342			28.259	23.462	14	4							8.595	7.806	1.132	996
Bağdat	159.129	3.814					373								723		40	
Basra	9.460						36								334			
Halep	383.876	356.332			4.739	4.181	34.831	29.527					4.054	3.861	5.375	5.248	6.525	6.519
Suriye	199.299	208.700			18.339	14.831	196	164					7.607	7.209	90	102	517	439
Trablusgarb	229.003	207.490			73	72	43	17					13	15				
Musul	148.162				3		45								4.726		74	
Van	29.408	25.174					33.994	25.388										
Işkodra	40.580	40.642			3.291	2.807	3	3					1.058	1.120				
Selanik	218.429	201.175			136.138	127.743	423	214	83.510	72.200	10.883	9.603	1.604	1.089	34	24	178	151
Edirne	329.204	289.400			176.293	164.615	15.487	10.657	60.677	58.799			344	277	26	23	106	97
Kosova	252.937	126.658			9.626	3.968	1		157.344	115.474			235				119	54
Manastir	194.945	133.606			149.702	136.299	5	3	107.192	89.896	3.021	2.535					1	4
Yanya	119.826	105.589			148.798	137.794							49	35				
Biga	72.708	68.063			19.826	18.465	1.218	1.118	380	353			2	8			32	32
İzmit	104.290	96.270			18.605	17.261	26.125	25.140	1				1		214	188	927	899
Zor	30.982	29.391			4	9	32	28					17	9	151	82		
Kudüs	103.919	93.782			8.250	7.635	367	339					217	184			276	244
Çatalca	12.502	10.626			23.314	21.011	505	491	3.985	3.603								
Total	8.279.736	7.229.017	887	905	1.479.846	1.343.217	547.526	484.182	418.107	343.423	13.904	12.138	15.608	14.141	47.991	41.049	26.925	25.560

I.16.B. Summary of Ottoman Population 1906/7 (continued)

Latins (Roman Catholics)		Maronites		Suryani (Synac)		Chaldeans		Jacobites		Jews		Samaritans		Yezidis		Gypsies		Foreign Citizens		Total		Total Population
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1,184	1,478			384	134	291	108			23,746	24,033					129	136	101.211	28,038	469.420	312,807	782.227
																		2		45,003	37,432	82,435
701	701	2		2		7	8			16,404	16,117					11	13	34.176	23.042	884.810	842,771	1.727.581
										633	632					192	177	27	32	601,555	555.576	1.157.131
181	169			748	591	227	164			51	47									260.258	244.138	504.396
1				45	35	7	12			6	4					55	42	114	50	362.645	313.210	675.855
				1,655	1,155															164.534	133.126	297.660
38	30			1		1				2,439	2,323							2,475	2.261	189.857	174.366	364.223
										2.248	2.089					822	734	289	195	863.566	827.711	1.691.277
				10,229	9,033					572	593									211.898	180.807	392.705
				1	2					150	149					1.173	1.066	29	31	618.110	576.262	1.194.372
1				3	3					20	17							1.039	300	691.308	651.470	1.342.778
1				1		3	2			143	119					264	235	30		636.798	612.979	1.249.777
1				1						42	25					157	139	62	43	582.393	539.123	1.121.516
331	339			487	582	2	4											27	31	247.665	225.659	473.324
1.055	1.024	11.598	10.102	89	89					4,034	4,074	95	71							290.749	271.970	562.719
55	2			327						13.621	94									174.268	3.910	178.178
										440										10.270		10.270
1.316	1.247	1.033	967	2.597	2.194	392	368			6.311	5.353	52	44			158	108	241	130	451.600	416.079	867.679
41	58	2.763	2.273	3.618	2.827	24	24			4,939	4,596			57	40			13	9	237.503	241.272	478.775
										6,498	6,292							70	37	235.700	213,923	449.623
						719		1,024		4.165				2,830						161.748		161.748
149	144																	23	28	63.402	50.562	113.964
																				45.104	44,744	89,848
18	13			4						26,183	26,212					2,455	2,281	439	356	480.298	441.061	921.359
1	2									12,003	11,836					1,769	1,617	340	223	596.250	537.546	1.133.796
2,266	1.303									865	803									423.393	248.260	671.653
1	2									2,794	2,665					1.111	993	38	15	458.810	366.018	824.828
										2,035	1,642							652	346	271.360	245.406	516.766
										1,735	1,650							443	422	96,344	90.111	186,455
5	5			2	1	5	3			171	170							120	114	150.466	140.051	290,517
1				94	51					3										31.284	29.570	60.854
3,476	3.156									3,980	3.903					49	35			120.534	109.278	229.812
										938	828					284	265	102	75	41.630	36.899	78.529
10.823	9.673	15,396	13,342	20,288	16,697	1,678	693	1,024		137,169	116,266	147	115	2.887	40	8,629	7,841	141.962	55.798	11,170,533	9,714,097	20,884,630

Notes to Tables I.16.A and I.16.B.

Source: İUKTY 947, "Memalik-i Osmaniyyede Dehil-i Tahrir Olan Nufusun Icmali" [The summary of Ottoman population included in the census].

Notes: The register (59 pages long) containing these summary figures does not give information about the year to which they pertain. However, it can be deduced, from comparison with other statistics and factors such as the arrangement of the provinces in the list, that this summary was compiled in 1906 or 1907 and that certainly it summarizes data obtained in the countrywide census of 1905/6. That census was carried out for each *kaza* under the direction of a general committee consisting of the *kaza* population officials plus one member each from the provincial executive committee and the municipal council, two reserve officers, and representatives of the local communities, Muslim and non-Muslim. Census teams (secretaries) visited each village to record the population and compile a census list, the accuracy of which was attested by the *kaza* general committee and by village leaders including the *muhtar* (elected elder), the *imams* and priests of the religious communities, and the community council. In order to keep the population records up to date, the officials were required to report each quarter on births, deaths, immigration, and emigration. See *Memalik-i Osmaniyyenin 1330 Senesi Nüfus Istatistiki* (Istanbul, 1919), Introduction.

Districts 1–27 are *vilayets*; the capital is listed first in each case, followed by the other *sancaks* in the province. Districts 28–32 are *sancaks*; the capital is listed first, followed by the other *kazas* in the *sancak*.

I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (R. 1330)

Administrative District	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Jews	Greek Catholics	Armenian Catholics	Protestants	Latins	Suryani (Syriac)	Old Syrians
Istanbul (Capital and Vicinity)										
Istanbul (Old City)	279,056	64,287	27,575	13,441	32	520	221	139	18	
Makrikoy (Bakirköy)	28,967	11,221	5,734	364	46	220	6		5	
Adalar (Islands)	1,586	8,725	596	79	5	56	6	8	5	
Beyoğlu (former Pera-Galata and Bosphorus, European Shore)	117,267	75,971	22,180	31,080	273	8,462	739	2,669	511	
Üsküdar	70,447	19,832	13,296	6,836	31	653	240	89	23	
Gebze	26,220	5,856	47	21						
Kartal in Asia	8,257	6,862	3,209	13		7				
Beykoz	14,466	3,708	325	292			1			
Şile	14,168	8,913								
Total, Istanbul	560,434	205,375	72,962	52,126	387	9,918	1,213	2,905	562	
1. Edirne	53,731	36,222	4,536	13,889	45					
Mustafa Paşa	11,857	6,134		568						
Seymenli	4,594	4,235	1	10						
Lala Paşa	13,987	1,878								
Dimetoka	20,110	24,447	174	986						
Uzunköprü	26,483	13,711	81	232						
A. Kirk Kilise (Kirklareli)	22,022	14,154		987						
Lüleburgaz	14,777	3,125	64	434						
Baba-yi Atik	16,749	2,195		48						
Vize	10,020	4,089								
Demirköy	4,023	5,110								
Pinarhisar	10,976	3,126								
B. Tekfurdağı (Tekirdağ)	19,484	4,618	9,093	1,566		48	115			
Çorlu	13,858	3,415	1,678	1,211						
Malkara	24,857	14,523	2,658		176					
Hayrabolu	19,914	3,971	193							
Saray	16,990	2,035	1	4						
C. Gelibolu	8,220	16,137	1,190	2,576						
Keşan	15,221	15,371	51	1						
Ipsala	11,296	7,007								
Şarköy	5,604	11,009								
Mürefte	2,730	14,146								
Inos	5,523	3,509								
Eceabad	7,391	10,292	5	3						
Total, Edirne	360,417	224,459	19,725	22,515	221	48	115			
2. Erzurum	83,070	1,092	32,751	10	5	1,308	483	1	34	
Pasinler	56,403		10,046							
Bayburt	64,289	1,148	12,025							
Ispir	40,015		2,920							
Tercan	36,153	349	7,401							
Tortum	28,320		507			716				
Keskin	36,122	37	908			5,285				
Kiği	35,572		13,621				988			
Narman	28,684	2	556							
Hinis	33,525		7,779				450			
A. Erzincan	53,898	275	16,144				147		54	
Pülümür	11,755		511							
Refahiye	23,308	1,394	1,270							
Kuruçay	11,466		2,649							
Kemah	20,742	560	4,597				144			
B. Bayazid	20,952	2	2,619							
Eleşgird	23,368		4,202			1,393	29			
Diyadin	19,640		904							
Tutak	23,873		1,070							
Karakilise	22,142		3,177			18				
Total, Erzurum	673,297	4,859	125,657	10	5	8,720	2,241	1	88	

I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Chaldeans	Jacobites	Maronites	Samaritans	Nestorians	Yezidis	Gypsies	Druzes	Cossacks	Bulgarians	Serbians	Wallachians	Total
										1,603		386,892
						280				52	1	46,896
										21		11,087
476										1,467		261,095
										196		111,643
												32,144
												18,348
												18,792
												23,081
476						280				3,339	1	909,978
						478			648			109,549
												18,559
												8,840
												15,865
						225						45,942
						349						40,856
									1,599			38,762
												18,400
												18,992
												14,109
												9,133
												14,102
												34,924
						40						20,202
												42,214
												24,078
												19,030
												28,123
												30,644
												18,303
												16,613
												16,876
									234			9,266
									21			17,712
						1,092			2,502			631,094
13						10						118,777
												66,449
												77,462
												42,935
												43,903
												29,543
												42,352
												50,181
						14						29,256
												41,754
												70,518
												12,266
												25,972
												14,115
												26,043
				391								23,964
												28,992
				126								20,670
												24,943
												25,337
13				517		24						815,432

continued on following page

I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Jews	Greek Catholics	Armenian Catholics	Protestants	Latins	Suryani (Syriac)	Old Syrians
3. Adana	71,617	3,104	14,956	20	71	888	1,006	71	441	
Ceyhan	16,068	110	299	3		13	36	5	2	
Karaisali	27,771		20							
Yumurtalik	6,694	60	520							
A. Kozan	20,763		3,859			62	146			
Haçin	16,972		11,042		3	1,103	1,405			
Feke	13,170	1,879	2,308				632			
Kars	16,989	16	1,108				99			
B. Cebelibereket	13,193	16	675			4	80		1	
Dörtyol	15,495	272	6,672	3	8	3	366	11		
Islahiye	10,927		500							
Bağçe, Bulanik	14,643		3,691				600			
Hassa	8,810	33	770		1	269	285			
C. Mersin	27,844	2,273	790	35	73	42	68	1	23	
Tarsus	60,947	774	2,929	5	281	122	313	86		
Total, Adana	341,903	8,537	50,139	66	437	2,511	5,036	174	467	
4. Ankara	69,066	3,327	3,341	1,026		6,990	915			
Ayaş	24,986									
Bala	31,546	48	11							
Beypazari	23,931	26								
Haymana	34,352	180	91		13	40	7			
Kalecik	44,064		830							
Nallihan	16,581	4	1,088			15				
Yabanabad	54,957	2	9		1					
A. Çorum	83,150	555	1,231							
Iskilip	55,016	15	43							
Sungurlu	40,501	816	1,863				73			
Osmancik	31,824	50	68							
Mecitözü	34,134	834	318				167			
B. Kirşehir	71,647	412	1,729			4	1			
Mucur	8,643									
Keskin	48,349	3,039	1,883				188			
Mecidiye	21,401		52							
Avanos	25,499									
C. Yozgat	77,187	2,281	13,736			20	213			
Akdağmadeni	37,081	7,892	3,312				49			
Boğazliyan	43,370	745	14,902				768			
Total, Ankara	877,285	20,226	44,507	1,026	14	7,069	2,381			

I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Chaldeans	Jacobites	Maronites	Samaritans	Nestorians	Yezidis	Gypsies	Druzes	Cossacks	Bulgarians	Serbians	Wallachians	Total
367	650	26										93,217
		2										16,538
												27,791
												7,274
												24,830
												30,525
												17,989
												18,212
												13,969
3		7										22,845
												11,427
												18,934
		169										10,337
3	281	1										31,434
33	114	97										65,701
406	1,045	302										411,023
												84,665
												24,986
									8			31,613
												23,957
												34,683
												44,894
						64						17,752
												54,969
												84,936
						113						55,187
						699						43,952
												31,942
												35,453
												73,793
												8,643
												53,459
												21,453
												25,499
												93,437
												48,759
425												59,785
1,301									8			953,817

continued on following page

I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Jews	Greek Catholics	Armenian Catholics	Protestants	Latins	Suryani (Syriac)	Old Syrians
5. Aydin (Izmir)	100,356	73,676	10,061	24,069		813	253	1,785		
Bergama	56,812	16,841	968	698						
Menemen	21,433	8,058	146	425						
Urla	9,361	24,711	42	423					1	
Çeşme	4,539	39,073		199						
Foçtin (Foça)	7,427	15,670		83						
Kuşadasi	11,438	9,220	114	157						
Seferihisar	7,816	2,641	14	4						
Tire	37,514	3,227	24	1,872	1					
Bayindir	22,622	3,655	274	10						
Ödemiş	71,069	6,104	1,552	12						
Nif	19,658	4,876	12	15						
Karaburun	8,838	9,934								
A. Manisa	86,565	22,471	2,630	2,146		19	226	8		
Kasaba	32,938	3,573	447	983						
Salihli	28,836	1,693	91	242						
Alaşehir	33,467	3,359	17						1	
Kula	32,022	3,228								
Eşme	23,415	33								
Demirci	34,440	141	9							
Gördes	36,858	988								
Karaağaç	18,076	3,388	919	30						
Soma	20,360	2,094	10	11						
Akhisar	31,359	6,358	514	471						
B. Aydin	82,163	9,702	245	2,560		59				
Nazilli	50,719	2,699	543	463						
Bozdoğan	33,298	406	11	3						
Söke	20,028	16,720	133	95						
Çine	32,376	651	2	30						
Karacasu	18,865	221								
C. Denizli	41,788	2,409	548	35						
Tavas	57,271		4							
Çal	52,585	177	14			1				
Buldan	30,911	24	14							
Sarayköy	21,068	1,041	37	5						
Garbikaraağaç	50,776	34								
Total, Aydin	1,249,067	299,096	19,395	35,041	1	892	479	1,793	2	
6. Bitlis	38,701		18,650			89	384		350	
Ahlat	10,190		9,501				207			
Hizan	11,624		5,023							
Mutki	12,462		4,110							
A. Siirt	27,649		2,218				412		775	
Eruh	22,677		1,890						714	
Prevari	6,415		1,326							
Şirvan	15,181		1,169						1,109	
Garzan	14,541		4,225				107		1,044	
B. Genç	24,467		1,603							
Çapakçur	11,292		734							
Kulp	15,252		3,573							
C. Muş	30,254		33,087			2,699	530			
Bulanik	16,372		14,662							
Sasun	7,454		6,505							
Malazgird	30,929		4,438							
Varto	14,539		1,990							
Total, Bitlis	309,999		114,704			2,788	1,640		3,992	

I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Chaldeans	Jacobites	Maronites	Samaritans	Nestorians	Yezidis	Gypsies	Druzes	Cossacks	Bulgarians	Serbians	Wallachians	Total
												211,013
									12			75,331
									51			30,113
												34,538
												43,811
												23,180
												20,929
												10,475
									98			42,736
												26,561
												78,737
												24,561
11												18,772
												114,076
												37,941
												30,862
												36,844
												35,250
									7			23,455
												34,590
												37,846
												22,413
												22,475
												38,702
						2,766						97,495
						30						54,454
									1			33,719
												36,976
												33,059
												19,086
												44,780
												57,275
												52,777
												30,949
												22,151
11												50,810
								2,796		169		1,608,742
												58,174
												19,898
												16,647
												16,572
						1,549						32,603
						954						26,235
						1,781						9,522
												17,459
						72						19,989
												26,070
												12,026
												18,825
												66,570
												31,034
												13,959
												35,367
												16,529
						4,356						437,479

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I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Jews	Greek Catholics	Armenian Catholics	Protestants	Latins	Suryani (Syriac)	Old Syrians
7. Beyrut	45,063	22,018	123	3,431	3,718	270	314	250	491	
Sur	31,653	550			4,101		206			
Sayda	46,472	130		859	2,540	2	110	19		
Merjuyun	22,296	4,777		278	1,671		1,133	103		
A. Trablus Şam (Tripoli)	50,004	10,734		72	66	5	69	23		
Safita	32,254	4,271			175		137			
Akkar	19,920	12,573			671		391			
Hasnülekrad	16,477	12,185			144		177			
B. Akka	31,800	3,959	4	106	4,316		332	268		
Haifa	23,417	939		2,439	2,903		54	250		
Tabariya	8,410	150		3,194	244		5	24		
Safed	22,481	326		4,644	2,049		26	3		
Nasireh	11,777	4,274			1,612		367	1,820		
C. Lazkiye	46,057	3,485	481				85	24		
Merkeb	29,469	3,413								
Ceble	28,586	105								
Sahyun	30,626	1,537	580							
D. Nablus	74,843	1,035		29			370	357		
Beni Saab	35,929	18								
Cenin	40,780	765					47	226		
Total, Beyrut	648,314	87,244	1,188	15,052	24,210	277	3,823	3,367	491	
8. Halep (Aleppo)	93,976	1,173	3,603	9,973	7,772	3,952	385	606	2,874	
Iskenderun	14,140	2,373	1,519	129	213	65	33	70	78	
Idlib	51,762	845		53			84			
Antakya	78,054	7,352	4,773	357	179	72	736		4	
Bab	25,359		31		8	2				
Beylan	10,506		1,696	18	2	314	232			
Çisrişuğur	26,435	1,488	4,150		1	517	2,027	488		
Harem	29,967	13	47	1				2		
A. Cebelisemaan	25,138									
Maaratalnaman	20,272	27								
Münbiç	2,768		7	1		11	13			
B. Ayintab (Antep)	89,769	67	14,466	860	7	393	4,635	610		
Kilis	78,905	434	3,934	775		376	390			
Rumkale	29,269		878	26		37	108			
Total, Haleb	576,320	13,772	35,104	12,193	8,182	5,739	8,643	1,776	2,956	
9. Hüdavendigar (Bursa)	111,301	24,048	6,433	3,687		691	278			
Gemlik	16,373	8,568	3,348							
Orhangazi	11,884		22,726			36	121			
Karacabey	25,763	9,921	987	44			49			
Mudanya	7,677	17,389	100	53		20				
Kirmasti	56,599	1,381	1,016	184						
Orhaneli	47,140	44	6							
A. Ertuğrul (Bilecik)	59,508	9,877	7,774	52		479	183			
Şögüt	55,223	1,982	7,770			52	136			
Inegöl	56,238	34	7,101	106			225			
Yenişehir	26,408	1,683	1,660							
Total, Hüdavendigar	474,114	74,927	58,921	4,126		1,278	992			
10. Diyarbekir	52,285	343	13,970	520	113	1,269	1,228		3,820	296
Lice	23,595		4,151				508		468	
Silvan	26,330	507	12,756				327		932	
Derik	21,189		415			436	277		165	104
Beşiri	11,015		3,369			58			1,393	
A. Mardin	51,116	12	4			6,974	917		9,227	2,858
Cizre	17,022		268	234			90		3,009	140
Midyat	42,607		67				1,385		13,470	451
Savur	39,928		5			96	931		1,316	80
Nusaybin	12,842			1,009					2,766	
B. Siverek	50,435		2,455	136		126	272		638	
Çermik	19,226		784	184			37			
Viranşehir	15,477	2	521	2		528	53		772	204
C. Maden	71,493	958	8,901			473	1,185			
Palu	37,541		8,224				166			
Total, Diyarbekir	492,101	1,822	55,890	2,085	113	9,960	7,376		37,976	4,133

