

THE PROVINCIAL REFORMS OF THE EARLY TANZIMAT PERIOD AS IMPLEMENTED IN THE KAZA OF AVRETHISARI*

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INTRODUCTION

In this paper I shall investigate the a'yanlık institution and the provincial reforms in the reign of Mahmud II and the early Tanzimat Period in the light of an entry of the sicil in the kaza of Avrethisari in Salonica (Selanik)¹.

In the first part, I shall give some information about the emergence and the development of the institution of A'yanlık which is of significance with respect to the above document. The second part attempts to investigate the provincial reforms of Mahmud II while the third part examines in some details the provincial administration at the beginning of the *Tanzimat-i Hayriyye* period. In the last part I shall investigate the importance of the *tevzi' defteri* of the kaza of Avrethisari as a historical source.

This study is based on an entry of the *tevzi defteri* belonging to the early Tanzimat period, precisely from 29 August 1840 (1 Receb 1256), and therefore this study is confined to this period. As is known, from the second half of the seventeenth century until the early Tanzimat period *tevzi (masarîf) defterleri* are the primary sources for the history of Ottoman provincial administration. The mentioned sicil in use for this study is a very good example of a type of late *tevzi' (masarîf) defteri*. Therefore, it may be useful to

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1. The date of the sicil at our disposal is 1 Receb 1256. See Appendix I and II.

give brief details of the contents and functions of the tevzi defteri. During the period of the decline the changes in taxation, and the two institutions, namely the tevzi' defterleri (registers of apportioning) and the council of a'yan, were very important. These institutions provided the mechanism for local administration and led to the emergence of an internal autonomy, a certain degree of independence in the handling of affairs within the community itself. Therefore it became necessary to make a separate tevzi defteri to be used for different purposes such as levying the 'avariz taxes, the imdad-ı seferiyyes, the imdad-ı hazariyyes, the mal-ı maktu' and the vilayet harçı.

I. A'yanlık and its position during the decline of the classic Ottoman provincial administration in the Eighteenth Century

The a'yan emerged as a great power during the prolonged wars in Hungary in the second half of the seventeenth century in the provinces of the Ottoman empire, especially in the provinces of Anatolia and in the Balkans. In general, the a'yan were the most influential and wealthy citizens, comprising the leaders of the craftsmen and merchants in towns and cities. The a'yan of the kazas played a very important role between the local people and the central government from then onwards².

In the period under study the most significant development which occurred in the provinces of the empire led to the emergence of local a'yan as administrative, military, fiscal rulers. No matter what the significance of the inclusion of the administrative, military, and religious titles in the a'yan class was, the crucial criterion was the possession of wealth. The term wealth has been briefly explained by İnalçık. He notes that "Being wealthy, especially in

2. The development of the a'yan has been studied by many scholars including Y. Özkaya whose study seems to be one of the most informative for the eighteenth century in the Ottoman empire, especially, in the provinces of Anatolia. Y. Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ayanlık* (Ankara 1977), esp. 14-27. Hereafter *Özkaya Ayanlık*. As a general introduction into the period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of Ottoman administration see H. İnalçık, "Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration" (Ed., T. Naff and R. Owen) *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History* (London 1977) 27-52. Hereafter *İnalçık, Decentralization*. Also see idem "The Nature of Traditional Society", (Ed., R.E. Ward and D.A. Rustow), *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey* (Princeton 1964) 42-63, esp. 46-47. Hereafter *İnalçık, Nature*. Ö. Ergenç, "Osmanlı Klasik Dönemindeki "Eşraf ve A'yan" Üzerine Bazı Bilgiler", *OA* 3 (1982) 105-118, esp. 106ff. İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlimi Teşkilatı* (Ankara 1984), 161-214.

terms of hard cash, not only placed a person in a privileged position in regard to matters of credit and the collection of taxes, but wealth also singled him out in the eyes of the government and of the local population. Moreover it was not difficult for a wealthy citizen to purchase titles to reinforce his social position. When seventeenth and eighteenth century Ottoman texts referred to a'yan within the urban setting, they usually meant men of wealth"³. It is generally accepted that the a'yan and eşraf of religious and military background, the ağas, za'ims, sipahis, seyyids and şerifs and ulema were also wealthy men who acquired their riches through different ways. Hence in the Ottoman cities and towns the religious and military groups and the merchants consisted predominantly of the wealthy people.