I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Chaldeans	Jacobites	Maronites	Samaritans	Nestorians	Yezidis	Gypsies	Druzes	Cossacks	Bulgarians	Serbians	Wallachians	Total
19		13,446							1			89,144
		3,059										39,569
		3,430										53,562
		1,338										31,596
		6,396										67,369
		579										37,416
		8,333										41,888
		775										29,758
		67										40,852
		187										30,189
												12,027
		1,032										30,561
		398										20,248
		368										50,500
		1,315										34,197
												28,691
			160									32,743
			4									76,794
												35,951
												41,818
19		40,723	164						1			824,873
262	144								1,956			126,676
102	153											18,875
												52,744
	10											91,537
1												25,401
	2					46						12,816
												35,106
						14						30,044
												25,138
												20,299
												2,800
						3						110,810
												84,814
					316	96						30,730
365	309				316	159			1,956			667,790
						1,339						147,777
												28,289
												34,767
						530						37,294
												25,239
												59,180
												47,190
												77,873
												65,163
												63,704
												29,751
						1,869						616,227
1,245												75,089
												28,722
891												41,743
					82							22,668
					233							16,068
861												71,969
2,753					1,022							24,538
73					724							58,777
												42,356
75					314							17,006
												54,062
												20,231
96												17,655
												83,010
												45,931
5,994					2,375							619,825

I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Jews	Greek Catholics	Armenian Catholics	Protestants	Latins	Suryani (Syriac)	Old Syrians	Chaldeans	Jacobites	Maronites	Samaritans	Nestorians	Yezidis	Gypsies	Druzes	Cossacks	Bulgarians	Serbians	Wallachians	Total
11. Süriye (Syria)	197,507	6,569	413	10,129	6,282	237	131	122	739														222,624
Baalbek	18,667	1,144		1	3,713	10	10	10	6		63	112	300			20							25,097
Buka	19,113	3,403			4,261		34						1,536										29,339
Zebdani	14,329	1,448			153		82		7				2,528										16,019
Wadi el Acem	13,528	2,297			34		56		370														16,298
Hasbiya	5,063	3,958		6	591		351						13										15,254
Raşiya	5,407	3,393			173		62		175				943					4,342					9,629
Kuneytra	33,534	748		4	320		142		12				336					83					34,916
Duma	35,350	1,337			1,671								156										38,358
Nebk	40,139	1,755			3,847		108		495														46,344
A. Havran	27,274	241			195																		27,710
Izra	28,196	595			781																		29,572
Mismiye	7,802	239			2,756																		13,757
Busra	22,485	3,096			594		180											2,960					26,355
Suweyda	23,800	900																					24,700
Aclun	57,156	4,749						58															61,967
B. Kerek	18,550	1,655						317															20,522
Tefile	7,665	4										1	3										7,669
Salt	33,496	3,604			783		379	1,733															39,995
Maan	6,012																						6,012
C. Hama	64,225	8,089			181		332		501														73,328
Imraniye	24,838	1,508																					26,487
Selimiye	19,859												141										19,859
Homs	67,587	10,246	—	—	1,327	—	6	751	774														86,598
Total, Süriye	791,582	60,978	413	10,140	27,662	247	1,873	2,991	3,079		288	5,464	155			—							918,409
12. Sivas	54,819	728	23,812			1,830	434				351	5,577	6,111			20		7,385					
Tonus	40,868		12,969			141	584																81,623
Hafik	40,076	21	11,376																				54,562
Darende	26,518		2,798			6	58																51,473
Divriği	30,630		8,354																				29,380
Aziziye	50,344	8	1,038			4	60																38,984
Kangal	29,212		3,111																				51,454
Koçgiri	47,203	6,112	5,980				76																32,323
Gürün	15,640		7,788			414	703																59,371
Yildizeli	39,239	569	1,379																				24,545
A. Amasya	53,123	2,679	9,598			121	260																41,187
Havza	17,475	7,869	335																				65,998
Küprü	41,853	4,755	1,032	1		7	320				217												25,679
Gümüşhacıköy	24,957	3,660	3,549				173																48,250
Merzifon	25,370	1,067	8,160			406	1,160		3		282												32,339
Ladik	15,881	4,920	343																				36,873
B. Tokat	90,125	3,997	12,046	339		764	115				707												21,124
Erbaa	50,895	7,922	3,274	4			430																107,756
Zile	69,328	154	2,833				88				370												62,690
Niksar	22,843	4,815	3,183								165												72,671
Reşadiye	25,660	811									268												30,865
C. Karahisarişarki	26,379	16,383	8,477				17				24												26,471
Alucra	30,737	692	30																				51,586
Mesudiye	26,510	5,264	664								330												31,459
Suşehri	22,871	2,040	11,240				97																32,438
Koyulhisar	21,199	858	37	—	—	—	—		—														36,248
Total, Sivas	939,735	75,324	143,406	344	3,693	4,575			3		2,363												22,094
																							1,169,443

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I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Jews	Greek Catholics	Armenian Catholics	Protestants	Latins	Suryani (Syriac)	Old Syrians
13. Trabzon	64,726	23,806	14,846	8		1,345	127			
Ordu	111,421	18,505	12,349			5	1,211			
Of	75,050	1,819								
Akçeabat	56,401	6,561	3,517							
Tirebolu	48,999	10,530	868							
Sürmene	57,698	9,762	323							
Giresun	92,301	24,138	2,275							
Görele	42,823	1,648	312							
Vakfikebir	28,484	13	51							
Maçka	17,950	19,575	258							
A. Lazistan (Rize)	122,055	1,507	5							
Atina	50,297	171	28							
Hopa	38,156	44	2							
B. Gümüşhane	29,639	9,179	1,817							
Torul	29,686	30,547	24							
Şiran	22,312	3,155	392							
Kelkit	33,130	614	482							
Total, Trabzon	921,128	161,574	37,549	8		1,350	1,338			
14. Kastamonu	67,467	2,468	2,153							
Inebolu	80,431	3,289	167							
Safranbolu	59,866	3,818								
Taşköprü	50,721	65	1,477							
Daday	47,536	46	310							
Cide	41,845	388	3							
Araç	41,642	53	10							
Tosya	29,489	680	114							
A. Çankiri (Kengiri)	94,385	1,234	472							
Çerkeş	63,519	103	10							
B. Sinop	28,290	4,595	675	8						
Boyabat	59,324	194	3,074							
Ayancik	42,556	1,917	3							
Gerze	30,231	2,108	491							
Total, Kastamonu	737,302	20,958	8,959	8						
15. Konya	101,880	6,542	3,235		77		200			
Akşehir	57,234	2,266	4,890	1						
Beyşehir	41,596	122	33							
Şeydişehir	22,946	26	129							
Ilgin	31,932	705	103							
Bozkir	55,115	272								
Karaman	55,237	567	1,245							
Ereğli	29,102	565	887	3	2		1	1		
Sultaniye	20,640									
Koçhisar	35,177	209	14							
Ermenak	29,424	1	2							
Saiteli	39,979		4							
A. Burdur	54,032	2,783	1,271				53			
Tefenni	27,671	86	24							
B. Isparta	46,698	6,648	1,119							
Uluborlu	19,367	1,278	5							
Eğridir	27,020	2,982								
Karaağaç	25,743	10								
Yalvaç	29,919	9	10							
Total, Konya	750,712	25,071	12,971	4	79		254	1		

I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Chaldeans	Jacobites	Maronites	Samaritans	Nestorians	Yezidis	Gypsies	Druzes	Cossacks	Bulgarians	Serbians	Wallachians	Total
												104,858
												143,491
												76,869
												66,479
												60,397
												67,783
												118,714
												44,783
												28,548
												37,783
												123,567
												50,496
												38,202
												40,635
												60,257
												25,859
												34,226
												1,122,947
												72,088
												83,887
												63,684
												52,263
												47,892
												42,236
												41,705
												30,283
												96,091
												63,632
												33,568
												62,592
												44,476
												32,830
												767,227
			4					212				111,938
												64,603
												41,751
												23,101
												32,740
												55,387
												57,049
												30,561
												20,640
												35,400
												29,427
												39,983
												58,139
												27,781
												54,465
												20,650
												30,002
												25,753
												29,938
			4					212				789,308

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I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Jews	Greek Catholics	Armenian Catholics	Protestants	Latins	Suryani (Syriac)	Old Syrians
16 Mamuretülaziz	56,365	23	23,725			1,323	4,000	374	344	
Harput	22,541		7,519			125	1,528	167	639	
Eğin	32,610	636	9,373			12	503			
Arapkir	24,194	1	9,204			221	666			
Kebanmadeni	23,944	37	320				57			
Potürge	34,166		679						777	
A. Malatya	57,726		7,060			764	390	174	18	
Behisni	42,282		1,550			420				
Hasanmansur	34,154		2,189			754	441		402	
Kahta	16,434		743			7			54	
Akçadağ	35,987		341			125				
B. Dersim	11,874		1,151							
Çemişkezek	16,181	267	3,772				215			
Çarsancak	12,157		6,862				243			
Ovacik	4,165		10							
Nazimiye	7,276	7	89							
Mazgirt	14,323	—	1,483							
Total, Mamuretülaziz	446,379	971	76,070			3,751	8,043	715	2,234	
17. Van	45,119		33,789							
Erciş	27,323		8,083							
Çatak	8,132		4,292							
Adilcevaz	10,820		4,849							
Gevaş	18,123		10,520							
A. Hakkari	21,848	1	3,461	836						
Çölemerik	7,450		296							
Mahmudiye	10,230		528							
Şemdinli	9,873			274						
Güvar	12,771		959	273						
Hoşab	7,691	—	1,015	—						
Total, Van	179,380	1	67,792	1,383						
18. Eskişehir	83,883	2,613	3,979	194		316	215			
Sivrihisar	33,328		4,185	206						
Mihaliççik	23,367	—	112	328		—	—			
Total, Eskişehir	140,578	2,613	8,276	728		316	215			
19. Antalya	70,165	7,837	141	173						
Elmali	25,081	325	484							
Alanya	32,390	1,877		33						
Akseki	34,384	65								
Kaş	19,210	1,028	5							
Manavgat	19,411	56								
Korkuteli	23,534									
Finike	11,587	1,197	—	44						
Total, Antalya	235,762	12,385	630	250						
20. Urfa	69,526		13,995	817		1,084	1,597	39	2,328	
Birecik	27,085		1,071	48		461	55			
Rakah	14,638	2	12							
Suruç	26,824		83			12				
Harran	11,311	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	
Total, Urfa	149,384	2	15,161	865		1,557	1,652	39	2,328	

I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Chaldeans	Jacobites	Maronites	Samaritans	Nestorians	Yezidis	Gypsies	Druzes	Cossacks	Bulgarians	Serbians	Wallachians	Total
8												86,162
												32,519
						36						43,170
												34,286
												24,358
												35,622
						11						66,143
												44,252
												37,949
						9						17,238
												36,453
												13,025
												20,435
												19,262
												4,175
												7,372
												15,806
8						56						538,227
				828								79,736
												35,406
												12,717
293												15,669
												28,643
				1,534								27,680
				1,258								9,004
					1,366							12,959
835												11,740
				1,593								16,881
				2,878								8,706
1,128				8,091	1,366							259,141
												91,200
												37,719
												23,807
												152,726
										1		78,317
												26,226
						336						34,314
						14						34,449
												20,243
												19,467
												23,534
						271				37		13,136
						621				38		249,686
												89,386
												28,720
												14,652
												26,919
												11,311
												170,988

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I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Jews	Greek Catholics	Armenian Catholics	Protestants	Latins	Suryani (Syriac)	Old Syrians
21. Içel	34,628	1,210	334							
Anamur	31,768	725		9						
Gülnar	20,668	457	7		6					
Mut	14,970	108		1	1					
Total, Içel	102,034	2,500	341	10	7					
22. Izmit	40,403	5,226	23,873	307		448	1,078	3	3	
Adapazari	76,864	7,957	16,461	113		1	655			
Karamürsel	14,850	6,047	2,635					7		
Kandira	40,495	1,804	641	4						
Geyve	32,508	7,108	8,363	4			204			
Yalova	7,954	10,274	3,304							
Iznik	13,785	1,632	126							
Total, Izmit	226,859	40,048	55,403	428		449	1,937	10	3	
23. Bolu	53,594	14	1,220			7				
Ereğli	42,059	1,389								
Bartin	64,395	1,104	401	3						
Gerede	50,423	45	19							
Göynük	19,075	2								
Düzce	58,041	1,013	392							
Devrek	53,336	404	670							
Mudurnu	29,818									
Zonguldak	28,540	1,175	259	17	5	2	2	1	1	
Total, Bolu	399,281	5,146	2,961	20	5	9	2	1	1	
24. Canik (Samsun)	44,992	54,709	4,791	18		261	263			
Ünye	58,351	5,251	5,861	9						
Bafra	48,944	30,838	1,735							
Fatsa	35,678	3,026	1,250				385			
Çarşamba	54,353	3,948	10,820				609			
Terme	23,632	967	2,601							
Total, Canik	265,950	98,739	27,058	27		261	1,257			
25. Çatalca	13,034	16,984	44	53						
Büyük Çekmece	3,255	9,511	17							
Silivri	3,759	10,302	781	1,427						
Total, Çatalca	20,048	36,797	842	1,480						
26. Zor	43,645	18	67		27	215	1	1	140	
Rasülayn	2,667			2					1	
Aşara	19,458									
Total, Zor	65,770	18	67	2	27	215	1	1	141	
27. Kuddüs-i Şerif (Jerusalem)	70,270	19,717	1,173	18,190	533		1,473	9,062	386	
Yafa (Jaffa)	62,758	5,312	137	2,105	553		249	774	41	
Gazze	77,296	1,006		243			11	41		
Halil ür-Rahman	55,720			721				3		
Total, Kudüs-i Şerif	266,044	26,035	1,310	21,259	1,086		1,733	9,880	427	
28. Afyon Karahisar-i Sahip	97,547	59	7,163	7		2	9			
Dinar	37,496	327	65							
Bolvadin	39,618	3	8							
Sandikli	37,165	7	33							
Aziziye	44,097	151	123							
Çivril	21,736	85	45							
Total, Karahisar-i Sahip	277,659	632	7,437	7		2	9			

I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Chaldeans	Jacobites	Maronites	Samaritans	Nestorians	Yezidis	Gypsies	Druzes	Cossacks	Bulgarians	Serbians	Wallachians	Total
												36,172
												32,502
						74						21,212
						228						15,308
						302						105,194
8												71,349
												102,051
									8			23,547
												42,944
												48,187
												21,532
												15,543
8									8			325,153
												54,835
												43,448
												65,903
												50,487
						99						19,176
						753						60,199
												54,410
						364						30,182
									6			30,008
						1,216			6			408,648
10												105,044
												69,472
												81,517
												40,339
												69,730
												27,200
10												393,302
						10			40			30,165
						143			195			13,121
						98			103			16,470
						251			338			59,756
51												44,165
	1											2,671
												19,458
51	1											66,294
11						106						120,921
		270				7						72,206
												78,597
												56,444
11		270				113						328,168
												104,787
						74						37,962
												39,629
												37,205
												44,371
												21,866
						74						285,820

continued on following page

I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Administrative District	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Jews	Greek Catholics	Armenian Catholics	Protestants	Latins	Suryani (Syriac)	Old Syrians
29. Karesi (Balikesir)	156,092	2,655	2,963			3		1		
Edremit	30,846	9,699	41	40						
Erdek	15,232	31,035	1,094	303						
Ayvalik	454	31,440								
Balya	33,680	3,266	298							
Bandirma	41,146	11,507	4,032	4		106	51			
Burhaniye	20,280	4,514	43	14						
Sindirgi	27,095	1,130	20					1		
Gönen	34,979	2,251	53	1						
Total, Karesi	359,804	97,497	8,544	362		109	51	2		
30. Kale-i Sultaniye (Çanakkale)	13,596	4,358	1,269	2,961	9		59			
Ezine	15,801	486	700	256						
Ayvacik	17,089		5	1						
Bayramiç	20,614	290	48	269			8			
Biga	65,242	2,243	409	103						
Lapseki	17,561	1,164	43	52						
Total, Kale-i Sultaniye	149,903	8,541	2,474	3,642	9		67			
31. Kayseri	101,924	19,662	30,105			1,513	1,614			
Develi	30,948	2,085	15,689			2	404			
Incesu	14,559	3,773								
Bünyanihamid	36,861	1,070	2,865							
Total, Kayseri	184,292	26,590	48,659			1,515	2,018			
32. Kütahya	136,164	5,587	2,811			638				
Gediz	38,256									
Uşak	88,626	2,957	1,099							
Simav	40,302	211								
Total, Kütahya	303,348	8,755	3,910			638				
33. Maraş	50,356	11	13,260	251	23	3,808	4,972	1,189		
Pazarcik	23,868		37							
Elbistan	47,595		1,200			372	445			
Zeytun-Süleymanli	8,069		10,050			182	486			
Göksun	22,757		3,295			118	208			
Total, Maraş	152,645	11	27,842	251	23	4,480	6,111	1,189		
34. Menteşe (Muğla)	61,576	2,008	4	1						
Maramaris	15,040	2,082		69						
Köyceğiz	23,716	727	5	120						
Fethiye	36,734	7,394		217						
Bodrum	15,468	4,042	3	203						
Milas	36,382	3,670		1,005						
Total, Menteşe	188,916	19,923	12	1,615						
35. Niğde	52,754	26,156	1,149				137			
Nevşehir	38,146	10,935	1,050			46	106			
Ürgüp	26,671	7,953	30				166			
Aksaray	59,010	4,551	1,758				333			
Bor	22,924	1,442	777				26			
Ulukişla	11,807	2,475	114				1			
Arapsun	15,788	4,800	12							
Total, Niğde	227,100	58,312	4,890			46	769			

I.17.A. Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Chaldeans	Jacobites	Maronites	Samaritans	Nestorians	Yezidis	Gypsies	Druzes	Cossacks	Bulgarians	Serbians	Wallachians	Total
						30						161,744
												40,626
								2				47,666
												31,894
									3,650			40,894
								792	1,787			59,425
												24,851
									1			28,247
						339						37,623
						369		794	5,438			472,970
												22,252
											82	17,325
												17,095
									1			21,230
												67,997
									1,096			19,916
									1,097		82	165,815
												154,818
												49,128
												18,332
												40,796
												263,074
						243						145,443
												38,256
												92,682
												40,513
						243						316,894
						3						73,873
												23,905
												49,612
												18,787
												26,378
						3						192,555
												63,589
						4						17,195
						396			8			24,972
												44,345
												19,716
												41,057
						400			8			210,874
												80,196
												50,283
												34,820
												65,652
												25,169
												14,397
												20,600
												291,117

Notes follow Table I.17.B.

I.17.B. Summary of Ottoman Population, 1914

Administrative District	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Jews	Greek Catholics	Armenian Catholics	Protestants	Latins	Suryanı (Synac)	Old Syrians
Edirne	360,417	224,459	19,725	22,515	221	48	115			
Erzurum	673,297	4,859	125,657	10	5	8,720	2,241	1	88	
Istanbul	560,434	205,375	72,962	52,126	387	9,918	1,213	2,905	562	
Adana	341,903	8,537	50,139	66	437	2,511	5,036	174	467	
Ankara	877,285	20,226	44,507	1,026	14	7,069	2,381			
Aydin	1,249,067	299,096	19,395	35,041	1	892	479	1,793	2	
Bitlis	309,999		114,704			2,788	1,640		3,992	
Beyrut	648,314	87,244	1,188	15,052	24,210	277	3,823	3,367	491	
Halep	576,320	13,772	35,104	12,193	8,182	5,739	8,643	1,776	2,956	
Hüdavendigar	474,114	74,927	58,921	4,126		1,278	992			
Diyarbekir	492,101	1,822	55,890	2,085	113	9,960	7,376		37,976	4,133
Suriye	791,582	60,978	413	10,140	27,662	247	1,873	2,991	3,079	
Sivas	939,735	75,324	143,406	344		3,693	4,575		3	
Trabzon	921,128	161,574	37,549	8		1,350	1,338			
Kastamonu	737,302	20,958	8,959	8						
Konya	750,712	25,071	12,971	4	79		254	1		
Mamuretülaziz	446,379	971	76,070			3,751	8,043	715	2,234	
Van	179,380	1	67,792	1,383						
Eskişehir	140,578	2,613	8,276	728		316	215			
Antalya	235,762	12,385	630	250						
Urfa	149,384	2	15,161	865		1,557	1,652	39	2,328	
Içil	102,034	2,500	341	10	7					
Izmit	226,859	40,048	55,403	428		449	1,937	10	3	
Bolu	399,281	5,146	2,961	20	5	9	2	1	1	
Canik	265,950	98,739	27,058	27		261	1,257			
Çatalca	20,048	36,797	842	1,480						
Zor	65,770	18	67	2	27	215	1	1	141	
Kudüs-i Serif	266,044	26,035	1,310	21,259	1,086		1,733	9,880	427	
Karahisar-ı Sahip	277,659	632	7,437	7		2	9			
Karesi	359,804	97,497	8,544	362		109	51	2		
Kale-i Sultaniye	149,903	8,541	2,474	3,642	9		67			
Kayseri	184,292	26,590	48,659			1,515	2,018			
Kütahya	303,348	8,755	3,910			638				
Maraş	152,645	11	27,842	251	23	4,480	6,111	1,189		
Menteşe	188,916	19,923	12	1,615						
Niğde	227,100	58,312	4,890			45	769			
Total	15,044,846	1,729,738	1,161,169	187,073	62,468	67,838	65,844	24,845	54,750	4,133

I.17.B. Summary of Ottoman Population, 1914 (continued)

Chaldeans	Jacobites	Maronites	Samaritans	Nestorians	Yezidis	Gypsies	Druzes	Cossacks	Bulgarians	Serbians	Wallachians	Total
						1,092			2,502			631,094
13					517	24						815,432
476						280			3,339	1		909,978
406	1,045	302										411,023
						1,301			8			953,817
11						2,796			169			1,608,742
4,356												437,479
19		40,723	164						1			824,873
365	309				316	159			1,956			667,790
						1,869						616,227
5,994					2,375							619,825
351	5,577	6,111			20		7,385					918,409
					2,363							1,169,443
												1,122,947
												767,227
4								212				789,308
8						56						538,227
1,128				8,091	1,366							259,141
												152,726
						621			38			249,686
												170,988
						302						105,194
8									8			325,153
						1,216			6			408,648
10												393,302
						251			338			59,756
51	1											66,294
11		270				113						328,168
						74						285,820
						369		794	5,438			472,970
									1,097		82	165,815
						243						263,074
						3						316,894
						400			8			192,555
												210,874
												291,117
13,211	6,932	47,406	164	8,091	6,957	11,169	7,385	1,006	14,908	1	82	18,520,016

Notes to Tables I.17.A and I.17.B.

Source: Ministry of the Interior, Directorate General of the Administration of Population Registers, *Memalik-i Osmaniyyenin 1330 Senesi Nüfus Istatistiki* [Population statistics of the Ottoman state in the year 1914] (Istanbul, 1919).

Notes: According to the official introduction, these statistics were prepared by using the figures from the 1905/6 census and adding births and subtracting deaths registered during the intervening years. Estimates of current population were made for tribes in eastern Anatolia, such as the nomadic Nestorians, and for areas not subject to the census (these included Hicaz, Yemen, Musul, Bağdat, Basra, Cebililübnan, Asir, Median, and areas of European Turkey incorporated into Greece, Serbia, and Albania).

In Table I.17.A, districts 1–17 are *vilayets*. Listed first is the *vilayet* capital, followed by the towns in the central *kaza*. The lettered districts are the capitals of other *kaza*s in the *vilayet*, followed by other towns in the *kaza*. Districts 18–35 are independent *sancaks* (*mustakil sancaki*). The central *kaza* is listed first, followed by other *kaza*s in the *sancak*.

I.18. Summary of Ottoman Census Reports, 1893–1914

Administrative District	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1906	1914	Net Gain (Loss) 1893–1906
Aydin	1,410,424	1,408,387	1,465,976	1,465,970	1,478,424	1,727,581	1,818,859	317,157
Edirne	836,041	836,045	836,045	954,535	985,962	1,333,796	631,094	497,755
Erzurum	559,055	559,155	634,324	634,324	637,015	675,855	815,432	116,800
Adana	396,349	384,362	387,421	294,858	398,764	504,396	516,217	108,047
Işkodra	87,372	87,372	87,372	87,372	87,529	89,848		
Ankara	847,132	347,482	918,117	918,953	1,018,626	1,157,131	1,156,891	309,999
Izmit	195,669	195,659	203,375	206,694	228,443	290,517	325,153	94,848
Bağdat	197,756	197,756	197,756	197,756	187,385	178,178		
Basra	10,853	8,853	8,853	8,853	80,081	10,270		
Beyrut	568,014	568,014	568,014	615,457	620,763	562,719	824,873	(5,295)
Bitlis	276,998	276,998	351,640	465,568	336,642	297,660	437,479	20,662
Biga	118,835	118,824	139,508	139,877	143,904	186,455		67,620
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	263,590	264,374	264,374	293,615	286,763	364,223		100,633
Çatalca	58,822	58,822	58,822	59,207	61,001	78,529	59,756	19,707
Halep (Aleppo)	787,714	787,714	799,187	899,035	819,238	867,679	1,031,333	79,965
Hüdavendigar	1,335,884	1,336,884	1,367,012	1,367,012	1,454,294	1,691,277	2,010,452	355,393
Diyarbekir	368,964	368,970	401,399	443,421	414,657	392,705	619,825	23,741
Zor	34,250	38,652	132,328	132,830	51,260	60,854	66,294	26,604
Suriye (Syria)	400,748	400,748	620,943	620,943	551,134	478,775	918,409	78,027
Selanik	989,844	990,397	990,400	1,009,992	1,038,973	921,359		(68,485)
Sivas	926,671	926,564	959,495	980,569	980,876	1,194,372	1,169,443	267,701
Şehremaneti Mülhakati (Greater Istanbul)	80,702	80,702	80,702	80,702	88,299	82,435		1,733
Trabzon	1,056,237	1,056,293	1,078,399	1,085,363	1,163,500	1,342,778	1,616,249	286,541
Kastamonu	948,981	1,049,116	988,114	969,263	968,981	1,121,516	1,175,875	172,535
Kosova	721,087	721,342	721,342	721,342	755,639	671,653		(49,430)
Konya	944,042	944,009	970,406	907,182	1,022,449	1,249,777	1,339,111	305,735
Kudüs	234,770	234,774	308,602	290,733	258,460	229,812	328,168	(4,958)
Elaziz	381,346	381,346	571,070	569,748	459,779	473,324	538,227	91,978
Musul	176,111	177,047	251,094	252,016	205,013	161,748		(14,363)
Manastir (Bitolia)	664,399	664,399	664,399	664,399	712,217	824,828		160,429
Van	119,860	119,860	161,970	262,660	132,116	113,964	259,141	(5,896)
Yanya (Janina)	516,477	516,477	516,467	511,913	516,681	516,766		289
Dersaadet ve Bilad-i Selase (Istanbul and the Three Boroughs)	873,565	1,030,234	1,030,234	1,030,234	903,482	782,227	909,978	(91,338)
Total	17,388,562	17,637,191	18,735,218	19,142,396	19,050,323	20,884,630	18,520,015	3,496,068

Notes: Because the 1914 census list reflected major changes in the territorial boundaries and administrative division of the Ottoman state, the 1914 column in this summary table required some adjustment. The population figures for newly created provinces have been added to the figures for the larger areas from which they were detached. Thus Icel is included with Adana; Menteşe with Aydin; Kayseri with Ankara; Çanik with Trabzon, Bolu with Kastamonu; Niğde and Antalya with Konya; Maraş and Urfa with Halep; and Kale-i Sultaniye, Karahisar-i Sahip, Kutahya, Eskişehir, and Karesi with Hüdavendigar. Of course, this must distort the totals in many cases, as each new administrative division usually included parts of more than one former province; for example, Biga, which was added to the new Karesi province, is counted in with Hüdavendigar in the adjusted total. The total figure for Istanbul and its suburbs in the 1914 list is placed opposite Dersaadet ve Bilad-i Selase in the summary.

Note that the column showing net gain or loss compares 1893 with 1906 rather than with 1914, the administrative alignment having been so drastically altered by the latter date that a province-by-province comparison was not in order. The grand total for 1914 shows a net gain of 1,131,454; this reflects the loss of territory and population in Europe, as the total net gain figure for 1906 is 3,496,068. The counts for Basra and Bağdat never approached completion; therefore no net gain/loss figures at all are included for these two areas.

The figure for Basra given in the 1897 column is much higher than that for other years because that figure is from the Statistical Office. The Statistical Office was less conservative than the Population Directorate and would publish figures gathered by other means than actual count.

STATISTICAL APPENDICES

SECTION II

TABULATIONS OF NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS GROUP POPULATIONS IN VARIOUS PROVINCES

II.1. Comparative Table Showing Various Estimates of the Population of Certain Provinces of the Ottoman Empire (Report of Major Henry Trotter)

A. Vilayets of Erzeroum, Van, and Bitlis (excluding Saert)

Authority	Armenians, Gregorian, Catholic, Protestant	Nestorians	Greeks	Jews	Zinganis and Kinchors	Turks and Circassians, &c.	Kurds, Kurmandji	Kurds, Zaza	Yezidis	Totals Non-Moslems	Totals Moslems[a]	Grand Total
(1) Sir Robert Dalyell, 1863				Details not given						289,309[b]	609,758	899,067
(2) Mr. Consul Taylor, 1869	290,500	110,000	4,000	1,200		244,700	320,000	158,000	2,000	405,700	724,700	1,130,400
(3) Berlin Project, 1878	1,150,000	14,000	5,000		3,000	400,000	80,000	35,000	13,000	1,172,000	528,000	1,700,000
(4) Official to Sir Charles Dilke, 1880	563,685	84,995[b]	3,420	363		223,484[c]	273,095	67,369	3,627	652,463	567,575	1,220,038
(5) Patriarch to Ambassador, 1880	373,500	85,000	5,000	1,500	13,000[d]	80,000	40,000[e]	140,000[f]	20,000	478,000	280,000	758,000
(6) Vahan Vartabed, 1879	440,500[g]											
(7) Vice-Consul Clayton, 1880		53,940										
(8) Official figures	316,444	61,778	6,792	2,050				821,476		387,064	821,476	1,208,540

B. Vilayet of Diarbekir (including Saert, or Siirt)

Authority	Armenians[h]	Syrians[i]	Greeks	Jews	Zinganis	Turks &c.	Kurds, Kurmandji	Kurds, Zaza and Kizilbash[j]	Arabs	Yezidis	Totals Non-Moslems	Totals Moslems[k]
(9) Mr. Taylor, 1869	Christians, 108,000			1,000		45,000[l]	391,000[m]	12,500[n]	118,000	8,000	109,000	574,500
(10) Patriarch to Ambassador	88,800	55,000[o]	5,000			55,000[p]	30,000[q]	55,000[r]		5,000	148,800	145,000
(11) Official figures, 1880	76,958[s]	10,212	306	432			328,174				87,908	328,174
(12) Sal-nama, 1879											129,092	562,778
(13) Private		19,200	370									

C. Vilayet of Kharput

Authority	Armenians[t]	Syrians, &c.[u]	Greeks[v]	Jews	Zinganis	Turks &c.[w]	Kurds, Kurmandji	Kurds, Zaza and Kizilbash	Totals Non-Moslems	Totals Moslems
(14) Mr. Taylor, 1869	130,000 Christians					140,000	100,000	30,000	130,000	270,000
(15) Patriarch to Ambassador	155,000	5,000	5,000[y]		5,000	70,000[x]		55,000[z]	170,000	125,000
(16) Official figures	88,204	826	2,382	378			337,788		91,790	337,788
(17) Private		1,500								

D. Vilayet of Aleppo

Authority	Armenians[aa]	Syrians[bb]	Greeks[cc]	Jews	Zinganis	Turks &c.	Kurds,[dd] Kurmandji	Kurds, Zaza and Kizilbash	Arabs	Yezidis	Totals Non-Moslems	Totals Moslems
(18) Patriarch to Ambassador	90,500	106,000[ee]	6,000		5,000	80,000[ff]	40,000	15,000			207,500	135,000
(19) Mr. Consul Skene, 1860							Approximately				100,000	400,000
(20) Official figures	67,634	5,520	14,750	7,144	654		539,702				95,702	539,702
(21) Vahan Vartabed	82,080											
(22) Private		4,650										

Reference to Authorities:

(1) Sir Robert Dalyell, 1863.—This gentleman was at one time Her Majesty's Counsul at Erzeroum. The figures are abstracted from my own notes, which were extracted at Erzeroum from an old volume of Consular Reports (No. of volume unknown). The original estimate included the Sandjaks of Kars and Tchildry, and excluded Erzinjan. To reduce to present limits I have subtracted Sir R. Dalyell's own estimate of the population of the two former districts, and have added the present official estimate of population of Erzinjan.

(2) Mr. Counsul Taylor, 1869.—Figures abstracted from Blue Book, Turkey, No. 16 (1877), pp. 27 and 31. Mr. Taylor was for several years Counsul of Erzeroum and Diarbekir, and had travelled much in the frontier vilayets.

(3), (4), and (5) all derive originally from the Armenian Patriarch; the figures in No. (3) are extracted from a pamphlet, printed in Armenian and French, which I obtained last year at Erzeroum, entitled "Projet de Reglement Orgamque pour Armenie Turque," 1878. I was given to understand that this document had been submitted unofficially to the Plenipotentaries at Berlin, 1878. I have submitted a copy of this pamphlet to his Excellency the Ambassador.

(4) Official to Sir C. Dike, 1880.—Is abstracted from a document furnished me by Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary, being a confidential communication made to Sir Charles Dike in June 1880. It is stated therein that the figures are taken from statistics of the Armenian provinces prepared by the Armenian Patriarch.

(5) Patriarch to Ambassador, 1880.—These figures are abstracted from statistics officially supplied by the Armenian Patriarch during the current year to Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary. I believe that this document had already been printed at the Foreign Office, and it is therefore unnecessary to supply a copy here.

(6) Vahan Vartabed.—These figures were supplied to me at Erzeroum in 1879 by Vahan Vartabed, an Agent of the Patriarchate, who was specially employed for several years in visiting the Armenian provinces and collecting statistics thereof.

(7) Vice-Counsul Clayton, 1880.—These figures were received by me from Captain Clayton whilst these Tables were being prepared. They are the result of careful personal inquiries during a recent tour through the Nestorian country.

(8) Official figures, 1880.—These figures are abstracted from Table 1. They are the official figures that have been collected by his Excellency Baker Pasha on his recent tour of inspection. As far as the Provinces of Erzeroum and Van are concerned, these figures agree with the latest official statistics collected independently by myself during my recent tour in those provinces. The Province of Saert, recently transferred from Diarbekir to Bitlis, is not included in this estimate. As the Turkish official figures give the number of males only, they have been multiplied by two, to give an approximation to the total population.

(9) Mr. Taylor, 1879.—Vide note 2.

(10) Patriarch to Ambassador.—Vide note 5.

(11) Vide note 8.—The Province of Saert which has very recently been taken from Diarbekir to form a part of the newly-formed Vilayet of Bitlis, has been (for convenience of comparison) included in the estimate of the Diarbekir Vilayet. I have serious misgiving as to the accuracy of the figures for Saert, which were supplied to General Baker by telegram. The number of Syrians (Jacobites) in the Mardin Sandjak have also, I think, been very much under estimated.

(12) Sal-nama, 1879.—These figures are derived from detailed statistics of population published in Diarbekir Sal-nama, or Official Almanack, for 1297 (1879).

(13) These figures are obtained from an approximative record of the number of houses of Syrian and Chaldean communities obtained by me from a non-official source last winter at Diarbekir. I have allowed six inhabitants to each house.

(14) Vide note 2.

(15) Vide note 5.

(16) Vide note 8. I have no good check on these estimates, I think the number of Christians is under estimated.

(17) Vide note 13.

(18) Vide note 5.

(19) Extracted from page 50 of Reports received from Her Majesty's Consuls relating to condition of Christians in Turkey, 1860. Mr. Counsul Skene writes, "I should calculate the Christian population to be about one-fifth of the whole, and the Mahommedan four-fifths, with a trifling deduction for Jews, Deuses, and Ausairis. The population of the province must in the aggregate be slightly under 500,000."

Notes to Table II.2.

Source: HCAP 100:44 (1881), "Report of Major Henry Trotter," pp. 125–29.

Note: These tables of estimated population for the frontier provinces of Turkey were compiled by Major Trotter on 7 September 1880 and transmitted from Ambassador George J. Goschen in Istanbul to Earl Granville in the Foreign Office in London. They are reproduced here almost exactly as submitted by Major Trotter. The spellings of names of the provinces and ethnic-religious groups are Major Trotter's. The arrangement of the tables and the notation system has been adjusted somewhat, but all the following notes are Major Trotter's, the numbered notes headed "Reference to Authorities" are his source notes with comments. Note that the figures in (3), (4), and (5), all derive from the Armenian Patriarchate and do not support the figures submitted by the Patriarch to the Berlin conference of 1878.

[a] Including the Yezidis, or Devil-worshippers, amongst the Moslems, as they are so included in the official lists for purposes of conscription.

[b] Includes 20 Copts.

[c] 218,584 Turks, 2,800 Circassians, 2,000 Lazes, and 100 Persians.

[d] This includes 3,000 Pochas, Armenian-speaking gypsies, claimed by Patriarch as Armenians.

[e] Called Bedouins in original document.

[f] This includes 10,000 Alivis, or Kizilbash, claimed as Armenians by the Patriarch, but, being undoubtedly Mussulmans (Shiahs), they counted as such.

[g] Includes 3,000 Kinchors or gypsies.

[h] Including Gregorians, Catholics, and Protestants.

[i] Including Nestorians, Chaldeans, Jacobites or Old Syrians, and Syrian Catholics.

[j] Including Zaza or Kizilbash Kurds and Kizilbash Turks.

[k] Including the Yezidis amongst the Moslems.

[l] 30,000 Turks and 15,000 Tchetchens.

[m] It is not clear in original whether or not this estimate includes Zaza Kurds.

[n] Probably Kizilbash Turks.

[o] The Patriarch apparently claims 40,000 Nestorians and 15,000 Syrian Catholics. There are, in point of fact, no Nestorians permanently resident in the Diarbekir Vilayet, but there are a number of Jacobites, or Old Syrians, and Chaldeans.

[p] 40,000 Turks and 15,000 Circassians.

[q] Called by Patriarch Arab-Kurds.

[r] The Patriarch claims 40,000 Alivis and 15,000 Kizilbash. Alivis and Kizilbash are, as far as is known, one and the same thing.

[s] The population of the Saert Sandjak, recently transferred from Diarbekir to Bitlis, is included in this estimate.

[t] Including Gregorians, Catholics, and Protestants.

[u] Including Nestorians, Chaldeans, Jacobites, and Syrian Catholics.

[v] Including Orthodox and Catholic.

[w] Including Turks and Circassians.

[x] Including 3,000 so-called Armenian Greeks.

[y] 60,000 Turks and 10,000 Circassians.

[z] Including 30,000 Zaza Kurds, 10,000 Alivis, and 15,000 Kizilbash.

[aa] Including Gregorians, Catholics, and Protestants.

[bb] Including Nestorians, Chaldeans, Jacobites, and Syrian Catholics.

[cc] Including Orthodox and Catholics.

[dd] Called by Patriarch Arab-Kurds.

[ee] 40,000 Nestorians and 66,000 Syrian Catholics. In point of fact, there are no Nestorians, and the number of Syrians generally appears to be vastly over-estimated.

[ff] Including 50,000 Turks, 10,000 Afshars, and 20,000 Turkomans.