Ottoman historical documents imply the existence in each kaza of a single a'yan who was its representative. He was elected to his post by his local class from the last quarter of the seventeenth century. It is very important for our study to differentiate this kind of elected a'yan from others; such terms as *baş-a'yan*, *reis-i a'yan* and *aynü'l a'yan* were used in the sources⁴. In other words, the terms were often used synonymously with chief or head of a'yan. In the period under study it is very significant that one a'yan came to be distinguished from the others and represent a specific kaza. İnalçık cites that "From an earlier time, especially during the military campaigns, a baş-bug or başbeg (chief, leader) was chosen to collect and deliver from the kaza its share of avariz demanded by the government. These levies were normally in the form of provisions, livestock, and troops. However, when the government ordered an immediate lump sum payment of the avariz, a wealthy a'yan sometimes came forward with the funds on behalf of the local citizens and later collected from them. In addition, an a'yan with military resources and experience was usually appointed başbeg to run down bandits in the region"⁵. Thus the chief a'yan who served as a real local agent of the central authority gained leadership of the local community.

The post of the a'yan which was the institution of *a'yanlık* was the main means of acquiring provincial power and wealth. There was a long period of fierce rivalry in the last quarter of the seven-

3. İnalçık, Decentralization, 40-1.

4. İbid., 44.

5. İbid., 44-5.

teenth and eighteenth centuries among the a'yan for the post of the a'yanlık of kazas. Famous local families embarked on conflicts to set up their mastery as the sole wielders of authority in their domain⁶. It is well known that in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century the a'yan was called by such names as mute-gallibe or derebeg. The Christian a'yan was called *kocabaşı*. The functions of the kocabaşı were almost the same as those of the a'yan in Ottoman society⁷.

The a'yan became a real power as a group of rural and urban notables of the Ottoman empire. These a'yans gradually gained their superiority from the last quarter of the seventeenth century until the first decades of the nineteenth century onwards. The tax and land tenure system of the empire underwent a transformation during the period of decline which was a results of the prolonged wars the Ottomans had with Austria in the west and Iran in the east. The Ottomans lost most of their *tımarlı sipahis* and their commanders during the wars, so the new conditions enabled the a'yan to become landlords in the provinces, replacing the tımarlı sipahis in the state-owned lands as lassees or tax collectors (*mültezim*). Moreover the a'yan gained their wealth and power by leasing the state-owned lands as well as by tax farming (*iltizam*). The larger parts of such lands (mukata'a or leasing out) ceased to be assigned to the tımarlı sipahi and were leased by the state to the local notables. Also, the a'yans' influence over local authorities favoured them in these leasing operations⁸. On the other hand, these leasing operations led to conversions of the state-owned lands into *çiftlik* (farm), which became an established practice during this time with the emergence of the a'yan and the aga. With their lack of administrative authority from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, the in-

6. A detailed information for the situation in Anatolia see Y. Özkaya, "XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Yerli Ailelerin Ayanlıkları Ele Geçirgileri ve Büyük Hanedanlıkların Kuruluşu", *Bellekten* 42/168 (1978) 667-723. Hereafter *Özkaya, Yerli Ailelerin*.

7. For a better distinction between various kinds of "a'yan" see, for instance, M. Ursinus, *Regionale Reformen im Osmanischen Reich am Vorabend der Tanzimat, Reformen der Rumelischen Provinzial gouverneure im Gerichtssprengel von Manastir (Bitola) zur Ziet der Herrschaft Sultan Mahmuds II. (1808-39)* (Berlin 1982) 84-94. Hereafter *Ursinus, Manastir*. Also see D.R. Sadat "Rumeli Ayanları: The Eighteenth Century" *JMH* 44 (1872) 346-63. Hereafter *Sadat, Rumeli*, H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West I* (London 1950) 194, 198, Hereafter *Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society*.

8. İnalçık, Nature, 47-8. Also see idem., "Emergence of Big Farms, çiftlik: State, Landlords and Tenants". *CHESEO*. 105-126, esp. 111-4, Hereafter *İnalçık, Farms*, K. Karpat, "The Land Regime, Social Structure, and Modernization in the Ottoman Empire" (Ed., W.R. Polk and R.L. Chambers, *Beginnings of the Modernization in the Middle East* (Chicago 1968) 69-90, esp. 76-77. Hereafter *Karpat, Land Regime*.

fluent and wealthy people transferred the *miri 'arazi* (state-owned land) into their own private estates. At the same time, the villagers served their new estate owners as hired men owing to a shortage of peasants. Besides, many peasants in debt lost their lands to the a'yan and esraf and military chiefs. Therefore usurers (*müteğallibeler*) who were mainly members of the military, the a'yan and the esraf took over the possession rights of the peasants on the state owned lands for a long time during the seventeenth century. Later on, those lands became estates of large land holders and thus private property (*malikane*)⁹.

The changes in levy of various taxes also contributed to the rise of the a'yan as a local power. In the eighteenth century, the principal taxes paid by the population were the '*avarız-ı divaniyye* the *bedel-i nüzul*, the *imdad-ı seferiyye* and *imdad-ı hazariyye*¹⁰. The '*avarız* and the *nuzul* were mostly applied and levied by the Ottoman government from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries onwards. While the *imdad-ı seferiyye* was levied from the seventeenth century onwards. The *imdad-ı hazariyye* was, on the other hand, introduced in 1713 and lasted until the reform period¹¹.

'*Avarız-ı divaniyye and bedel-i nüzul*. The Ottoman empire resorted to temporary emergency levies to meet unforeseen state budgetary needs. These impositions were in the form of demands for services, of taxes to be paid in kind or in cash. The '*avarız-ı divaniyye*, the emergency levies, were more and more modified into annual cash-taxes imposed on the entire population so as to meet the rapidly growing state budgetary needs¹². It was regular tax from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the Tanzimat period.

The *nüzul* was the levy of provisions for the sustenance of the army. It was collected in the same way as the '*avarız-ı divaniyye*,

9. Özkaya, Ayanlık, 70-80. Also see idem., Yerli Ailelerin, 667-9ff. İnalcık, Farms, 111-2. Sadat, Rumeli, 349-51. Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, 256. B. McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe, Taxation, Trade, and Struggle for Land 1600-1800* (Cambridge University Press 1981) 121-170. Hereafter McGowan, *Ottoman Europe*.

10. The taxation systems of the Ottoman empire have been fruitfully explored by many historians including Abdurrahman Vefik whose study appears to be one of the most informative in the period under study. A. Vefik, *Tekalif Kavaidi* (Dersaadet 1330). Esp. 79 101. Hereafter *Ahmed Vefik, Tekalif*. H. İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700" *AO* 6 (1980) 283-337, esp. 315. Hereafter *İnalcık, Military*. Also see idem., Decentralization, 29ff. Özkaya, Yerli Ailelerin, 673, 680, 699, 713. Mc Gowan, *Ottoman Europe*, 105-120 and 156.

11. İnalcık, *Military*, 312-27, Ahmed Vefik, *Tekalif*, 96-7.

12. Ahmed Vefik, *Tekalif*, 97ff. İnalcık, *Military*, 314-510.

which were collected by the *mübaşir*, the tax officer appointed by the imperial capital. From the seventeenth century to the reform period the central government ordered the a'yan-ı vilayet to assist the local kadis the levying of the 'avarız and the nüzul taxes. İnalçık states that in the eighteenth century the revenue from the 'avarız tax was usually placed at the disposal of the a'yan of the different provinces for the recruiting and hiring of Levent troops¹³.

İmdad-ı seferiyye and imdad-ı haziriyye. During the early years of the seventeenth century the central government borrowed large sums from the wealthy, who then collected levies from the re'aya in the way of reimbursement. These levies were eventually called imdadiyye or imdad-ı seferiyye, which literally means "urgent war contributions", during the seventeenth century especially the last decades of these periods, imdadiyyes imposed on the wealthy people by the government. In 1717 imdadiyye had to be levied in the form of a general tax. Initially, imdad-ı seferiyyes were designed to meet the expenses of the provincial troops, which were under the command of the governor. Later the government gave the right of the collection of the imdadiyye to the local council of the a'yan and esraf in order to protect the re'aya against abuse government agents. The imdadiyye was collected by the mübaşir who was sent by the central government to the provinces to supervise the local kadı and the a'yans' collection. It was strictly forbidden to collect from inhabitants more than the sum decided by the council of the a'yan¹⁴.