II.2. Official Statistics Showing the Male Population of the Vilayets of Erzeroum, Bitlis, Van, Diarbekir, Aleppo, Kharput, Sivas, and Trebizond (ca. 1878–1880)

II.2. Official Statistics of Male Population, ca. 1878–1880 (continued)

Name of Vilayet	Name of Sandjak	Armenians			Greeks		Syrians			Jews	Zinganis or Gypsies	Total Non-Mahommedan	Mahommedan	Grand Total
		Gregorians	Catholics	Protestants	Orthodox	Catholics	Nestorians	Chaldeans	Jacobites and Syrian Catholics					
Erzeroum	Erzinjan	11,181			995							12,176	48,933	61,109
	Erzeroum	28,941	722	362	545							30,570	84,346	114,916
	Baiburt	4,702	1,658		1,856							8,216	41,649	49,865
	Bayazid	4,775										4,775	27,146	31,921
	Total	49,599	2,380	362	3,396							55,737	202,074	257,811
Bitlis	Bitlis	66,444		324				1,464	75			68,307	121,460	189,767
	Saert	11,052		173				399	215			11,839	23,549	35,388
	Total	77,496		497				1,863	290			80,146	145,009	225,155
Van	Van and Hekkiari	39,013	100				29,350			1,025		69,488	87,204	156,692
Diarbekir	Diarbekir	10,977	482	709	120	33		459	845	142		13,767	32,297	46,064
	Malatia	5,605	499	235					193			6,732	66,833	73,565
	Mardin	6,788	1,538	221				302	2,693	74		11,616	41,408	53,024
	Total	23,570	2,519	1,165	120	33		761	3,731	216		32,115	140,538	172,653
Aleppo	Aleppo	8,760	1,797	1,861	3,870	3,227		759	1,226	3,354	77	24,931	173,664	198,595
	Marash	12,063	1,773	1,480	278					91	53	15,738	49,818	65,556
	Orfa	5,312	353	418					775	127	197	7,182	46,369	53,551
	Total	26,135	3,923	3,759	4,148	3,227		759	2,001	3,572	327	47,851	269,851	317,702
Kharput	Kharput	31,674	700	1,502	416	251			211			34,754	75,871	110,625
	Arghana Maaden	9,669	120	437	524				202	189		11,141	93,023	104,164
	Total	41,343	820	1,939	940	251			413	189		45,895	168,894	214,789
Sivas	Sivas	30,176	902	375	2,349						114	33,916	109,356	143,272
	Amasia	6,390	94	471	4,229						487	11,671	73,792	85,463
	Kara Hisar	8,322			7,661							15,983	42,167	58,150
	Tokat	5,899	384	30	2,959			103	265			9,640	57,728	67,368
	Total	50,787	1,380	876	17,198			103	866			71,210	283,043	354,253
Trebizond	Trebizond	9,640	490	37	28,960							39,127	177,563	216,690
	Lazistan	23			254							277	70,100	70,377
	Djanik	7,903			25,077							32,980	85,199	118,179
	Gumush Kbana	630			12,481							13,111	16,421	29,532
	Total	18,196	490	37	66,772							86,495	349,283	434,778

Source: HCAP 100:44 (1881), p. 125.

Note: This table of Ottoman official statistics was supplied to the Foreign Office along with the comparative estimates tables reproduced in II.1. As in that table, the spellings, terminology, and arrangement of the table are basically as they appear in the source.

II.3. Muslim and Non-Muslim Population in Six Eastern Provinces, 1897 (R. 1313)

Province and Sancak	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians			Catholics		
			Orthodox	Catholic	Protestant	Latin	Chaldean	Old Syrian
ERZURUM	342,323	1,668	78,808	6,548	1,877			
Erzurum	99,960	2,038	22,364		177			
Erzincan	67,665	5	9,147	1,456	54			
Bayazit								
SIVAS	323,153	4,373	68,895	2,039	962			
Sivas	172,911	8,741	16,185	751	37			
Tokat	187,208	12,564	17,025	322	1,648			
Amasya	107,076	15,529	18,117					
Karahisar-i Şarki								
ELAZIZ	187,759	745	54,263	1,075	6,267	471		1,350
Harput	190,893		10,447	1,318	717	157		292
Malatya	98,712	210	14,757		314			
Dersim								
DIYARBEKIR	123,646	449	25,920	1,310	1,932		1,037	6,486
Diyarbekir	104,624	917	19,937	391	1,224			13,331
Ergani	91,953		111	5,700	1,137			
Mardin								362
BITLIS	48,691		30,874	138	814			
Bitlis	77,884		57,802	2,449	488			2,784
Muş	68,845		9,359	3,049	449			
Siirt	41,972		5,680					
Genç								
VAN	80,773		59,433					
Van	93,000		2,500					
Total	2,509,048	47,239	521,624	26,546	18,097	628	1,037	24,605
SUMMARY								
Erzurum	509,948	3,711	110,319	8,004	2,108			
Sivas	790,348	41,207	120,222	3,112	2,647			
Elaziz	477,364	955	79,467	2,393	7,298	628		1,642
Diyarbekir	320,223	1,366	45,968	7,401	4,293		1,037	19,817
Bitlis	237,392		103,715	5,636	1,751			3,146
Van	173,773		61,933					
TOTAL, SIX PROVINCES	2,509,048	47,239	521,624	26,546	18,097	628	1,037	24,605

II.3 Muslim and Non-Muslim Population, 1897 (continued)

Gypsies	Nestorians	Foreigners	Jews	Total Muslims	Total Non-Muslims	Grand Total	Percentages		
							Muslims	Armenians	Others
32		228	6	342,323	89,167	431,490	79.33	18.26	2.41
				99,960	24,579	124,539	80.26	17.95	1.79
		68		67,665	10,730	78,395	86.31	11.66	2.03
				323,153	76,269	399,422	80.98	17.26	1.76
911		40	247	172,911	26,912	199,823	86.53	8.09	5.38
		25		187,208	31,584	218,792	85.56	7.78	6.66
736				107,076	34,382	141,458	75.69	12.80	11.51
				187,759	64,171	251,930	74.52	21.53	3.95
				190,893	12,931	203,824	93.80	5.12	1.08
			1	98,712	15,282	113,994	86.59	12.94	.47
		3	449	123,646	37,586	161,232	76.68	16.07	7.25
			305	104,624	22,774	127,398	82.12	15.65	2.23
			537	91,953	20,816	112,769	81.54	.09	18.37
				48,691	32,188	80,879	60.20	38.17	1.63
				77,884	60,739	138,623	56.18	41.69	2.13
				68,845	15,641	84,486	81.48	11.07	7.45
				41,972	5,680	47,652	88.00	12.00	
	3,554			80,773	62,987	143,760	56.38	41.14	2.48
	21,500		1,900	93,000	25,900	118,900	78.21	2.01	19.78
1,679	25,054	364	3,445	2,509,048	670,318	3,179,366	78.91	16.40	4.69
32		296	6	509,948	124,476	634,424	80.37	17.38	2.25
1,647		65	247	790,348	169,147	959,495	82.37	12.52	5.11
			1	477,364	92,384	569,748	83.78	13.94	2.28
		3	1,291	320,223	81,176	401,399	79.77	11.45	8.78
				237,392	114,248	351,640	63.51	29.48	3.01
	25,054		1,900	173,773	88,887	262,660	66.15	23.57	10.28
1,679	25,054	364	3,445	2,509,048	670,318	3,179,366	78.91	16.40	4.69

Source: BA (Y)/(P)/1313, no. 1459, "Sicill Nufus Idare-i Umumiyyesi Müdiriyeti."

Note: This tabulation of the population in the six eastern provinces only was compiled by the Ottomans because of the political controversy over that area. It appears to be based on the 1895 census results.

II.4. Population of Muslim and Non-Muslim Millets, 1884–1897 (R. 1300–1313)

	Muslim			Non-Muslim Millets			
Year	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	Grand Total
1884	6.694.146	5.896.206	12.590.352	2.440.292	2.113.215	4.553.507	17.143.859
1885	6.752.791	5.954.847	12.707.638	2.454.244	2.124.530	4.578.774	17.286.412
1886	6.811.434	6.013.490	12.824.924	2.468.196	2.134.845	4.603.041	17.427.965
1887	6.870.077	6.072.133	12.942.210	2.482.148	2.155.160	4.637.308	17.579.518
1888	6.928.720	6.130.779	13.059.499	2.496.137	2.165.442	4.661.579	17.721.078
1889	6.987.363	6.189.419	13.176.782	2.511.089	2.174.753	4.685.842	17.862.624
1890	7.045.416	6.248.652	13.294.068	2.524.242	2.185.868	4.710.110	18.004.178
1891	7.104.059	6.307.295	13.411.354	2.538.193	2.196.183	4.734.376	18.145.730
1892	7.149.862	6.261.499	13.411.361	2.508.561	2.254.820	4.763.381	18.174.742
1893	7.208.505	6.437.428	13.645.933	2.522.513	2.254.224	4.776.737	18.422.670
1894	7.267.148	6.378.785	13.645.933	2.540.452	2.264.188	4.804.640	18.450.573
1895	7.325.791	6.437.428	13.763.219	2.554.404	2.278.139	4.832.543	18.595.762
1896	7.391.355	6.499.555	13.890.910	2.561.435	2.287.414	4.848.849	18.739.759
1897	7.499.798	6.612.147	14.111.945	2.604.224	2.334.138	4.938.362	19.050.307

Source: IUKTY 9184.

Notes: Some of the totals in this table have been corrected in accordance with general statistics reproduced elsewhere; the differences between the corrected totals and the originals are slight.

These statistics are higher than those given in Table I.18 as they were compiled by the statistical office and include estimates of populations uncounted or unregistered. The population office, from which the Table I.18 figures derive, was more conservative, accepting only actual counts.

Immigrants and the population of the Arabic-speaking provinces were excluded from this tabulation, thus making the Muslim total rather low.

II.5. Population of Religious Communities, 1897 (R. 1313)

	Population			
Community	M	F	Total	Percentage
Muslim	7,499,798	6,612,147	14,111,945	74.07
Greek	1,341,049	1,228,863	2,569,912	13.49
Armenian	546,030	496,344	1,042,374	5.47
Bulgarian	449,286	380,903	830,189	4.36
Catholic	65,912	54,567	120,479	0.64
Jewish	117,767	97,658	215,425	1.13
Protestant	22,963	21,397	44,360	0.24
Latin	12,280	10,055	22,335	0.12
Maronite	15,262	17,154	32,416	0.17
Chaldean	3,866	1,902	5,768	0.03
Old Syrian	19,500	16,054	35,554	0.18
Non-Muslim	10,309	9,241	19,550	0.10
Gypsy	—	—	—	—
Total	10,104,022	8,946,285	19,050,307	100.00

Source: IUKTY 9184.

II.6. Estimates of the Population of Six Provinces in Eastern Anatolia in 1896

	Turkish Official Estimate, 1890	Consul C. Lloyd's Estimate, 1890	Commission of Control, 1895
Erzeroum			
Mussulman	441,671	441,671	545,782
Non-Mussulman	113,488	113,488	123,935
Van			
Mussulman	282,582	115,000	207,028
Non-Mussulman	135,912	155,988	101,264
Bitlis			
Mussulman	167,054	166,794	352,713
Non-Mussulman	109,914	121,082	126,874
Diarbekir			
Mussulman	240,574	304,584	378,253
Non-Mussulman	71,870	87,584	83,752
Kharpout			
Mussulman	300,194	205,353	494,881
Non-Mussulman	81,158	88,155	91,422
Sivas			
Mussulman	735,489	—	801,630
Non-Mussulman	156,712	—	170,351

Source: FO 424/186, p. 263 (Curry to Salisbury, 19 March 1896).

Note: This summary table is enclosure no. 3 in the dispatch, which includes two other large tables. It is reproduced here with only minor editorial changes.

II.7. Population of Dobruca, 1878

District	Romanians	Bulgarians	Turks[a]	Çerkes	Tatars	Russians (inc. Old Believers)	Germans	Greeks	Others (Jews, Armenians)	Total
Tulça										27,953
Town	4,730	4,240	1,500			3,560	—	2,500	3,000	
Villages	4,264	595	940	320		1,820	484	—	—	
Maçin										27,129
Town	885	605	2,195			350		150	—	
Villages	11,868	1,900	8,922		120	134	—	—		
Köstenje										31,265
Town	—	—	1,082		—	—		—	1,046	
Villages	—	410	360		28,367	—			—	
Sulina (Sünne)[b]										1,910
Town	50	—	150			50		350	200	
Villages	—	—	—			1,110		—	—	
Babadağ										56,257
Town	600	1,600	4,555			—		—	400	
Villages	3,568	16,302	17,694	6,466	300	3,642	650	480	—	
Mejdiye										28,213
Town	—	4,000	4,664			—		—	—	
Villages	2,233	—	265		17,051	—		—	—	
Hirşova (Harsova)										31,977
Town	630	80	2,127		22,386	—			—	
Villages	6,074	—	80			600			—	
Isakçe										9,546
Town	3,000	250	2,071			—		50		
Villages	3,080	—	—	208	50	837		—		
Cernavoda (Bogazköy)[c]										2,130
Town	650	150	600			—		50		
Villages	—	—	—		680	—		—		
Mahmudia										7,289
Town	1,088	45	1,020			—		—		
Villages	2,714	—	230		2,192	—		—		
Kiliya (Kili)										2,023
Town	1,070	—	328			—		—		
Villages	—	—	—			625		—		
Total	46,504	30,177	48,783	6,994	71,146	12,748	1,134	3,480	4,746	225,692

Source: *Correspondance Politique des Consuls. Turquie (Tulça)*, 1 (1878), 280–82.

Notes: These statistics were compiled by the Romanian delegate after it became apparent that the Russians would give them northern Dobruca in a kind of exchange for those provinces in Southern Bessarabia which were incorporated into Russia—an arrangement sanctioned by the Treaty of Berlin in July 1878.

These statistics include the population up to the Val of Traian (middle of Dobruja); the population south of the Val of Traian on the Kostenje-Cernavoda (Bogazköy) railroad line was overwhelmingly Muslim.

[a] The Turks, Tatars, and Çerkeş were all Muslims; they totaled 126,924, or 60 percent of the population.

[b] A later correction gives for Sulina a total of 4,020, consisting of 60 Romanians, 800 Bulgarians, 3,086 Russians, and 80 Greeks.

[c] The total for Cernavoda was later corrected to 3,645, including 2,135 Romanians, 150 Bulgarians, and 1,280 Muslims.

STATISTICAL APPENDICES

SECTION III

THE POPULATION OF ISTANBUL IN THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

III.1. Population of Istanbul and the Three Boroughs, 1830 (H. 1246)

A. Census of Muslims

Principal District[a]	Married: Adult	Married: Small	Total Married	Single: Strong	Single: Infants	Single: Old	Total Single	Grand Total
1. Çarşı (32)	3,242	880	4,122	2,218	12	783	3,013	7,135
2. Cebeali (56)	5,213	1,713	6,926	1,840	21	659	2,520	9,446
3. Balat (62)	6,722	2,112	8,834	877	7	402	1,286	10,120
4. Kumkapi (58)	6,419	1,858	8,277	1,488	17	590	2,095	10,372
5. Yedikule (33)	3,536	1,171	4,707	295	4	142	441	5,148
6. Topkapi (47)	3,572	1,134	4,706	224	2	70	296	5,002
7. Havas-I Refia (45)	2,704	940	3,644	1,116	18	448	1,582	5,226
8. Kasimpaşa (28)	3,550	1,408	4,958	1,254	10	455	1,719	6,677
9. Galata (11)	1,150	473	1,623	949	12	530	1,491	3,114
10. Tophane (34)	4,678	1,607	6,285	826	7	440	1,273	7,558
11. Beşiktaş (32)	2,754	886	3,620	1,392	9	507	1,908	5,528
12. Üsküdar (57)	6,909	2,382	9,291	1,906	9	699	2,614	11,905
Special Groups[b]	**Adult**	**Small**	**Total**	**Strong**	**Infants**	**Old**	**Total**	**Grand Total**
Students	1,366	8	1,374					1,374
Mill & bakery workers				627	2	197	826	826
Inn dwellers				3,375	20	1,602	4,997	4,997
Palace Servants (*Ağavat*)[c]							1,536	1,536
Other servants	548	4	552					552
Gypsies	373	188	561					561

B. Census of Non-Muslims

Religious Group[d]	Good	Average	Poor	Children	Incapacitated	Exempt	Total
Greeks							
Married	4,589	7,765	2,701	8,548	536	391	24,530
Single	5,610	15,037	3,156	681	164	145	24,793
Total	10,199	22,802	5,857	9,229	700	536	49,323
Armenians							
Married	5,949	9,376	4,072	9,167	886	162	29,612
Single	2,474	13,632	2,509	233	160	246	19,254
Total	8,423	23,008	6,581	9,400	1,046	408	48,866
Jews							
Married	1,630	4,150	1,466	4,426	266	48	11,986
Single	14	22	7	1	2	—	46
Total	1,644	4,172	1,473	4,427	268	48	12,032
Catholics							
Married	1,080	1,317	429	1,176	44	43	4,089
Single	40	618	155	5	5	73	896
Total	1,120	1,935	584	1,181	49	116	4,985
Total Married	13,248	22,608	8,663	23,317	1,732	644[e]	70,217
Total Single	8,138	29,309	5,827	920	331	464	44,989
GRAND TOTAL	21,386	51,917	14,495	24,237	2,063	1,108	115,206

Source: BA, Ibnulemin (D) 3087 (probable date 1830 [H. 1246]).

Notes: The heading of this census tabulation in the original document is as follows: "Dersaadet ve Bilad-i Selasede sakin ve mutemekkin nufüs-u zükür ehl-i Islam ve reayanin memurin marifetleriyle tahrirleri hususu saye-i muvaffakiyetvaye-i cenab-i Mülukanede reside-i hüsn-ü hitam bulmuş ve iktiza eden mufredat tahrir defatiri bu defa canib-i Cerideye takdim kilinmiş ve ber-mucib-i defatir-i mutekaddime usul-u cerideye tevfikan tefrik ve tadat olunarak miktar ve kemiyetini mubeyyin hulasa vechile pusulasidir."

As the census of Muslims was conducted simply in order to determine the number liable for military service, only males were counted, and the categories into which they were divided reflected their military potential. Hence the males who were members of families (i.e., "married") were classified merely as "adult" (*kebir*) or "small" (*sagir*—too young to be registered for the military). The single males were classified as "strong" (*luvana*—suitable for military service, generally 18–50 years of age), "infant" (*sabi*—presumably orphans), and "old" (*musin*).

The census of the non-Muslims sought to determine the number of persons subject to the *cizlye*, the head tax paid in lieu of military service, and the categories employed reflected this intent: persons classified as "good," "average," or "poor" (*ala, evsat, or edna*) paid the head tax but at different rates; "children" (*sabi*) and the "incapacitated" (*amel-i-mande*) as well as certain exempt persons were not liable for the tax.

[a] The census of Muslims was carried out according to principal district (*kol*) and neighborhood (*mahalle*). There were twelve *kol* in Istanbul in 1830. The numbers in parentheses following the *kol* names are the numbers of neighborhoods in each district.

[b] In addition to the population figures for each of these special groups of persons not attached to neighborhoods (non-natives of the city, presumably), the census reports the numbers of the various establishments to which these persons are attached: the students (*talebe-i ulum*) were attending a total of 161 *medreses*; there were 174 mills and bakeries and 214 inns; and the gypsies lived in 7 neighborhoods. The "servants" other than those in the palace were attached to the military command, the Porte, the Finance Ministry, the School of Medicine, and the like.

[c] The palace servants were classified simply as "singles."

[d] The non-Muslims were counted according to their respective religious communities (*milleti*). The number of Greek (Rumi) churches is given as 54; Armenian (Ermeni) neighborhoods and churches, 43; Jewish (Yehud) neighborhoods, 18; Catholic (Katolik) neighborhoods, 13.

[e] This figure, as it appeared in the list, was higher by 50 than the total of married exempt persons listed for the various *millets*. It has been corrected here.