İmdad-ı hazariyye was a kind of irregular tax. To overcome monetary difficulties during peace-time the government introduced a new tax called imdad-ı haziriyye, emergency peace time contributions, in 1713. This tax was collected in the same way as the imdad-ı seferiyye from each kaza through the services of the local kadı and a'yan¹⁵. H. İnalçık suggests that the imdad-ı hazariyye was a fixed tax- replacement of the *tekalif-i şakka*- which the governors had collected, in case of need, to meet their increasing expenses- since from then on collection of the latter was strictly forbidden¹⁶. İnalçık adds that the imdadiyye taxes resulted in further increasing the local influence of the a'yan and strengthening their position in relation to the paşa¹⁷.

13. İbid., 317.

14. Ahmed Vefik, *Tekalif*, 94-7, İnalçık, *Military*, 322-6.

15. İbid., 326-7.

16. İbid., 327.

17. İbid., 327.

The troops of the a'yan. After the collapse of the timar system and the corruption of the Janissaries, the Ottomans lost their military strength. In the eighteenth century, the Ottoman army numbered a few hundred thousand in the battles against Russia and Austria. Investigations have found that during the eighteenth century the number of Tımarlı Sipahis were only 30.000 and the Janissaries were of more harm than help¹⁸. This indicates that in the eighteenth century, the Ottoman army had neither enough of the Tımarlı Sipahi nor an organized Janissary corps. Juchereau de St. Deny notes that during this period the core of the Ottoman army was formed by "Private Soldiers"¹⁹. Schlechta also notes that the mountain rebels were suppressed by the same private soldiers which were also known as the "Provincial Soldiers"²⁰. Some a'yan troops numbered as many as 20.000. As a result, during the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century the Ottoman army consisted of the groups of the mercenary soldiers which were not the Janissaries, but they made up almost all the troops of the a'yan.

Nefir-i 'am and recruit of a'yan troops. The a'yan had the right to recruit soldiers among the re'aya, which came under different names such as *gönüllü*, *deli*, *tüfenkçi*, *levend* etc., and they sent them to the Sultan's army during the campaigns. These soldiers were mostly musketeers²¹. And during the prolonged wars, 1683-1699, the central government was compelled time and again to issue a *nefir-i 'am*, calling to arms the re'aya population by order of the sultan to assist the forces of the state, which led to the emergence of these military groups known as *nefir-i 'am*, whom the state called to arms at times of extreme urgency, against internal and external enemies²². The *nefir-i 'am* soldiers were also the cornerstone of the a'yan's troops.

As can be seen, the Ottoman army was based on the a'yans' troops in the eighteenth century. They were, however, not very reliable for the state, since the a'yans would participate in or withdraw from the campaigns only when it was convenient for them. This ob-

18. V.P. Mutafcieva, "XVIII. Yüzyılın Son On Yılında Ayanlık Müessesesi", *TaDe* 31 [1977] (1978) 163-182, esp. 180. Hereafter *Mutafcieva, Ayanlık*, İncalcık, Military, 288-311.

19. Mutafcieva, *Ayanlık*, 180, n. 67.

20. *Ibid.*, 180, n. 69.

21. İncalcık, *Military*, 303.

22. *Ibid.*, 305, 309.

viously diminished the power of the central army. Furthermore, the a'yans kept their forces mobilised even after the campaigns, and used them mostly for their power struggle in the empire against the other a'yans or the central government²³.

The local a'yans (*kaza* or *vilayet a'yanları*) gained power in their districts to perform the duties of administration such as collection of taxes, conscription of soldiers, and maintenance of public order. These functions were generally carried out by *meclis-i a'yan* and *eşraf*. The council consisted of the local *kadı*, the *serdar* of the Janissaries, the *dizdar*, and six a'yan²⁴.

In the *kazas* the a'yans were elected by the local people to represent them vis-a-vis the governmental authorities. Central government did not interfere in the elections of the a'yan of the *kaza* and *vilayet*. Once elected, the a'yans were appointed by *buyruıldı* by the governor of the province and were addressed as *A'yan-ı vilayet* (notables of the province). The a'yans then gave some money to their governor, known as *a'yanıye*, in return for their appointments²⁵. The importance should not be forgotten of the election of a single a'yan as the representative of a town or city from among the other local notables, and his recognition by the central government was certainly the most significant stage in the development of a'yanlık (a'yanship).

From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the provincial governors, who were *Valis* or *Beglerbegis* in the *eyalets* or *vilayets* and *Sancakbegis* or *Mutasarrıfs* in the *sancaks* or *livas*, employed and appointed the a'yan as their local agents in financial and administrative matters under various titles such as *Mütesellim* in the *eyalets* and the *sancaks*, *Voyvoda* in the *kazas*, *nahiyes* and *vilages*, *Subaşı* and *Mültezims* or *Muhassıls*. During this period, many sources indicate that bitter struggles took place among a'yan for the post of the *reis-i a'yan*, since this position prepared the ground for the attainment of the posts of *mütesellim* and of *voyvoda*, and resulting control of state-owned lands and tax farm-

23. Mutafcieva, Ayanlık, 181-82, D.R. Sadat, "Ayan and Aga: The Transformation of the Bektashi Corps in the Eighteenth Century", *MW* 63 (1973) 206-219, esp. 208ff.

24. İnalçık, Decentralization, 42.

25. İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, "Ayan" *IA* Vol.II, 40-2. idem, *Meşhur Rumeli Ayanlarından Tirsinikli İsmail- Yünlük Oğlu Süleyman ve Alemdar Mustafa Paşa* (İstanbul 1942) 5-7. Hereafter *Uzunçarşılı Tirsinikli*. M.Z. Pakalın, "Ayan", *OTDTS* Vol. 1, 120-22. Hereafter *Pakalın, Ayan*. Sadat, Rumeli, 351. Mutafcieva, Ayanlık, 164ff.

ings²⁶. The relationships between the a'yanships and mütesellim, voyvoda have been investigated by many scholars including İnalçık whose study seems to be one of the most informative for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the central parts of the Ottoman empire²⁷.

On the other hand, in the second half of the eighteenth century, especially during the prolonged wars against Russia, the Ottoman administration in provinces became considerably corrupted. Some valis sold the *a'yanlık buyruldu* in order to increase source of revenue. In this case, the central authority, firstly in the time of Grand Vezir Muhsin-Zade Mehmed Paşa and later on in 1779, attempted to reform the institution. The right of granting the buyruldu was removed from the vali and the method of certification was abolished. Instead, the people were to submit the results of their election to *Sadrızam* (Grand Vezir), who would confirm the ayan in office only if an investigation was proved to be of good moral character and worthy of the confidence of the government. But these efforts soon collapsed and control of the a'yan was returned to vali²⁸.

The last decades of the eighteenth century were dominated by the dialogue between the central government and these autonomous provincial notables. The concern of the government was to reestablish its sovereignty over the people of the empire. In order to achieve this, the ayanlık was abolished by Grand Vezir Halil Hamid (1782-1785) with an imperial decree in 1785. From then on, the people of the towns were to elect one of their elders to represent them. He would then receive the title *Şehir kethüdası* (city steward)²⁹. Nevertheless, this reform did not work properly, because the power and strength of the a'yan remained undiminished, and şehir kethüdası lacked the prestige to function without the assistance and support of the a'yan. Local affairs became confused, and government business, in particular tax remittance and military contri-

26. Cf. İnalçık, Decentralization, 2711. İnalçık, Military, 329, İnalçık, Nature, 48. Y. Özkaya, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Mütesellimlik Müessesesi", *AÜDTCF* 38/3-4 [1970] (1977) 369-390, esp. 370ff. Özkaya, Yerli Ailelerin 668ff. Uzunçarşılı, Tirsinikli 6-7, idem, "Çapan Oğulları", *Belleten* 38/150 (1974) 215-61, esp. 217ff. W. Plomer, *The Diamond of Jannia Ali Pasha 1741-1882* (London 1970) 47. Pakalın, Ayan, 120 Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, 257.