III.2. Population of Istanbul

Population Group	Native Male Inhabitants	Bachelors from Provinces	Families	Total
A. Population in 1844 (R. 1260)				
Palace personnel		1,548		1,548
Muslim subjects	67,418	32,966	30,613	100,384
Greek subjects	24,338	21,442	6,939	45,780
Armenian subjects	29,349	18,650	7,471	47,999
Catholic subjects	4,047	1,079	1,088	5,126
Total	125,152	75,685	46,111	200,837
Jewish subjects	12,080	63	598	12,143
Karaim (non-rabbinical Jews)	112		24	112
Gypsy subjects	601		198	601
Total	12,793	63	820	12,856
GRAND TOTAL	137,945	75,748	46,931	213,693
B. Population in 1857 (R. 1273)				
The City				
Palace personnel		3,005		3,005
Muslim subjects	68,796	39,646	29,242	108,442
Greek subjects	27,115	31,401	8,261	58,516
Armenian subjects	27,133	17,907	7,406	45,040
Catholic subjects	4,317	1,093	1,511	5,410
Total	127,361	93,052	46,420	220,413
Jewish subjects	12,947	143	1,633	13,090
Karaim (non-rabbinical Jews)	132		36	132
Protestant subjects	231	98	153	329
Latin (European Catholic) subjects	591	826	200	1,417
Gypsies	715		251	715
Total	141,977	94,119	48,693	236,096
The Islands[a]				
Greek subjects	1,944			1,944
Armenian subjects	97			97
Catholic subjects	72			72
Protestant subjects	1			1
Latin subjects	24			24
Total	2,138			2,138
GRAND TOTAL	144,115	94,119	48,693	238,234

Source: BA (I)/(D)/24402.

Notes: These figures for population of Istanbul in 1844 and 1857 (both sets based on the 1844 census) were submitted directly to the sultan by Mustafa Resit, the prime minister, and were accompanied by a short summary of the population increase between 1844 and 1857. Receipt of the figures was acknowledged by the sultan in a note dated 19 February 1857 (24 Cemaziyelahir 1273).

Note that the native inhabitants of the city were tabulated separately from the "Bachelors from the Provinces" who, it was noted, were living in the city "for trading purposes."

[a] This population included persons living on four small islands in the sea of Marmara.

III.3. Population of Istanbul and Its Boroughs, 1882 (R. 1298)

III.3. Population of Istanbul and Its Boroughs, 1882 (continued)

District	Place of Habitation	Muslims M	Muslims F	Greeks M	Greeks F	Armenians M	Armenians F	Catholics M	Catholics F	Bulgarians M	Bulgarians F	Latins M	Latins F	Protestants M	Protestants F	Jews M	Jews F	Total M	Total F	District Totals	Summary
OLD CITY																					
1. Beyazit	Homes	12,398	16,240	2,085	1,773	4,736	4,644	9	4			5	4	70	68			19,303	22,733	42,036	
	Tekkes[a]	118	87															118	87	205	
	Immigrants[b]	3,700	3,577															3,700	3,577	7,277	
	Medreses[c]	2,858																2,858		2,858	
	Shops[d]	8,992		4,457		1,221				549		2		55				15,276		15,276	
	Inns	2,018	19	1,094		3,108	13	5		128						13		6,366	32	6,398	
	Total	30,084	19,923	7,636	1,773	9,065	4,657	14	4	677	0	7	4	125	68	13	0	47,621	26,429	74,050	
2. Fatih	Homes	11,749	13,271	4,055	3,843	2,396	2,120	5	4	27	16	13	15			4,112	3,759	22,357	23,028	45,385	
	Tekkes	244	182															244	182	426	
	Immigrants	2,394	2,337													54	55	2,448	2,392	4,840	
	Medreses	1,858																1,858		1,858	
	Shops	3,224		1,852		544		3		476								6,099		6,099	
	Inns	681	13	33	5	18												732	18	750	
	Total	20,150	15,803	5,940	3,848	2,958	2,120	8	4	503	16	13	15	0	0	4,166	3,814	33,738	25,620	59,358	
3. Cerrahpaşa	Homes	14,817	16,981	3,888	3,773	4,646	4,292	93	96	6	6	4	3					23,454	25,151	48,605	
	Tekkes	418	279															418	279	697	
	Immigrants	4,129	3,902															4,129	3,902	8,031	
	Medreses	774																774		774	
	Shops	2,055		1,852		414				721								5,042		5,042	
	Inns	409	109	23	3	95	47											527	159	686	
	Total	22,602	21,271	5,763	3,775	5,155	4,339	93	96	727	6	4	3	0	0	0	0	34,344	29,491	63,835	197,243
GALATA (PERA)																					
4. Beşiktaş	Homes	3,135	3,763	4,359	4,004	2,090	2,097	278	309	14	14	9	8			1,523	1,518	11,408	11,713	23,121	
	Tekkes	41	18															41	18	59	
	Immigrants	1,310	1,131													11	5	1,321	1,136	2,457	
	Medreses	38																38		38	
	Shops	1,317		885		710		14		175		1						3,102		3,102	
	Inns																				
	Total	5,841	4,912	5,244	4,004	2,800	2,097	292	309	189	14	10	8	0	0	1,534	1,523	15,910	12,867	28,777	
5. Yeniköy	Homes	966	1,239	1,983	1,802	657	713	29	40			1	3			67	57	3,703	3,854	7,557	
	Tekkes	19	17															19	17	36	
	Immigrants	186	195															186	195	381	
	Medreses																				
	Shops	314		218		130		2										674		674	
	Inns																				
	Total	1,485	1,451	2,201	1,802	787	713	31	40	0	0	1	3	0	0	67	57	4,582	4,066	8,648	
6. Beyoğlu	Homes	13,382	13,938	3,935	3,705	6,381	5,985	2,186	2,162	15	12	695	580			5,299	4,906	31,893	31,288	63,181	
	Tekkes	153	67															153	67	220	
	Immigrants	1,067	922															1,067	922	1,989	
	Medreses	11																11		11	
	Shops	5,820		4,522		3,610		404		1,019		14				322		15,711		15,711	
	Inns	27		13	3	393	4											433	7	440	
	Total	20,460	14,927	8,470	3,708	10,384	5,989	2,590	2,162	1,034	12	709	580	0	0	5,621	4,906	49,268	32,284	81,552	
7. Büyükdere	Homes	905	932	1,615	1,535	278	313	251	332			11	8			122	148	3,182	3,268	6,450	
	Tekkes																				
	Immigrants	212	194															212	194	406	
	Medreses																				
	Shops	355		658		155		26								2		1,196		1,196	
	Inns																				
	Total	1,472	1,126	2,273	1,535	433	313	277	332	0	0	11	8	0	0	124	148	4,590	3,462	8,052	127,029

continued on following page

III.3. Population of Istanbul and Its Boroughs, 1882 (continued)

District	Place of Habitation	Muslims M	Muslims F	Greeks M	Greeks F	Armenians M	Armenians F	Catholics M	Catholics F
ÜSKÜDAR (ASIAN COAST)									
8. Kanlica	Homes	2,069	2,198	1,009	1,224	308	333	15	26
	Tekkes	23	17						
	Immigrants	614	551						
	Medreses								
	Shops	623		810		67			
	Inns								
	Total	3,329	2,766	1,819	1,224	375	333	15	26
9. Üsküdar	Homes	7,795	10,691	1,950	1,923	3,236	3,345		
	Tekkes	242	200						
	Immigrants	1,674	1,903						
	Medreses	21							
	Shops	1,752		750		622			
	Inns	126		22		65			
	Total	11,610	12,794	2,722	1,923	3,923	3,345	0	0
10. Kadiköy	Homes	756	961	619	651	787	842	3	13
	Tekkes	1	2						
	Immigrants	259	279						
	Medreses								
	Shops	482		552		202			
	Inns								
	Total	1,498	1,197	1,171	651	989	842	3	13
SUMMARY									
Total in Homes		67,972	80,169	25,498	24,233	25,515	24,684	2,869	2,986
Total in *Tekkes*		1,259	869						
Total of Immigrants		15,545	14,991						
Total in *Medreses*		5,560							
Total in Shops		24,934		16,556		7,675		449	
Total in Inns		3,261	141	1,185	11	3,679	64	5	
GRAND TOTAL		118,531	96,170	43,239	24,244	36,869	24,748	3,323	2,986

III.3. Population of Istanbul and Its Boroughs, 1882 (continued)

Bulgarians M	Bulgarians F	Latins M	Latins F	Protestants M	Protestants F	Jews M	Jews F	Total M	Total F	District Totals	Summary
		3	1					3,404	3,782	7,186	
								23	17	40	
								614	551	1,165	
								1,500		1,500	
0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	5,541	4,350	9,891	
89		16	12	50	65	1,565	1,782	14,701	17,818	32,519	
								242	200	442	
						2	4	1,676	1,907	3,583	
								21		21	
				5		1		3,130		3,130	
								213		213	
89	0	16	12	55	65	1,568	1,786	19,983	19,925	39,908	
		52	37			105	131	2,322	2,635	4,957	
								1	2	3	
						5	8	264	287	551	
28		3						1,267		1,267	
28	0	55	37	0	0	110	139	3,854	2,879	6,733	56,532
151	48	809	671	120	133	12,793	12,301	135,727	145,225	280,952	
								1,259	869	2,128	
						72	72	15,617	15,063	30,680	
								5,560		5,560	
2,968		20		60		335		52,997		52,997	
128						13		8,271	216	8,487	
3,247	48	829	671	180	133	13,213	12,373	219,431	161,373	380,804	380,804

Source: IUKTY 8949

[a] The *tekkes* were religious fraternities.
[b] These were persons from abroad, presumably not included among other categories wherever they lived.
[c] Students inhabiting the religious schools.
[d] Merchants and craftsmen living at their places of business.

III.4. Population of Istanbul: Comparative Figures

Census Year	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Catholics	Protestants	Bulgarians	Latins	Jews	Total
A. Total Male Inhabitants Belonging to Various Nations									
R. 1260 (1844)	102.532	45.780	47.999	5.126				12.255	213.692
R. 1273 (1857)	112.162	58.516	45.040	5.410	329		1.417	13.222	236.096
R. 1298 (1882)	118.535	43.752	36.867	3.323	180	3.247	829	13.212	219.945
B. Native Male Inhabitants of Ottoman Citizenship and Residents									
R. 1260 (1844)	68.019	24.338	29.349	4.047				12.192	137.945
R. 1273 (1857)	69.511	27.115	27.133	4.317	231		591	13.079	141.977
R. 1298 (1882)	69.235	25.579	25.513	2.869	120	62	809	12.792	136.979
C. General Population Figures, R. 1301 (1885)									
Muslims—384.910		Non-Muslims—359.412			Foreigners—129.243			Total—873.565	

Source: BA (I)-(D)-75538.

Notes: The instruction for the 1882 census is contained in a letter from the prime minister's office; see BA (I)-(D) 65848 of 14 Teşrinievval 1296 (26 October 1880).

For the detailed list of figures for 1885, see BA, "Irade-i Seniyye-i Cenab-i Padişahi Icra Olunan Tahrir-i Sabik Yoklamasi Mucibince Dersaadet ve Bilad-i Selasede Mevcud Nüfusun Istatistik Cedvelidir" (Istanbul, 1886).

III.5. Deaths in Istanbul and the Three Boroughs from 1 December 1875 to 30 November 1876

	Muslims		Non-Muslim		Jews		
Month	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total
December	258	318	191	164	25	16	972
January	352	322	209	142	38	18	1081
February	366	396	202	144	30	29	1167
March	345	362	242	142	27	33	1151
April	273	307	198	137	28	28	971
May	249	246	186	136	32	22	871
June	204	249	183	129	32	18	815
July	266	273	219	168	29	28	983
August	233	149	158	132	43	39	754
September	213	232	161	102	53	32	793
October	184	279	188	139	57	34	881
November	264	271	212	148	46	48	989
Total	3,207	3,404	2,349	1,683	440	345	11,428

Source: Salname of 1294 (1878), p. 422.

III.6. Deaths in Istanbul from 1 December 1878 to 31 October 1879

	Muslims		Christians		Jews		
Month	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total
December	515	667	221	158	16	19	1,591
January	540	627	358	160	16	13	1,716
February	435	526	189	137	17	10	1,314
March	467	564	236	149	17	9	1,442
April	342	398	191	166	15	14	1,126
May	273	378	149	121	15	8	944
June	270	314	125	99	6	2	816
July	233	322	152	127	5	7	840
August	272	313	130	99	6	12	832
September	287	340	161	101	8	8	905
October	299	374	167	110	9	12	966
Total	3,928	4,823	2,079	1,421	132	109	12,492

Source: Salname of 1297 (1881).

STATISTICAL APPENDICES

SECTION IV

SOME DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OTTOMAN POPULATION IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

IV.1. Administrative Division of the Ottoman State, 1900 (H. 1318, R. 1316)

Principal Administrative Districts	Number of Divisions		
	Kazas	Nahiyes	Villages
1. Hicaz	5	3	13
2. Yemen	27	54	6.339
3. Basra	10	29	210
4. Bağdat	17	34	47
5. Musul	15	22	3,331
6. Halep	21	54	3.476
7. Suriye	18	13	1.072
8. Beyrut	16	43	3,057
9. Trablusgarp	17	22	—
10. Hüdavendigar	26	49	3,450
11. Konya	25	32	1,939
12. Ankara	21	19	2,765
13. Aydin	35	50	2.787
14. Adana	15	21	1.632
15. Kastamonu	18	27	4.045
16. Sivas	21	227	3.042
17. Diyarbekir	14	57	3,177
18. Bitlis	13	30	2.107
19. Erzurum	20	79	2,617
20. Mamuretülaziz	14	70	1.890
21. Van	13	9	1,594
22. Trabzon	18	24	2,738
23. Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	15	18	297
24. Girit	—	—	—
25. Edirne	33	117	1,995
26. Selanik	23	16	1,860
27. Kosova	23	16	3,211
28. Yanya	15	10	1,597
29. Işkodra	8	10	476
30. Manastir	22	24	2,003
1. Kudüs	3	2	328
2. Bingazi	4	9	—
3. Zor	4	4	149
4. Izmit	4	10	938
5. Kale-i Sultaniye	5	8	498
6. Çatalca	2	1	95
7. Cebel-i Lübnan	8	40	931
Total	568	1,253	65,706

Source: Salname of 1318.

Notes: The principal districts are mainly *vilayets*; the last seven listed are special *sancaks*; villages were not official administrative units but their number was regarded as an important statistic and therefore was included.

Egypt, Tunisia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia, and Samos, although under Ottoman suzerainity, were not included in this list.

IV.2. Population Density per km², and Density Rank, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Administrative District	Population			Density per km²	Rank
	M	F	Total		
Edirne	435,000	415,000	850,000	21.15	16
Erzurum	370,000	300,000	670,000	15.58	22
Adana	190,000	203,000	393,000	11.40	26
Ankara	430,000	445,000	875,000	11.90	25
Aydin	690,000	750,000	1,440,000	26.66	6
Işkodra	164,500	175,000	339,500	21.21	17
Izmit	105,000	110,000	215,000	24.53	11
Bağdat	395,000	405,000	800 000	4.70	33
Basra	152,000	168,000	320,000	2.44	36
Bitlis	220,000	255,000	475,000	12.83	24
Beyrut	298,000	275,000	573,000	45.47	4
Biga	58,500	65,000	123,500	23.78	13
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	130,000	138,000	268,000	47.50	2
Çatalca	29,000	33,000	62,000	24.92	10
Halep	443,000	467,000	910,000	18.75	19
Hicaz	1,700,000	2,050,000	3,750,000	3.14	34
Hüdavendigar	690,000	675,000	1,365,000	22.75	14
Dersaadet	455,000	550,000	1,005,000	7.80	30
Diyarbekir	190,000	200,000	390,000	25.00	9
Zor	97,500	89,500	187,000	14.12	23
Sivas	465,000	488,000	953,000	15.88	21
Selanik	525,000	482,000	1,007,000	74.89	1
Suriye	312,000	301,000	613,000	6.81	31
Şehremaneti Mülhakatı[a]	48,000	42,500	90,500	24.38	12
Trabzon	565,000	508,000	1,073,000	33.53	5
Kastamonu	489,000	468,000	957,000	19.93	18
Konya	470,000	482,000	952,000	10.84	28
Kosova	278,500	452,500	731,000	3.07	35
Kudüs	118,000	129,000	247,000	26.33	7
Girit	119,000	131,000	250,000	16.66	20
Musul	220,000	200,000	420,000	6.46	32
Manastir	560,000	510,000	1,070,000	46.52	3
Mamuretülaziz	212,000	293,000	505,000	25.09	8
Van	129,000	144,000	273,000	10.11	29
Yanya	249,000	278,000	527,000	21.95	15
Yemen	1,200,000	1,350,000	2,550,000	10.85	27
Total	13,202,000	14,027,500	27,229,500		

Source: IUKTY 9075.

[a] Greater Istanbul: Küçükçekmece, Gebze, Kartal, Beykoz, Şile, and Marmara Islands.

IV.3. Population Distribution, Administrative Units, and Population Density, 1899 (R. 1315)

Administrative District	Number of Divisions			Land Area (km^2)	Total Population	Density per km^2
	Sancaks	Kazas	Nahiyes			
Dersaadet				1.328	1.030.234	775.77
Edirne	6	33	117	64.356	986.446	15.32
Erzurum	3	17	68	80.368	687.322	8.55
Izmit	1	4	10	14.784	228.529	15.45
Işkodra	2	7	10	20.160	337.584	16.74
Adana	5	15	21	71.600	398.764	5.56
Ankara	5	21	18	98.416	1.018.727	10.35
Aydin	5	35	50	89.696	1.534.229	17.10
Bitlis	4	13	30	27.688	488.642	17.64
Basra	4	9	34	87.120	380.630	4.36
Bağdat	3	17	34	139.960	720.555	5.14
Bingazi	1	4	9	227.300	500.000	2.19
Beyrut	5	16	34	24.752	623.505	25.19
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	4	14	19	6.372	387.318	60.78
Cebel-i Lübnan	1	9	40	4.696	100,000	21.29
Çatalca	1	2	1	1.900	61.236	32.22
Hicaz	3	4	3	391.720	3.500.000	8.93
Halep	3	21	45	117.248	921.345	7.85
Hüdavendigar	5	24	48	91.412	1.458.079	15.95
Diyarbekir	3	14	58	64.504	564.671	8.75
Zor	1	4	4	122.096	151.260	1.23
Suriye	4	18	13	99.808	701.134	7.02
Selanik	3	23	16	47.712	1.040.218	21.80
Sivas	4	21	227	98.880	980.982	9.92
Şehremaneti Mülhakatı	—	6	3	3.300	90.034	27.28
Trablusgarp	4	16	23	330.200	800.000	2.42
Trabzon	4	18	24	37.894	1.164.827	30.73
Kudüs	1	3	2	15.136	264.317	17.46
Kastamonu	4	17	27	73.312	968.884	13.21
Kale-i Sultaniye	1	5	8	11.520	144.157	12.51
Konya	5	25	32	158.944	1.022.844	6.43
Kosova	6	21	16	44.192	954.634	16.74
Girit	5	19	50	12.800	270.000	15.62
Mamuretülaziz	3	13	70	46.000	566.656	12.31
Manastir	5	22	34	44.136	1.061.522	24.05
Musul	3	15	25	136.736	448.288	3.28
Van	2	13	103	73.000	202.007	2.76
Yanya	4	15	10	31.176	517.274	16.59
Yemen	4	27	75	260.132	5,000,000	19.22
Total	127	580	1.411	3.272.354	32.276.854	9.86

Source: IUKTY 9184.

Notes: These population figures, compiled by the Ministry of Trade and Construction, include both counted and estimated numbers. Some small errors in the original have been corrected.

The principal administrative districts listed were mainly *vilayets*; Izmit, Bingazi, Cebel-i Lübnan, Çatalca, Zor, Kudus, and Kale-i Sultaniye were special *sancaks*, while Şehremaneti Mülhakatı (Greater Istanbul), although a traditionally recognized census area, did not have its own administrative set up.

The totals of *sancaks*, *kazas*, and *nahiyes*, not provided in the original, have been included here. The overall density figure (included in the original but not of very great significance in view of the wide variations in density) has been recalculated from the corrected figures.

IV.4. Percentage of Males and Females in the Ottoman State, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Administrative District	Males	Females
Edirne	45.57	54.43
Erzurum	44.78	55.22
Adana	51.65	48.35
Ankara	50.58	49.42
Aydın	52.02	47.98
Işkodra	51.50	48.50
Izmit	51.00	49.00
Bağdat	50.00	50.00
Basra	52.50	47.50
Bitlis	53.68	46.32
Beyrut	47.97	52.03
Biga	52.00	48.00
Cezayir-i Bahr-ı Sefid	51.44	48.56
Çatalca	53.07	46.93
Halep	51.42	48.58
Hicaz	45.35	54.65
Hüdavendigar	49.46	50.54
Dersaadet	47.85	52.15
Diyarbekir	51.28	48.72
Zor	47.86	52.14
Sivas	51.03	48.97
Selanik	54.72	45.28
Suriye	49.10	50.90
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	46.90	53.10
Trabzon	52.66	47.34
Kastamonu	48.59	51.41
Konya	50.63	49.37
Kosova	61.90	38.10
Kudüs	52.23	47.77
Girit	52.40	47.60
Musul	47.62	52.38
Manastir	47.67	52.33
Mamuretülaziz	52.77	47.23
Van	53.00	47.00
Yanya	58.00	42.00
Yemen	54.67	45.33

Source: IUKTY 9075.

IV.5. Number and Percentage of Males and Females in the Ottoman State, by Age, 1894

	0–1		1–10		10–20		20–30		30–40	
Administrative District	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Edirne	27.304	30.130	36.130	37.200	61.800	73.280	64.150	80.800	66.500	83.345
Erzurum	21.250	24.150	29.851	30.300	49.400	57.824	51.650	66.950	53.625	68.400
Adana	12.650	13.100	15.500	19.600	26.002	29.712	29.710	35.012	38.329	44.180
Ankara	28.200	30.325	36.960	37.960	61.933	74.620	60.495	81.700	66.700	83.890
Aydin	49.800	51.860	51.300	56.850	89.900	91.300	99.600	122.300	128.300	131.000
İşkodra	10.985	11.500	13.800	17.960	24.899	28.300	25.445	30.150	32.986	40.119
İzmit	6.960	7.850	9.979	11.900	12.861	16.989	23.760	28.975	20.480	28.670
Bağdat	24.300	26.500	31.860	32.900	52.852	61.991	60.965	75.612	62.120	78.875
Basra	9.870	10.300	10.300	13.250	20.300	22.660	25.820	30.260	32.769	41.230
Bitlis	15.600	18.960	18.915	20.750	29.120	35.890	36.700	43.410	43.695	53.600
Beyrut	18.300	20.761	21.100	23.800	33.100	41.300	44.120	51.258	51.991	60.720
Biga	2.265	3.820	5.785	7.980	7.881	9.980	12.100	18.660	14.180	20.260
Ceyzayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	7.600	8.300	24.980	13.710	13.275	18.860	26.165	34.221	25.280	33.360
Çatalca	1.400	2.000	2.260	2.500	3.165	4.200	5.995	7.400	6.917	8.620
Halep	29.300	31.210	38.295	39.165	64.135	76.820	63.135	85.100	69.700	87.865
Hicaz	83.920	87.940	86.600	94.800	184.700	186.400	248.500	314.700	249.900	266.300
Hüdavendigar	58.600	61.171	65.280	67.750	85.260	98.860	94.310	108.790	94.960	111.600
Dersaadet	37.370	39.860	44.890	46.260	65.160	79.780	70.350	87.250	74.680	88.320
Diyarbekir	11.890	13.700	13.300	16.500	23.700	26.650	30.800	36.000	38.850	45.670
Zor	6.350	7.880	8.990	10.970	10.300	13.450	17.950	24.400	19.385	26.780
Sivas	32.100	34.400	39.750	41.800	67.900	79.810	69.200	88.200	71.431	90.050
Selanik	37.180	39.600	44.085	46.530	65.260	79.800	71.310	88.950	74.921	89.700
Suriye	18.700	21.200	25.100	27.750	45.800	51.125	47.860	60.270	49.009	59.780
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	2.680	3.200	4.430	4.920	5.970	6.700	7.985	9.820	8.960	10.870
Trabzon	39.865	42.450	47.075	49.760	69.800	82.300	77.600	92.160	78.760	93.850
Kastamonu	32.760	34.900	40.300	42.100	67.700	80.600	69.180	88.860	71.100	90.200
Konya	32.260	33.980	40.550	42.510	67.560	79.800	68.700	87.750	70.660	89.800
Kosova	21.860	25.350	30.600	32.500	51.680	58.670	54.860	68.700	55.160	70.330
Kudüs	7.390	8.480	23.285	12.860	12.789	17.630	24.780	32.660	23.820	31.870
Girit	9.820	10.940	25.960	14.660	16.789	21.930	17.200	36.810	21.300	28.700
Musul	12.500	15.660	15.330	17.780	27.650	32.385	31.800	39.910	39.060	49.600
Manastir	39.960	41.800	47.180	49.420	68.490	83.100	77.800	90.600	80.870	92.800
Mamuretülaziz	14.100	16.730	17.985	19.860	29.830	37.610	38.700	46.990	46.600	56.300
Van	7.100	7.800	25.480	14.210	13.775	19.360	26.415	34.721	25.530	33.610
Yanya	14.300	16.810	17.760	19.200	29.780	37.820	39.160	47.210	46.300	57.700
Yemen	81.400	89.861	99.320	97.280	163.910	184.600	175.600	193.720	194.780	226.300
Total	867.289	944.478	1.110.265	1.135.245	1.724.426	2.002.106	1.989.870	2.470.279	2.149.608	2.574.264
Percentage	3.322	3.618	4.253	4.349	6.605	7.669	7.622	9.462	8.234	9.861

Source: IUKTY 9075.

IV.5. Males and Females in the Ottoman State, by Age, 1894 (continued)

	40–50		50–60		60–70		70–80		80–90		90 and older		
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	Total
	59.850	72.900	42.347	49.650	25.400	33.700	8.750	12.500	1.300	2.010	400	303	
	47.750	58.875	34.450	39.961	19.850	27.850	7.060	8.150	1.095	1.600	304	270	
	26.318	31.965	16.223	17.993	8.969	13.861	3.100	3.895	465	765	154	143	
	60.960	73.200	42.460	49.720	25.857	32.960	7.950	11.890	820	1.620	398	306	
	112.450	130.500	67.850	75.855	32.821	56.702	32.670	36.860	2.913	3.315	514	342	
	20.969	25.821	13.991	15.103	8.300	10.001	2.865	2.950	412	695	136	113	
	10.985	14.700	3.680	5.960	2.700	3.480	1.320	1.760	311	435	115	95	
	55.300	68.600	41.196	46.989	24.110	32.600	7.860	11.600	1.250	1.920	328	274	
	22.100	27.300	13.190	15.860	6.890	11.365	2.960	2.960	310	579	113	99	
	31.680	37.785	22.220	27.600	14.360	18.200	4.950	7.399	820	1.050	124	172	
	37.960	44.300	27.120	33.300	26.200	21.400	5.423	8.210	950	1.330	147	205	
	8.260	9.760	1.961	2.870	1.669	1.850	702	960	197	223	63	74	
	13.465	17.100	4.415	6.937	2.943	3.865	1.530	2.085	372	511	138	114	
	3.400	4.300	2.390	3.165	965	1.920	334	521	199	211	73	65	
	62.811	75.429	43.750	51.120	26.558	33.835	8.165	12.185	844	1.661	405	312	
	166.000	246.600	80.100	97.200	51.334	69.749	37.620	40.100	3.110	4.300	52	445	
	81.500	101.350	69.760	77.200	55.700	61.490	39.780	43.650	1.950	3.800	327	420	
	25.050	78.960	49.250	58.980	34.570	41.100	19.890	21.110	1.507	2.387	205	293	
	26.770	31.100	15.800	18.700	10.600	12.200	3.060	3.210	485	722	131	163	
	10.100	13.970	3.750	4.230	2.133	2.550	990	1.195	240	325	80	82	
	65.100	77.500	47.650	55.260	28.750	36.400	10.210	14.100	935	1.720	408	326	
	61.100	79.140	79.760	58.320	33.750	41.490	18.900	21.100	1.760	2.810	305	329	
	41.875	53.360	30.820	36.706	17.880	22.851	5.180	6.250	780	970	204	176	
	4.900	5.900	4.035	4.880	1.355	2.190	450	701	221	280	81	75	
	65.760	83.940	53.700	62.120	35.960	45.300	21.130	26.600	1.990	3.079	321	385	
	65.085	77.160	47.240	55.300	29.130	37.073	11.090	15.100	886	1.630	320	296	
	65.120	76.690	46.600	55.400	28.881	37.050	10.700	15.120	760	1.585	298	246	
	48.890	60.180	37.655	40.700	21.860	29.410	7.830	9.161	1.260	1.730	304	310	
	12.690	16.800	5.160	7.720	2.375	3.730	668	1.720	160	210	103	100	
	11.680	13.100	4.283	5.930	2.980	4.250	865	2.043	261	338	76	85	
	27.910	22.800	19.172	23.770	11.430	14.300	2.990	4.154	680	960	83	116	
	67.725	83.327	51.600	61.200	36.700	45.900	20.760	24.150	2.670	3.180	326	442	
	33.900	39.610	24.000	29.318	22.470	18.100	4.360	6.750	610	950	102	153	
	13.665	17.550	4.615	7.137	3.143	4.065	1.630	2.185	392	537	158	134	
	35.200	38.400	24.160	29.400	22.100	18.200	4.436	6.810	861	1.120	105	168	
	186.280	224.450	159.350	175.249	92.300	96.400	64.400	67.860	4.810	5.700	439	485	
	1.690.558	2.134.422	1.235.703	1.406.803	772.993	947.387	382.578	456.994	38.586	56.258	7.840	8.116	26.106.068
	6.475	8.176	4.734	5.389	2.961	3.629	1.465	1.750	.1478	.2155	.03	.031	100%

IV.6. Number and Percentage of Persons above the Age of Ten Engaged in Gainful Employment, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Administrative District	Number	Rank	Percentage	Rank
Edirne	435,000	11	51.17	17
Erzurum	285,000	19	42.53	33
Adana	167,000	27	42.48	34
Ankara	398,000	14	45.49	28
Aydin	855,000	5	61.46	9
Işkodra	210,000	23	61.85	7
Izmit	110,000	32	51.16	18
Bağdat	368,000	15	46.00	27
Basra	180,000	26	56.25	12
Bitlis	197,000	24	41.49	35
Beyrut	288,000	17	50.26	21
Biga	78,000	34	70.40	4
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	135,000	29	50.37	20
Çatalca	33,800	36	54.51	13
Halep	486,000	9	53.40	14
Hicaz	1,910,000	1	50.90	19
Hüdavendıgar	850,000	6	62.29	5
Dersaadet	830,000	7	86.60	1
Diyarbekir	195,000	25	50.00	23
Zor	97,800	33	52.29	16
Sivas	410,000	13	43.02	32
Selanik	785,000	8	77.95	3
Suriye	286,000	18	46.65	25
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	65,000	35	61.87	6
Trabzon	875,000	3	61.55	8
Kastamonu	440,000	10	46.00	26
Konya	414,000	12	43.49	31
Kosova	325,000	16	44.46	30
Kudüs	139,000	28	56.27	11
Girit	119,000	31	50.00	22
Musul	258,000	21	61.42	10
Manastir	869,000	4	81.61	2
Mamuretülaziz	225,000	22	44.45	29
Van	130,000	30	47.61	24
Yanya	279,000	20	53.00	15
Yemen	1,008,000	2	40.00	36

Source: IUKTY 9075.

IV.7. Number and Percentage of Persons Employed in Trade and Industry (Crafts), 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Administrative District	Number Employed	Rank	Employment Percentage	Rank
Edirne	286,100	11	33.65	10
Erzurum	167,300	19	24.99	32
Adana	91,230	27	23.44	33
Ankara	278,000	12	31.65	14
Aydin	482,000	6	33.47	11
Işkodra	110,500	23	32.54	13
Izmit	61,300	32	28.51	23
Bağdat	225,000	15	28.12	24
Basra	94,960	26	29.67	19
Bitlis	10,100	24	21.26	35
Beyrut	172,200	17	30.05	17
Biga	43,650	34	35.34	9
Cezayiribahrisefit	71,200	29	26.56	28
Çatalca	19,200	36	30.99	16
Halep	301,350	9	33.11	12
Hicaz	1,525,000	1	40.66	6
Hüdavendigar	486,000	5	35.61	8
Dersaadet	437,000	8	43.49	4
Diyarbekir	98,990	25	25.38	30
Zor	53,700	33	28.71	21
Sivas	263,000	14	27.62	27
Selanik	441,000	7	43.49	3
Suriye	169,800	18	27.70	26
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	38,500	35	42.54	5
Trabzon	577,000	2	53.77	1
Kastamonu	287,200	10	30.01	18
Konya	264,500	13	27.78	25
Kosova	213,400	16	29.19	20
Kudüs	76,750	28	31.07	15
Girit	65,800	31	26.32	29
Musul	151,000	21	35.95	7
Manastir	560,500	3	52.39	2
Mamuretülaziz	117,000	22	23.16	39
Van	67,800	30	25.09	31
Yanya	152,000	20	28.84	22
Yemen	550,000	4	21.18	36

Source: IUKTY 9075.

Note: Attached to this table is a list of 117 occupations; of these, the grocers were the most numerous (237,000), followed by millers and mill workers (199,300), coffee shop operators (175,000), and candle- and soapmakers (123,790). The lowest numbers of workers were in meat and fruit wholesaling (2,100) and lottery ticket selling (2,760).

IV.8. Number and Percentage of Persons in Occupations Other Than Trade and Agriculture, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Administrative District	Number	Rank	Percentage	Rank
Edirne	94,600	15	11.12	29
Erzurum	86,300	16	12.80	25
Adana	55,170	27	14.03	20
Ankara	89,300	19	09.29	35
Aydin	276,500	3	19.20	8
Işkodra	74,500	22	22.53	4
Izmit	31,000	33	14.42	18
Bağdat	106,100	10	13.26	23
Basra	60,040	26	18.76	10
Bitlis	68,700	25	12.36	27
Beyrut	83,700	18	14.60	17
Biga	30,350	34	24.58	3
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	44,600	28	12.75	26
Çatalca	9,200	36	14.83	16
Halep	124,950	9	13.73	22
Hicaz	295,000	2	08.40	36
Hüdavendigar	269,800	4	19.79	5
Dersaadet	285,000	1	38.30	1
Diyarbekir	70,210	24	18.00	13
Zor	33,100	32	12.26	28
Sivas	95,700	14	10.04	32
Selanik	256,000	5	25.42	2
Suriye	84,300	17	13.75	21
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	17,500	35	19.33	7
Trabzon	198,900	8	18.53	11
Kastamonu	97,800	12	10.21	30
Konya	96,100	13	10.09	31
Kosova	70,600	23	09.65	33
Kudüs	42,250	30	13.05	24
Girit	35,700	31	14.28	19
Musul	77,600	21	18.47	12
Manastir	209,900	7	19.61	6
Mamuretülaziz	79,100	20	15.66	15
Van	43,500	29	15.93	14
Yanya	99,400	11	18.86	9
Yemen	240,000	6	09.31	34

Source: IUKTY 9075.

Note: The source title for this table indicates that it gives data about "professionals"—i.e., persons involved in *ulum ve funun*, a phrase that translates as "arts and sciences." In fact, the phrase was used to describe a variety of occupations including, as well as intellectual work, menial jobs in businesses and factory work. Therefore, a more accurately descriptive title has been substituted.

IV.9. List of Occupations in the Istanbul City and the Three Boroughs in 1878 (R. 1294)

Abacı: maker and seller of coarse woolen cloth or garments
Afyoncu: opium seller
Altın varakcısı: maker of gold leaf
Arabacı: (1) carrier with a cart; (2) cartwright
Arpacı: barley seller
Arzuhalci: petition and letter writer
Aşçı ve kebapcı: cook and seller of roast meat
Astarcı: maker and seller of linings for clothing
At mihçısı: blacksmith
Attar: (1) druggist; (2) (*Aktar*): herbalist, dealer in small wares
Aynacı: maker and seller of looking glasses, mirrors
Ayvaz: footman

Bağcı: grape grower
Bağçıvan: gardener
Bakır kavafi: maker of (ordinary) copper utensils
Bakır kazancı: coppersmith
Bakkal: grocer
Balikağı iplikçisi: maker and seller of fishnets
Balmumcu: maker and seller of wax (beeswax products)
Basmacı: maker and seller of calico
Basmacı ressamı: calico designer
Bastırmacı: maker and seller of *pastırma* (pressed meat cured with garlic and other spices—pastrami)
Bat pazarcı (*bit pazarcı*): dealer in secondhand goods
Berber: barber
Bezır yağcı: maker and seller of linseed oil
Bıçak yapicisi: knifemaker
Bıçakçı: knife seller
Bıçkı talaşçısı: sawdust seller
Bohçacı: woman peddler of female garments, linens, etc.
Boncuk hurdacisi: dealer in secondhand beads
Boyacı: (1) dyer, painter; (2) dealer in paints
Bozacı ve salepcı: maker and seller of *boza* and *salep* (hot drinks made, respectively, of millet and of the root of *salep*, a type of orchid)
Buğday doğücü: wheat cracker
Burgucu: maker and seller of screws
Bürümcek bükücüsü: spinner of silk

Çadırcı: tentmaker
Çalgıcı: musician
Çalı süpürgecisi: maker and seller of besoms (brooms)
Çamaşırcı: washer of clothes and linens
Cambaz: acrobat
Camcı: glazier
Çerçi: peddler
Çilingir: locksmith
Çiriş tüccarı: powdered-asphodel-root merchant
Çizmeci: bootmaker
Çömlekçi: potter
Çöpcü: scavenger, sweeper, or garbage collector
Çorapçı: maker and seller of stockings
Çorekçi ve simitçi: maker and seller of buns and *simit* (ring-shaped bread rolls)
Çuhacı: draper
Çuval meremetcisi: sack mender

Debbağ: tanner
Dellal komisyoncu: auctioneer, broker
Derzi (*Terzi*): tailor
Destereci: : handsaw maker
Destgah yapicisi: loom maker
Devatçi: maker and seller of pen cases
Doğramacı: carpenter
Dugmeci: button maker and seller
Düharçi: tobacconist
Dülbentci: muslin maker
Duvarcı: stonemason

Eğerci: saddlemaker
Ekmekçı: bread seller
Ekser kesicisi: spike maker
Elekçi: sieve maker
Entiyeci: maker or seller of snuff
Eskici kavaf: seller of second-hand shoes

Fenerci: lamplighter or maker of lamps
Fes ve püskülcü: maker of fezes and tassels
Fiçici: copper
Findik kestane kebapcisi: nut and chestnut seller
Firça yapici: brush maker
Fodlacı: baker of bread distributed in the soup-kitchens

Girit tüccarı: merchants from Crete or sellers of Cretan goods
Gümüş ayarcisi: silver appraiser

Hattat: maker of simple shoes (and other unpretentious things)
Hakkak: engraver
Hallac: cotton fluffer
Hamal (*beygir*): carrier with a packhorse
Hamal (*sirt*): porter
Hamam yapici: bath builder
Hamamcı: public bath keeper
Hancı: innkeeper
Hasır iskemlecisi: maker and seller of wicker chairs
Hasır supürgeci: broom maker
Hasırcı: maker and seller of mats
Havyarcı: caviar seller
Hayalbaz: shadow (*karogoz*) theater player
Helvacı: maker and seller of *halva*
Hokkabaz: clown
Horasancı: mortar maker

Iğneci: maker and seller of needles
Imameci: maker and seller of amber mouthpieces for pipes
Ip bükücüsü: thread spinner
Ip kavafi: string maker
Iskembe çorbacisi: maker of tripe soup