27. See İnalçık, Decentralization, esp. 29-40.

28. Pakalın, Ayan, 121, Sadat, Rumeli 351-3.

29. Uzunçarşılı, Tirsinikli, 5-7, Sadat, Rumeli, 358-60. S. J. Shaw, *Between Old and New The Ottoman Empire Under Sultan Selim III 1789-1807* (Cambridge-Massachusetts 1971) 80. Hereafter, Shaw, *Selim III*, Pakalın, Ayan, 121.

butions, were neglected. With the outbreak of war in 1787 against Russia and 1788 against Austria, the resurrection of the a'yanlık became unavoidable, since the military contributions of the a'yan were the main military support available to the Government. In 1790, the position of şehir kethüdası was abolished, and by a decree the a'yanlık was officially restored³⁰. As a result of this, the a'yan became more conscious of their independence and power, and they assumed and exercised an authority more absolute than before.

In 1792-93, Sultan Selim III issued a series of orders which were known collectively as the *Nizam-ı cedid* (new orders). These orders prescribed a programme of fiscal and administrative and military reforms. Selim III had to finance the new army by creating a treasury (*irad-ı cedid*) of the "New Order", to which the revenues of an important part of the domain leaseholds were allotted. The rates of various dues were also increased in order to find additional resources for the new army. Moreover certain *timars* and *ze'amets* were confiscated, and custom duties and trade, were put under state control³¹. The state thereby diminished the power of the influential people such as those of a'yans, eşrafs, 'ulema, and in particular, of Janissaries. The first reaction against these new regulations came from the a'yans, then from the Janissaries in 1806. One year later, the Janissaries of Rumelia openly revolted and defeated the new troops of the Sultan sent against them. Finally, on May 29, 1807 the coalition of a'yan, Janissary and 'ulema deposed Sultan Selim III and ascended Mustafa IV to the throne³².

One year later, in 1808, the a'yan were quick to seize power from the hands of the Janissaries. The a'yans of Balkans under the leadership of Alemdar Mustafa Paşa, who was previously an a'yan of Ruscuk, marched against the capital together with the imperial army then on the Danube. Alemdar seized İstanbul on 23 July 1808, suppressed Janissary leaders, and demanded Selim III's restoration to the throne. When it turned out that Selim III had been put

30. Sadat, Rumeli, 358ff.

31. Esp. for the reforms of Selim III, see E.Z. Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi* Vol. 5 (Ankara 1947) 15-79. Hereafter *Karal, Osmanlı Tarihi* 5. B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London 1961) 55-64. Shaw, Selim III, 71-180. See also Shaw, "The Established Ottoman Army Corps Under Selim III (1789-180)", *Der Islam* 40 (1965) 141-84. Idem. "The Origin of Military Reform: The Nizam-i Cedid Army of Sultan Selim III", *JMH* 37 (1965) 291-306. Y. Özkaya, "XVIII. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Timar ve Ze'ametlerin Düzeni Konusunda Alınan Tedbirler ve Sonuçları", *TaDe* 32 (1979) 219-54.

32. İnalcık, *Nature*, 49-51, Shaw, Selim III, 367-83, Sadat, Rumeli, 360.

to death in the meantime, Alemdar elevated Mahmud II to the throne³³. Thus the a'yan reached the peak of their power in interfering in state affairs in the capital after their control of the provincial capitals.

II. Provincial Reforms during the reign of Mahmud II (1808-1839)

This part attempts to investigate the provincial reforms of Mahmud II. It is well-known that Mahmud II was the father of the reforms of the Ottomans. The seeds of the reforms were sown during his reign. Most of the modern institutions were founded in the Ottoman Empire during his reign. The census departments and institution of Muhtarlık, Sandık Eminliği and Redif were set up in this period.

Mahmud II began his reign under pressure of the rule Alemdar Mustafa Paşa. Alemdar suppressed the revolt of the Janissaries and continued the centralized reforms initiated by Selim III. A great Imperial assembly (meşveret-i 'amme) was convened by alemdar, who invited high officials, governors, paşas, and a'yan from the porvinces of Anatolia and the Balkans. Among those who gathered were high officials of the capital, the governors of the provinces and the sancaks, and large dynasties of Anatolia, including Çapanoğlu and Karaosmanoğlu. In addition to these, the a'yans of Bazarlık, Şumnu, Hasköy, Şile came to the great Imperial assembly. Excluding Tepedelenli Ali Paşa and the a'yan of Bulgaria, the big a'yan and derebeg appeared with their troops. As a result of this meeting they made the sultan sign an agreement called Sened-i İttifak (deed of agreement), which was proclaimed as law by the Şeyhül-İslam³⁴.

It seems that according to the agreement, the signatories promised to reestablish the state authority of the empire both centrally

33. H. İnalçık, "Senet-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu", *Belleten* 28/112 (1964), 603-22, esp. 604. Hereafter, *İnalçık, Senet-i İttifak*, İnalçık, Nature, 50-1. Sadat, Rumeli, 360ff. And Shaw, Selim III, 398-407.

34. Lewis, *Modern Turkey*, 74-75. Karpat, *Land Regime*, 79-80. İnalçık, *Nature*, 51-52. Idem., *Sened-i İttifak*, 603ff. O. Mert, "II. Mahmut Devrinde Anadolu ve Rumeli'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durumu (1808-1839)", *TDAD* 18 (1982) 33-73. esp. 40-41. Hereafter, *Mert, II. Mahmut*. Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi* 5, 93-97. S. Shaw and E.K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II: Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge 1977), 1-2. Hereafter, *Shaw-Shaw, The Ottoman Empire*. For general information see, A. Levy, *Mahmut II*, EI. 58-61.

and provincially. They also decided the reorganization of the Janissary corps. They promised to approve the safeguards and rights of the person, the a'yan and the Sultan authority. Other significant agreements dealt with collection of taxes and conscription of soldiers. This agreement was very important for the politic history of the Ottomans, as the sultan agreed to share his absolute authority with provincial notables³⁵. İnalçık notes that "It clearly indicates the diminutions of the sultan's power and the rise of the provincial magnates"³⁶.

The rule of Alemdar did not last long. The Janissaries put an end to Alemdar and a'yan rule in the following month of agreement. So Alemdar eliminated and Mahmud II who owed his throne was the only surviving prince of the Ottoman dynasty. It should not be forgotten that Mahmud II also wanted to eliminate his Grand Vezir and the a'yan rule in the capital. As a result, he omitted to send any assistance to rescue him from the revolt of the Janissaries³⁷. It is a well-known fact that Mahmud II had no chance to use his own army for state affairs. He did not rely on the Janissaries to reestablish his authority in the provinces. Although they now became more harmful than useful³⁸. Mahmud II did not make any clear attempt to diminish the power and influence of the a'yan in the provinces after the disposing of the influence and domination of the a'yans in İstanbul. For the Ottomans were at war against Russia and it was not appropriate to open another front in the country. Furthermore, the Sultan was in need of the a'yans' forces at war. Nevertheless, Mahmud II did not hesitate to destroy the dynasties of Canıklı Ali Paşaoğulları in 1808 and Kadı Abdurrahman Paşa in 1809³⁹. However, the real action against the provincial a'yans was taken by the Sultan in 1812, soon after the conclusion of the peace treaty with Russia. To achieve his goal, he firstly used a'yan against one another for the sake of the state⁴⁰. So, the dynasty of Hazineada-roğulları in Trabzon fought against the Tuzcuoğulları in Rize in 1812-1834 and the a'yan of Seres against the a'yans of Thrace in 1819⁴¹. Secondly, after the death of the a'yans Mahmud II was able to deprive them of their titles and leases so that they themselves

35. For general information see, İnalçık, *Senet-i İttifak*, 604ff. *Idem.*, *Nature*, 52-3. Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi* 5, 95-6. Karpat, *Land Regime*, 52. Uzunçarşılı, *Tirsinikli*, 138-47. Shaw-Shaw, *The Ottoman Empire*, 2-3.

36. İnalçık, *Nature*, 53.

37. *Idem.*, 53, Lewis, *Modern Turkey*, 75, Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 98-100, Uzunçarşılı, *Tirsinikli*, 148-58.

38. İnalçık, *Nature*, 53.