Kadayıfçı: maker and seller of *kadayif* (shredded dough used in sweets)
Kafesçi: (1) maker and seller of cages or latticework
Kağıtçı: paper dealer
Kahve değirmencisi: coffee mill maker
Kahve dovucü: grinder of coffee
Kalaycı: tinsmith, tinker
Kaldırımcı: paver of sidewalks
Kalemkar: gold or silver engraver; painter of designs on muslin
Kalemtiraşçı: maker and seller of penknives
Kalkancı: maker and seller of shields
Kamiş sandal yapicisi: maker of bamboo rowboats
Kantar yapici: maker and seller of steelyards (balances for weighing)
Kasap: butcher
Kaşikçi ve tarakçı: maker of spoons and combs
Kayik yapici: boat-builder
Kayik yedekçisi: tower of boats
Kayikçi: boatman
Kazaz: silk manufacturer
Keçe tüccarı: felt merchant
Kepekçi: bran seller
Keresteci: lumber seller
Keserci: adze maker
Kileci: maker of bushel measures
Kilim lüccarı: dealer in *kilims* (flat-weave rugs, woven matting)
Kirec yakici: lime burner
Kirişçi: maker or seller of catgut
Kirmizi kuşak tuccarı: red belt merchant
Kirmizi sahtiyan hatfafi: dealer in secondhand red Morocco leather
Kitapçi: bookseller
Koltukçu: maker and seller of armchairs
Konak aşçisi: cook in mansions
Köselci: stout-leather seller
Kumaş tuccarı: dealer in cloth
Kundura boyacisi: shoe polisherş
Kundura ve yemenici: shoemaker (usually of men's shoes)

IV.9. Occupations in Istanbul, 1878 (continued)

Kurabiyeci: maker and seller of cakes
Kürekçi: maker and seller of oars or shovels
Kürkçü: furrier
Kurşuncu: (1) maker of bullets; (2) dealer in lead
Kuru yemişçi: seller of nuts and dried fruits
Kutu yapici: box maker
Kuyumcu: jeweler

Lağımcı: sewerman
Lahur şalcı: dealer in Lahore shawls
Leblebici: maker and seller of roasted chickpeas
Limoncu: lemon seller
Lüleci: maker and seller of pipe bowls

Mahfazaci: jewelry case maker and seller
Manav: fruit and vegetable seller
Manifaturaci: cloth seller
Marangoz: carpenter
Mesf dikici: shoemaker
Meykedeci: tavern keeper
Midillici: one who rents ponies
Misir tüccarı: (corn) merchant
Misk yağcı: musk-oil maker and seller
Moloz ve keresteci: seller of construction materials (earth and lumber)
Mücellit: bookbinder
Muhaleblci: maker and seller of milk dishes
Mumcu: candlemaker
Mürekkepçi: maker and seller of ink
Muytap: maker of hair rope and bags

Nakkaş: carver, engraver, artist
Nalbant: blacksmith
Nalbur: hardware dealer
Nalçacı: maker and seller of iron tips for boots
Nalinci: clog maker
Nişastaci: maker and seller of starch
Nohutçu: chickpea seller

Örücü: weaver/mender
Otcu: herb (hay) seller
Oymaci: engraver
Oyuncakçi: maker and seller of toys

Pabuç dikici: cobbler
Paçaci: seller of tripe
Paçavra toplayicisi: rag gatherer
Pekmezci: seller of grape molasses
Penbe iplik kolancisi: maker and seller of cotton belts
Penbezar çulhaci: maker and seller of looms for weaving cotton
Peştahtaci: maker and seller of small shop counters
Peştemalci: bath towel maker and seller
Pirinççi: brass maker

Rençber: day laborer (farm hand)
Rendeci: maker and seller of graters

Saatçi: watchmaker, repairer or seller of watches
Sabuncu: maker and seller of soap
Sahaf: dealer in second-hand books
Sahtiyan perdahçı: Morocco leather polisher
Sahtiyan tüccarı: Morocco leather merchant
Saka: water carrier
Samanci: straw (fodder?) seller
Sandalya yapicisi: maker and seller of chairs
Sandikçi: maker and seller of boxes, chests, etc.
Saraç: saddler, leather worker
Sarikçi: maker and seller of turbans
Sebilci: man who distributes free water
Sebzeci: vegetable seller
Şekerci: candy seller
Semerci: packsaddle maker
Şemsiyeci: maker and seller of umbrellas
Sepetçi: maker and seller of baskets
Seyis: groom
Simkeş: drawer of gold or silver wire
Simsar: broker
Sirma işlemecisi: embroiderer in gold or silver
Sivaci: plasterer
Sof tüccarı: mohair merchant
Soğanci: onion seller
Sucu: water seller
Sülükcü: leech fisher, leech seller

Taşçı: stonemason, quarryman
Tavukçu: raiser or seller of chickens
Taze balikçi: fresh fish peddler
Tekne hamurcu: dough kneader
Tekne yapicisi: maker of troughs
Terazi kolu yapicisi: maker of arms of balances
Terlikçi: maker and seller of slippers
Tig biçakci: maker and seller of bodkins
Timurcu: ironmonger
Tuccar komisyoncusu: agent of a merchant
Tuğlaci: maker and seller of bricks
Tuhafçi: seller of clothing accessories
Tulumba yapici: pump maker
Tuzcu: salt seller

Usturaci: razor seller
Ütücü: ironer (maker of irons)

Yağ tüccarı: oil merchant
Yağli boyaci: oil paint seller
Yağlikçi: handkerchief seller
Yapagci: wool merchant
Yaymaci: azaar peddler (seller of goods laid out on the ground)
Yazmaci: maker of or dealer in hand-painted kerchiefs
Yemenici: (1) maker or seller of peasant shoes; (2) handkerchief maker or seller
Yoğurtçu: maker and seller of yogurt
Yorganci: quilt maker

Zahireci: keeper of a store of grain or provisions
Zeytin yağcisi: olive oil seller.

Source: Salname of 1294, pp. 418–20.

Notes: This list is specifically of trades, crafts, and other occupations headed by *kethuda*; thus they are occupations that had official recognition, as the *kethuda* were guild chiefs who served as intermediaries between the guild members and the government. The term originally applied to individuals who performed administrative tasks for high government officials or wealthy citizens, but it came to apply to elected guild chiefs when the guild system was reformed in the nineteenth century. During the reign of Abdulhamid, some *kethuda* were high officials appointed to these posts. (The post was abolished in 1912 under the "Young Turks" government and re-established in 1915 under the name *katib-i mesul*—"responsible secretary"—for the purpose of giving the government control over the crafts and trades and providing patronage jobs).

The original list follows the order of the Arabic alphabet. I have rearranged it in Latin alphabetical order. The English translations are more or less free, depending upon whether the term has a modern equivalent.

IV.10. Professions in the Ottoman State, by Number of Practitioners, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Professional Titles	English Translations	Number of Practitioners	Professional Titles	English Translations	Number of Practitioners
Ulema ve Talebeler[a]	Religious scholars	395.000	*Eczacilar*	Pharmacists	7.210
Hükümet Katipleri	Government secretaries	353.000	*Şirket Katip ve Muhasipleri*[f]	Corporation secretaries and cashiers	6.520
Imams, Müezzins ve Hafiz[b]	Prayer leaders, callers to prayer, Koran reciters	188.000	*Ebeler*	Midwives	6.500
Amele[c]	Factory workers	186.000	*Otel, Lokanta ve Magaza Katipleri*	Secretaries of hotels, restaurants, and shops	5.875
Hükümet Memurlari[d]	Government officials	185.000	*Kimyagerler*	Chemists	5.860
Mimarlar	Architects	93.800	*Mühendisler*	Engineers	5.850
Cami Hademeleri[e]	Service personnel in mosques	91.700	*Cerrahlar*	Surgeons	5.800
Muallimler ve Ulum Erbabi[f]	Teachers and scientists	87.000	*Litografcilar*	Lithographers	5.600
Nakkaslar	Interior decorators	66.000	*Ressamlar*	Painters	5.300
Ev Hizmetkarlari	Maids	55.000	*Madenciler*	Miners	5.000
Berberler	Barbers	49.000	*Kapici ve Hademeler*	Doorkeepers and servants	4.600
Mezarciler ve Kuyucular[g]	Cemetery personnel	31.000	*Demiryollarinda Mustahdem Katipler*	Railroad officials (secretaries)	4.500
Otel ve Likanta iscileri	Hotel and restaurant workers	28.700	*Umumi Ahir Isletenter*	General stable keepers	4.200
Banka Katipleri	Bank secretaries	23.400	*Sigorta Kumpanyalarinin Katipleri*	Secretaries of insurance companies	3.800
Hastahane Hizmet-karlari	Hospital workers	19.600	*Muzikaci ve Muallimler*	Musicians and teachers	3.250
Kilim ve seccade yapanlar	Rug and carpet makers	18.410	*Tellallar*	Auctioneers	3.200
Reji Katipleri	Concession secretaries	16.200	*Aktör ve Akterisler*	Actors and actresses	3.100
Avcilar	Hunters	15.200	*Müellifler ve Muharrirler*	Authors and writers	3.000
Tabipler	Doctors	14.000	*Makinistler*	Machinists	2.300
Taş ve saire Üzerine Oyma yapanlar	Stone carvers	13.750	*Bilardo Salonu Işletenler*	Billiards parlor operators	2.200
Otelciler ve Hancilar	Hotel and inn keepers	12.780	*Kitap ve Harita Neşredenler*	Book and map publishers	2.100
Kitapcilar ve Hatizi Kütüpler[h]	Book dealers and library guards	12.310	*Hokkabazlar*	Magicians	1.420
Fabrika Katipleri	Factory administrators	12.300	*Meddahlar ve Hayalcilar, Kargözculer*[i]	Storytellers, magicians, and puppeteers	1.400
Hükümet Daireleri Hademeleri	Service personnel in government offices	11.900	*Fotografcilar*	Photographers	950
Avukatlar	Lawyers	10.300	*Dişçiler*	Dentists	760
Kilise Hademeleri	Service personnel in churches	9.800	*Gazete ve Mecumua satanlar*	Newspaper and magazine sellers	750
Banka Memurlari	Bank officials	9.760	*Muhbir ve muhabirler*	Newspaper correspondents	550
Kethüdalar	Guild heads	9.700	*Köprü Memurlari ile Iskelelerde Para Alanlar*	Toll collectors at bridges and ports	310
Baytarlar	Veterinaries	9.650	*Gazeteciler*	Journalists	260
Çamaşircilar	Launderers	8.900			
Posta ve Telgraf Müvezzileri	Mail and telegram deliverers	8.590			
Seyisler	Horse caretakers	8.050			

Source: IUKTY 9075.

[a] The *ulema* were the top rank of the religious professions.
[b] These were Muslim religious clerks.
[c] The current term for factory worker is *işçi*.
[d] These were probably lower ranking officials. The Ottoman bureaucracy made a distinction between *memur*, i.e., an official in charge, and *katib*, a secretary who had only limited authority.
[e] These were the cleaners of the mosques. *Hademe*, the term used in the source, refers to individuals performing menial tasks who are paid from a budget or employed by an institution (the term is still in use).
[f] These were teachers in modern schools.
[g] The original also refers specifically to grave diggers.
[h] Particularly noted as dealing in religious books as well as other types.
[i] These were mainly employees of European corporations.
[j] These were the traditional entertainers.

IV.11. Distribution of Schools in the Ottoman State, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

A. By Administrative District

	Number	Rank
Edirne	550	3
Erzurum	300	17
Adana	240	23
Ankara	420	7
Aydin	600	2
Işkodra	172	28
Izmit	130	32
Bağdat	310	16
Basra	220	26
Bitlis	245	22
Beyrut	265	20
Biga	121	33
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	175	27
Çatalca	95	36
Halep	440	6
Hicaz	250	21
Hüdavendigar	540	4
Dersaadet	850	1
Diyarbekir	228	24
Zor	115	34
Sivas	310	15
Selanik	445	5
Suriye	320	14
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	112	35
Trabzon	413	8
Kastamonu	331	12
Konya	330	13
Kosova	360	11
Kudüs	170	29
Girit	145	31
Musul	285	18
Manastir	390	9
Manuretülaziz	278	19
Van	155	30
Yanya	225	25
Yemen	380	10
Total	10,915	

B. By Type of School

	Number
Community schools (elementary)	3,970
State schools (elementary)	2,380
Ruşdiye (high schools)	3,859
Foreign schools	644
Midlevel schools	41
Science schools	9
Higher-level institutions	7
Industrial schools	3
Schools for the blind and deaf	2
Total	10,915
Schools for girls	1,960
Schools for boys	8,955
Total	10,915

Source: IUKTY 9075.

Notes: Community schools were those administered by private citizens; the Education Ministry was in charge of the state elementary schools and probably also of all the other types except the foreign schools.

Included in the source along with the statistics about numbers and types of schools in 1894 95 is the information that the total in 1884 (1300) had been only 7,980 schools of all types. Thus there had been an increase of 2,935 in 10 years.

The Ottoman educational system consisted prior to 1908 of four levels: beginning (*iptidai*), mid-level (*ruşdi*), mid-upper (*idadi*), and superior (*ali*). The *ruşdi* schools established in 1838, however, were actually at the elementary level, for the traditional elementary schools (*sibyan*) were of such inferior quality that the material had to be retaught at the supposedly higher level. Later on, the *ruşdiye* became the equivalent of high schools, as the Ottoman educational system came to consist of only three levels: elementary, intermediate, and superior.

IV.12. Pupils Attending Schools, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Administrative District	Number: Girls	Number: Boys	Rank	Percentage	Rank
Edirne	3.500	63,000	9	7.40	8
Erzurum	2,900	52,500	13	7.83	3
Adana	2.155	41.200	18	5.39	22
Ankara	3.650	67,400	7	7.17	5
Aydin	9.600	89,000	3	6.08	16
Işkodra	3,670	38,900	22	5.09	24
Izmit	950	30,200	26	7.04	11
Bağdat	7.200	59,750	11	7.60	6
Basra	1,100	33,100	25	5.04	25
Bitlis	1.865	37,250	23	7.42	7
Beyrut	2,100	42,300	17	5.95	18
Biga	970	8.150	32	6.59	14
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	1.860	34,120	24	6.47	15
Çatalca	520	3.100	36	5.00	27
Halep	4,150	65,850	8	7.23	19
Hicaz	7,600	97,200	2	2.59	36
Hüdavendigar	9.200	80,150	4	5.78	19
Dersaadet	10,100	98,750	1	9.82	1
Diyarbekir	1.250	27,200	28	6.96	13
Zor	860	6,450	33	4.16	31
Sivas	9,980	39,500	20	4.14	32
Selanik	8,000	60,130	10	5.97	17
Suriye	2,360	48,700	14	7.94	2
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	820	4,500	35	4.97	28
Trabzon	7,850	57,800	12	5.40	21
Kastamonu	3,670	38,900	21	4.06	33
Konya	3,320	42,700	16	4.48	29
Kosova	2,150	39,800	19	5.45	20
Kudüs	1,050	12,000	31	5.00	26
Girit	1.840	17,500	30	7.00	12
Musul	1,630	17,600	29	4.19	30
Manastir	7.160	73,100	5	7.22	10
Mamuretülaziz	2,860	43,200	15	7.79	4
Van	1,120	5,200	34	3.00	34
Yanya	950	30,200	27	5.19	23
Yemen	5,200	70,600	6	2.98	35
Total	135,160	1,577,000			

Source: IUKTY 9075.

IV.13. Schools and Pupils in Tuna Province, 1874 (H. 1291)

Administrative District	Muslim Pupils: No. of Schools	Muslim Pupils: Girls	Muslim Pupils: Boys	Non-Muslim Pupils: No. of Schools	Non-Muslim Pupils: Girls	Non-Muslim Pupils: Boys
Rusçuk	143	736	1,365	92	861	1,678
Silistre	181	1,135	2,088	40	331	912
Şumnu	86	850	1,896	22	258	346
Yenipazar (N)	19	120	300	10	28	164
Hezargrad	166	1,472	2,823	36	561	1,312
Zişţovi	53	171	816	39	141	713
Niğbolu	38	765	1,154	68	893	2,044
Pilevne	35	896	1,604	23	434	652
Cumaiatik	38	762	1,491	18	113	704
Tutrakan	43	363	579	16	127	579
Vidin	24	215	524	64	457	883
Adakale (N)	—	—	—	—	—	—
Berkofça	17	118	318	16	100	439
Lom	21	235	543	25	40	747
Rahova	21	34	546	37	32	818
Adliye	—	—	413	—	—	385
Ivraca	10	150	175	27	90	1,795
Belgratçik	26	90	528	22	86	686
Sofya	20	157	679	25	292	987
Köstendil	21	112	616	21	162	629
Samakov	10	66	274	10	111	493
Dupniçe	13	—	715	5	—	270
Orhaniye	24	16	140	12	107	240
Radomir	43	14	831	7	16	121
Izladi	10	423	755	16	440	269
Cuma	6	15	148	6	78	151
Tirnova	144	653	3,959	89	150	4,241
Elne (N)	—	—	—	12	84	745
Dranova (N)	2	17	25	19	60	303
Travena (N)	—	—	—	6	78	253
Bebreve (N)	121	721	1,510	10	150	483
Rahotça (N)	2	25	30	20	174	836
Lofça	63	563	1,191	13	30	395
Toyran	—	—	—	8	30	240
Osmanpazari	206	1,389	2,430	8	66	177
Kazgan (Kazan) (N)	—	—	—	8	270	450
Gabrova	—	—	—	19	458	1,145
Selvi	53	496	885	21	87	646
Tulça, Sünne, Babadağı, Maçin, Hirsova, Mecidiye, Köstence	(Lists not received)					
Varna	63	337	11,120	25	395	889
Pazarcik	120	1,417	1,728	16	155	590
Kozluca (N)	4	75	76	1	5	45
Balçik	91	245	1,358	—	—	—
Pravadi	85	1,105	1,624	27	105	138
Mankalya	70	—	1,462	—	—	—
Total	2,092	15,958	48,719	959	8,055	29,593

Source: Tuna Vilayet Salname of 1291.

IV.14. Expenditures for Teachers and Other Educational Personnel, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

A. By District

Administrative District	Amount Spent (in *kuruş*)	Rank
Edirne	32,300	9
Erzurum	30,250	10
Adana	27,100	14
Ankara	20,200	24
Aydin	36,200	4
Işkodra	24,400	18
Izmit	13,000	33
Bağdat	22,000	22
Basra	24,000	19
Bitlis	18,600	27
Beyrut	33,000	7
Biga	15,200	31
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	22,500	21
Çatalca	7,800	35
Halep	22,980	20
Hicaz	19,500	26
Hüdavendigar	39,100	2
Dersaadet	1,700,000	1
Diyarbekir	26,700	16
Zor	17,400	30
Sivas	33,200	6
Selanik	37,200	3
Suriye	32,600	8
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	7,400	36
Trabzon	35,600	5
Kastamonu	29,600	11
Konya	27,300	13
Kosova	26,900	15
Kudüs	16,600	29
Girit	22,000	23
Musul	13,600	32
Manastir	27,800	12
Mamuretülaziz	17,310	28
Van	11,000	34
Yanya	25,000	17
Yemen	19,750	25
Total	2,535,090	

B. By Type of Personnel

	Amount Spent (in *kuruş*)
Teachers	
Arabic and Persian	162,600
Language (Turkish)	121,500
Mathematics	119,700
Science	105,660
History	95,800
Natural Science	88,500
Directors	77,500
Janitors and others	76,900
Total	848,160

Source: IUKTY 9075.

Note: The total of the expenditures listed in part B of this table is less than the total of the district-by-district expenditures in part A; presumably the discrepancy occurs because only the major salary expense categories were listed in part B.

IV.15. Illiteracy in the Ottoman State, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Administrative District	Number of Illiterates	Rank	Illiteracy Percentage	Rank
Edirne	365,000	13	42.94	5
Erzurum	275,000	15	40.30	13
Adana	168,000	22	42.77	7
Ankara	377,000	11	43.08	4
Aydin	453,000	3	31.45	27
Işkodra	159,000	23	46.09	3
Izmit	79,000	32	32.09	26
Bağdat	333,000	14	41.62	10
Basra	152,000	24	47.50	1
Bitlis	187,000	21	39.90	15
Beyrut	198,000	20	34.72	23
Biga	64,500	34	46.90	2
Cezayiribahrisefit	98,200	28	36.98	20
Çatalca	17,600	36	28.38	30
Halep	383,000	10	48.08	9
Hicaz	624,000	2	19.64	35
Hüdavendigar	402,000	5	29.45	29
Dersaadet	89,000	30	22.05	34
Diyarbekir	98,250	27	10.00	36
Zor	73,500	33	39.83	16
Sivas	384,000	9	40.29	14
Selanik	396,000	7	39.32	17
Suriye	225,000	17	36.85	21
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	24,000	35	26.51	32
Trabzon	367,000	12	34.20	24
Kastamonu	401,000	6	42.94	6
Konya	393,000	8	41.30	11
Kosova	238,000	16	32.55	25
Kudüs	86,000	31	36.03	22
Girit	94,000	29	38.08	18
Musul	110,000	25	26.42	33
Manastir	432,000	4	40.37	12
Mamuretülaziz	213,000	18	42.17	8
Van	98,300	26	31.04	28
Yanya	199,000	19	37.85	19
Yemen	722,000	1	28.32	31
Total	8,798,350			

Source: IUKTY 9075.

Note: These statistics take into consideration only individuals over 10 years of age. 34.3 percent of whom appear to have been illiterate. The total number of children under 10 years old was 4,057,277, of whom only 853,125 were attending school; the remaining 3,204,152 must be counted as among the illiterate, thus raising the total to 12,382,502, or about 46 percent of the total Ottoman population.

IV.16. Incapacity among the Ottoman Population, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Administrative District	Deaf	Blind	Born Insane	Mentally Incapacitated	Imprisoned
Edirne	6	4	4	5	10
Erzurum	4	5	4	9	12
Adana	6	5	7	9	12
Ankara	3	4	2	5	8
Aydin	34	40	25	31	41
Işkodra	6	5	20	4	12
Izmit	37	26	24	30	13
Bağdat	5	4	2	4	10
Basra	4	4	25	3	8
Bitlis	4	2	18	2	9
Beyrut	5	4	2	3	9
Biga	27	29	24	43	9
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	4	5	3	7	18
Çatalca	6	4	5	3	11
Halep	3	3	4	6	39
Hicaz	4	19	13	22	10
Hüdavendigar	24	14	10	23	33
Dersaadet	37	23	39	4	14
Diyarbekir	6	3	21	6	12
Zor	9	32	43	6	18
Sivas	2	1	2	4	5
Selanik	30	20	54	15	35
Suriye	4	52	12	15	27
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	5	4	3	5	6
Trabzon	34	26	10	20	39
Kastamonu	4	3	3	3	6
Konya	3	2	10	2	15
Kosova	3	1	13	3	15
Kudüs	4	6	17	35	19
Girit	11	4	4	4	7
Musul	15	21	39	10	29
Manastir	30	2	18	25	16
Mamuretülaziz	16	11	39	6	7
Van	3	2	16	17	8
Yanya	20	30	17	25	11
Yemen	9	5	4	4	27

Source: IUKTY 9075.

Note: The incapacities are expressed per 1,000 population.

IV.17. Agricultural Land Area and Cultivation in the Ottoman State, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Administrative District	Area (km^2)	Total Arable Land (km^2)	Percentage of Arable Land under Cultivation	Rank
Edirne	40.000	35.000	21.07	13
Erzurum	43.000	31.000	20.05	16
Adana	33.000	23.000	17.05	19
Ankara	68.000	36.000	12.05	12
Aydin	54.000	44.650	32.08	8
işkodra	16.000	9.800	1.02	28
Izmit	10.300	7.500	0.03	33
Bağdat	170.000	80.000	43.09	1
Basra	150.000	59.000	41.03	4
Bitlis	37.000	32.000	20.08	15
Beyrut	12.600	9.500	0.09	30
Biga	20.000	14.000	3.60	26
Cezayir-i Bahr-i-Sefid	5.600	3.800	0.02	35
Catalca	11.200	8.100	0.04	32
Halep	49.000	33.000	21.03	14
Hicaz	1,243.517	20.000	11.02	21
Hüdavendigar	60.000	51.500	40.00	5
Dersaadet	13.712	5.000	0.03	34
Diyarbekir	50.000	41.000	26.02	10
Zor	35.000	21.000	14.02	20
Sivas	60.000	42.500	31.07	9
Selanik	41.000	29.500	19.03	17
Suriye	90.000	51.000	38.00	6
Şehremaneti Mulhakati	9.400	3.600	0.01	36
Trabzon	32.000	25.000	18.03	18
Kastamonu	48.000	41.000	24.00	11
Konya	78.000	67.000	41.09	3
Kosova	28.000	15.000	9.04	24
Kudus	12.400	8.700	0.07	31
Girit	15.000	9.500	0.10	29
Musul	65.000	49.000	33.01	7
Manastir	23.000	13.800	2.70	27
Mamuretulaziz	28.000	18.700	10.06	22
Van	27.000	18.000	10.05	23
Yanya	21.000	14.900	7.05	25
Yemen	350.000	75.000	42.09	2
Total	3,049,729	1,047,050		

Source: IUKTY 9075.

Note: The information combined in this table is from two separate places in the source. The data on the percentage of land under cultivation were accompanied by a summary of the increase in agriculture for the whole state over a 20-year period. The figures given are the following: R. 1290 (1874/75), 697.00 km^2 or 40.05 percent; R. 1300 (1884/85) 189.000 km^2 or 46.33 percent; and R. 1310, 984.650 km^2 or 53.12 percent. There is no correlation between the information in the table and the summary, which was prepared separately.

IV.18. Cereal Production per km^2, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Administrative District	Wheat	Barley	Corn
Edirne	263,170	95,612	45.450
Erzurum	144,920	82,480	21.400
Adana	79,760	62,345	15.368
Ankara	25.579	21.151	5,116
Aydin	1.101.150	387.200	115,612
Işkodra	18,496	19,147	8,122
Izmit	11,350	8,112	2,193
Bağdat	1,113,160	257,889	161,000
Basra	583,598	245,885	145,832
Bitlis	92,890	31,224	18,387
Beyrut	15,380	16,140	4,115
Biga	35,580	27,210	9,170
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	11,300	7,557	1,948
Çatalca	12,362	9,121	3,101
Halep	157,960	94,525	39,412
Hicaz	55,700	8,577	525
Hüdavendigar	789,103	239,772	139,712
Dersaadet	10,576	5,248	1,962
Diyarbekir	370,182	89,495	70,531
Zor	68,720	41,315	13,287
Sivas	478,185	234,765	89,557
Selanik	156,940	77,465	43,437
Suriye	685,102	185,637	136,643
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	10,572	5,254	745
Trabzon	891,118	231,730	127,637
Kastamonu	369,181	97,615	62,512
Konya	997,134	301,005	150,912
Kosova	44,600	33,225	11,182
Kudüs	13,374	15,130	3,109
Girit	15,490	11,122	7,118
Musul	89,800	69,375	59,510
Manastir	20,567	58,325	10,172
Mamuretülaziz	55,674	40,280	12,233
Van	44,660	35,270	11,225
Yanya	31,598	29,223	10,181
Yemen	581,589	302,025	160,100
Total production	9,446,520	3,477,451	1,718,516

Source: IUKTY 9075.

Notes: The information in this table appeared in various places in the source; it is here assembled on one page for convenience.

The production totals are expressed in hectoliters (1 nctl. = 2.8 bu.).

IV.19. Estimated Value of Yearly Cereal Production, 1874/75 to 1894/95 (R. 1290–1310)

Year (Rumi)	Value in Lira
1290	2,500,000
1291	2,800,000
1292	2,100,000
1293	1,750,000
1294	1,312,000
1295	1,587,000
1296	1,962,000
1297	2,168,000
1298	2,725,000
1299	2,965,000
1300	3,270,000
1301	3,500,000
1302	3,970,000
1303	4,550,000
1304	4,872,000
1305	5,010,000
1306	4,310,000
1307	4,720,000
1308	5,600,000
1309	6,765,000
1310	8,431,000

Source: IUKTY 9075.

Note: Ottoman official rates of conversion, which did not change between 1844 and 1914, pegged the *lira* (a gold coin) to U.S. $4.3355.

IV.20. Livestock Owned by the Ottoman Population, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Administrative District	Number	Rank	Density (per km^2)	Rank
Edirne	5,958,800	1	148.97	8
Erzurum	4,167,350	10	96.91	17
Adana	3,232,800	20	98.00	16
Ankara	2,931,000	24	43.25	30
Aydin	5,092,600	2	94.30	18
Işkodra	2,350,000	30	147.00	9
Izmit	866,380	36	84.11	21
Bağdat	3,406,020	18	20.03	33
Basra	2,613,100	27	17.42	34
Bitlis	2,897,700	26	78.31	26
Beyrut	3,068,600	22	243.48	2
Biga	1,657,860	33	82.89	24
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	2,552,300	28	473.20	1
Çatalca	1,762,000	32	157.32	6
Halep	4,087,100	11	83.40	22
Hicaz	2,901,900	25	2.33	36
Hüdavendigar	5,088,700	3	84.81	19
Dersaadet	879,700	35	64.15	28
Diyarbekir	4,056,000	13	81.12	25
Zor	2,967,000	23	84.76	20
Sivas	4,323,800	7	72.06	27
Selanik	5,000,760	4	122.00	15
Suriye	3,392,100	19	37.69	31
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	1,302,950	34	138.60	12
Trabzon	4,442,020	6	136.00	13
Kastamonu	3,985,350	14	83.02	23
Konya	4,069,010	12	46.77	29
Kosova	4,203,250	9	149.58	7
Kudüs	1,788,800	31	144.92	10
Girit	3,540,000	16	232.00	3
Musul	2,399,400	29	36.91	32
Manastir	4,472,350	5	190.10	5
Mamuretülaziz	3,949,060	15	141.03	11
Van	3,444,200	17	131.30	14
Yanya	4,254,100	8	202.57	4
Yemen	3,165,400	21	13.58	35

Source: IUKTY 9075.

Note: The totals in this table have been corrected and rounded off.

IV.21. Dairy and Wool Production, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Administrative District	Milk	Butter[a]	Cheese[b]	Wool[c]	Wool per Capita
Edirne	44,870,000	1,367,800	186,000	1,865,750	02.19
Erzurum	41,360,000	765,100	83,100	715,900	01.06
Adana	28,500,000	763,050	56,300	673,300	01.20
Ankara	17,200,000	675,000	43,600	775,900	00.88
Aydin	48,410,000	1,105,000	152,000	935,000	00.64
Işkodra	17,252,500	415,000	57,900	425,200	01.22
Izmit	8,150,000	161,000	61,300	188,760	00.87
Bağdat	62,720,000	1,310,000	131,200	1,837,000	02.29
Basra	8,850,000	486,000	37,200	485,300	01.51
Bitlis	13,100,000	523,000	45,900	433,500	01.09
Beyrut	14,500,000	786,500	49,700	687,700	01.20
Biga	5,480,000	327,827	77,900	227,826	01.11
Cezayir-ı Bahr-i Sefid	9,700,000	337,000	67,800	337,500	01.25
Çatalca	1,650,000	268,043	68,500	118,043	01.90
Halep	38,965,000	1,325,000	92,100	927,800	01.01
Hicaz	37,575,000	187,900	14,500	587,900	00.15
Hüdavendigar	38,120,000	923,000	112,300	923,000	00.60
Dersaadet	6,700,000	155,960	27,800	83,960	00.83
Diyarbekir	8,650,000	450,000	34,500	579,700	01.40
Zor	8,870,000	402,300	71,300	512,300	02.73
Sivas	34,147,000	623,000	54,200	893,000	00.93
Selanik	36,580,000	1,260,000	126,700	960,000	00.95
Suriye	35,200,000	830,000	66,500	930,000	01.51
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	1,570,000	270,303	70,500	90,303	00.99
Trabzon	57,000,000	1,927,000	164,000	1,757,000	00.61
Kastamonu	36,032,500	838,000	76,400	837,000	01.14
Konya	23,025,000	726,000	97,600	875,800	00.91
Kosova	47,649,000	762,000	73,860	662,700	00.90
Kudüs	5,075,000	350,000	69,700	350,700	01.41
Girit	7,250,000	175,000	75,200	277,900	01.10
Musul	20,175,000	131,000	18,600	358,000	00.86
Manastir	39,855,000	1,765,000	157,900	875,900	00.89
Mamuretülaziz	20,825,000	410,000	62,100	415,700	00.82
Van	19,900,000	525,000	43,100	395,000	01.44
Yanya	51,560,000	839,000	88,200	739,700	01.40
Yemen	55,000,000	768,200	53,500	1,568,000	01.62
Total	951,466,000	24,933,983	2,768,960	25,308,042	

Source: IUKTY 9075.

Notes: The column totals were not included in the original but are added here for convenience.

The production totals are expressed in *kiyye* (1 *kiy* = 1283.5 gr.).

[a] Butter prices in the period from 1875 to 1895 are shown to have varied between a minimum of 13.25 *kuruş* per *kiyye* (in R. 1296) to a maximum of 19.25 *kuruş* (in R 1302).

[b] The minimum and maximum prices for cheese during the 20-year period from 1875 to 1895 were, respectively, 12.25 *kuruş* per *kiyye* (in R. 1310) and 18.25 *kuruş* (in R. 1300).

[c] These statistics also include information showing an increase in wool production from 19,786,800 in 1875 (R. 1290) to 23,678,950 in 1884/85 (R. 1300) to over 25,000,000 in 1894/95 (R. 1310).

IV.22. Gross Annual Income, by District and per Capita, 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Administrative District	Gross Income	Rank	Per Capita Income	Rank
Edirne	91,995,292	6	108.22	20
Erzurum	91,600,000	7	136.71	15
Adana	73,965,000	14	188.20	2
Ankara	40,800,000	28	46.57	35
Aydin	124,739,000	3	79.68	27
Iskodra	51,600,000	23	152.00	10
Izmit	25,750,000	31	119.76	18
Bağdat	88,950,000	9	111.18	19
Basra	43,700,000	27	160.07	8
Bitlis	76,800,000	13	168.68	5
Beyrut	85,600,000	11	149.38	11
Biga	16,956,000	33	129.19	17
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	49,350,000	24	197.40	1
Çatalca	10,900,000	35	175.81	4
Halep	59,600,000	19	65.49	32
Hicaz	10,300,000	36	2.75	36
Hüdavendigar	94,556,946	4	65.66	31
Dersaadet	55,800,000	21	78.30	28
Diyarbekir	71,780,000	16	184.05	3
Zor	19,865,000	32	106.23	21
Sivas	57,675,000	20	60.51	33
Selanik	89,007,565	8	89.38	24
Suriye	87,300,000	10	142.41	14
Şehremaneti Mülhakati	14,875,000	34	164.36	7
Trabzon	125,003,463	2	90.11	23
Kastamonu	78,700,000	12	82.23	26
Konya	65,350,000	17	68.64	30
Kosova	55,300,000	22	75.65	29
Kudüs	29,300,000	30	134.81	16
Girit	35,800,000	29	145.00	12
Musul	65,150,000	18	157.52	9
Manastir	92,000,000	5	86.00	25
Mamuretülaziz	71,965,000	15	142.50	13
Van	44,600,000	26	166.41	6
Yanya	48,315,367	25	91.68	22
Yemen	127,800,000	1	50.11	34

Source: IUKTY 9075.

Note: Income is expressed in *kuruş*.

IV.23. Summary of the General Statistical Register for 1894/95 (R. 1310)

Administrative District	Population	Number Employed	Rank	Total Government Revenue	Rank	Total Value of Textiles	Rank	Total Value of Cereal Crops	Rank	Total Value of Livestock	Rank	Total Expenditures for Education	Rank
Hicaz	3.750.000	1.910.000	1	10.300.000	36	7.000	36	3.278.500	20	14.509.500	25	19.500	26
Yemen	2.550.000	1.008.000	2	127.800.000	1	7.263.100	19	12.907.945	8	15.827.000	21	19.750	25
Aydın	1.440.000	855.000	5	124.739.000	3	18.978.700	3	15.505.750	2	25.463.000	2	36.200	4
Hudavendigar	1.365.000	850.000	6	94.556.946	4	18.967.750	2	13.945.515	5	25.440.000	3	39.100	2
Trabzon	1.073.000	875.000	3	125.003.463	2	19.716.000	1	14.455.590	4	22.210.000	6	35.600	5
Manastir	1.070.000	869.000	4	92.000.000	5	15.165.180	7	2.102.835	27	22.361.750	5	27.800	12
Selanik	1.007.000	575.000	8	89.007.565	8	16.300.000	6	8.784.700	14	25.003.800	4	37.200	3
Dersaadet	1.005.000	830.000	7	55.800.000	21	5.228.500	20	152.880	35	4.398.500	35	1.700.000	1
Kastamonu	957.000	440.000	10	78.700.000	12	17.500.000	5	11.845.905	11	19.926.750	14	29.600	11
Sivas	953.000	410.000	13	57.675.000	20	1.200.000	26	12.390.925	9	21.619.000	7	33.200	6
Konya	952.000	414.000	12	65.350.000	17	3.597.000	23	14.985.670	3	20.345.050	12	27.300	13
Halep	910.000	486.000	9	59.600.000	19	17.688.900	4	9.789.800	13	20.435.500	11	22.980	20
Ankara	875.000	398.000	14	40.800.000	28	12.677.000	14	2.127.895	26	14.655.000	24	20.200	24
Edirne	850.000	435.000	11	91.995.292	6	13.187.500	12	11.315.850	12	29.794.000	1	32.300	9
Bağdat	800.000	368.000	15	88.950.000	9	14.768.300	8	15.565.800	1	17.030.000	18	22.000	22
Kosova	731.000	325.000	18	55.300.000	22	13.675.700	11	3.223.000	23	21.016.250	9	26.900	15
Erzurum	670.000	285.000	19	91.600.000	7	12.965.000	13	7.724.600	15	20.836.750	10	30.250	10
Suriye	613.000	286.000	18	87.300.000	10	14.688.000	9	13.425.510	6	16.960.500	19	32.600	8
Beyrut	573.000	288.000	17	85.600.000	11	10.868.900	17	1.076.900	30	15.343.000	22	33.000	7
Yanya	527.000	279.000	20	48.315.367	25	1.860.000	24	3.157.990	24	21.270.500	8	25.000	17
Mamuretülaziz	505.000	225.000	22	71.965.000	15	1.567.300	25	3.278.370	21	19.745.300	15	17.310	28
Bitlis	475.000	210.000	24	76.800.000	13	477.500	28	7.464.450	16	14.488.500	26	18.600	27
Musul	420.000	258.000	21	65.150.000	18	14.167.800	10	6.449.000	17	11.997.000	29	13.600	32
Adana	393.000	180.000	27	73.965.000	14	11.879.000	15	6.398.800	18	16.164.000	20	27.100	14
Diyarbekir	390.000	197.000	25	71.780.000	16	11.300.600	16	11.850.910	10	20.280.000	13	26.700	16
İşkodra	339.500	211.000	23	51.600.000	23	415.000	29	2.092.480	28	11.750.000	30	24.400	18
Basra	320.000	195.000	26	43.700.000	27	335.000	31	12.917.950	7	13.065.500	27	24.000	19
Van	273.000	135.000	30	44.600.000	26	758.000	27	3.223.300	22	17.221.000	17	11.000	34
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	268.000	139.000	29	49.350.000	24	365.900	30	156.500	34	12.776.500	28	22.500	21
Girit	250.000	130.000	31	35.800.000	29	130.000	33	1.077.450	29	17.700.000	16	22.000	23
Kudüs	247.000	167.000	28	29.300.000	30	8.177.950	18	1.066.870	31	8.944.000	31	16.600	29
İzmit	215.000	119.000	32	25.750.000	31	4.150.000	21	186.750	33	4.331.900	36	13.000	33
Zor	187.000	110.000	33	19.865.000	32	298.500	32	5.343.600	19	15.835.000	23	17.400	30
Biga	123.500	97.800	34	16.956.000	33	3.700.600	22	2.177.900	25	8.289.300	33	15.200	31
Şehremaneti Mülhakatı	90.500	87.000	35	14.875.000	34	96.300	34	152.860	36	6.514.750	34	7.400	36
Çatalca	62.000	33.800	36	10.900.000	35	85.000	35	191.810	32	8.810.000	32	7.800	35
Total	27.229.500	14.980.600		2.272.748.633		294.206.980		241.792.560		602.358.600		2.535.090	

Source: İUKTY 9075.

Notes: This table includes totals of some items for which no individual table is given.

Revenue and product values are expressed in *kuruş*.

The expenditure given for education is for government schools only: community, religious, and private schools are not included.

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