39. Mert, II. *Mahmut*, 45.

40. İnalçık, *Nature*, 53.

were forced to submit and their heirs had to accept lower positions⁴². In this way, the influence of Çapanoğulları in 1813 and Karaosmanoğulları in 1816 was eliminated⁴³. But in 1821 the resistance of Tepedelenli Ali Paşa was suppressed by the central government⁴⁴.

Mahmud II restored much of the central authority in the provinces, when he crushed the disobedient a'yan. But the a'yan of the kazas remained almost at the head of local administrations and in possession of large leaseholds⁴⁵. Our document demonstrates that the a'yan of the kaza of Avrethisarı retained his post until the introduction of the Muhassıllık in 1840⁴⁶. In 1826, during the most critical period of the Greek insurrection, Mahmud II destroyed the Janissaries. As a result of this, he regained unlimited authority to reorganize the empire as the conditions of the time required. The destruction of the Janissaries was known as the *Vak'a-ı Hayriye* (the Auspicious Incident)⁴⁷. B. Lewis says that "between the destruction of the Janissaries in 1826 and his death in 1839, Mahmud II embarked on a great programme of reforms; in them he laid down the main lines along which later Turkish reforms, in the nineteenth and some extent even in the twentieth century, were to follow. In each field of reform, the creation of a new order was preceded by the destruction of an old one-and all these preliminary demolitions were made possible by the destruction of the Janissary corps, the central repository of military power of the traditional order"⁴⁸.

The development of the independence of Egypt under Mehmed Ali Paşa followed the destruction of the Janissaries (1826) and the Greek revolt (1827). Mehmed Ali, who had become governor and paşa of Egypt (1804) in the manner of paşas of a'yan origin, proved more dangerous than Tepedelenli Ali Paşa. From 1831 onwards, he threatened to extend his power to all Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman empire. His influence reached even as far as Anatolia, where the a'yan and conservative forces hostile to Mahmud's reforms were

42. Ibid., 45-6, İncalcık, Nature, 54.

43. Mert, II. Mahmut, 46.

44. Ibid., 47, İncalcık, Nature, 54, Karal, Osmanlı Tarihi 5, 114-17, Shaw-Shaw, The Ottoman Empire, 17-9.

45. İncalcık, Nature, 54, Karpat, Land Regime, 80-2.

46. See, Appendix I.

47. İncalcık, Nature, 54, Lewis, Modern Turkey, 77-9, Shaw-Shaw, The Ottoman Empire, 19-21.

48. Lewis, Modern Turkey, 54.

sympathetic to him. he twice defeated Mahmud's new armies in 1832 and 1839⁴⁹.

On the other hand, until the last decade of the reign of Mahmud II the position of the kaza a'yan (lesser a'yan) was almost the same as in the previous century; they were now referred to as *müteayyinan* and as *vücuu-u ahali*. But from then on, following changes in the administration of the kazas, in particular by the introduction of the Muhtarlık organization, some a'yan could no longer hold their positions, and the state either had to appoint them to the newly established "Redif Army" as officers, or reduced their duties gradually and appointed them to different posts as *muhtar* and *sandık emini*⁵⁰. Y. Özkaya notes that after 1830 the a'yan lost their power and influence over the re'aya and the number of the a'yan also decreased⁵¹. The a'yan, especially mütegalibe, however, appeared to have held positions until 1866 in some regions, though with less power and authority⁵².

Census and Survey. Mahmud II initiated a census survey to establish a new army following the destruction of the Janissaries in 1826. The male population was counted, because only males served in the army and paid taxes, and the count was long delayed due to the Ottoman-Russian war. When this war concluded with a peace treaty, the census was completed only in 1830. But the completion date of the census was in 1831. Careful preparations were made, and a committee appointed, which conducted a census of the male population of Anatolia and Rumelia. Other provinces of the empire were omitted as well as the entire female population. Members of the 'ulema were included among the census-takers in order to make the census effective. The count started at the beginning of 1830 in each village, nahiye, kaza and sancak of Rumelia and Anatoelia by the census takers sent from İstanbul⁵³. B. Lewis states that "At the same time as the census, a land survey was made, to register land-

49. İnalçık, Nature, 54. Karal, Osmanlı Tarihi 5, 130ff.

50. Özkaya, Ayanlık, 301ff. M. Çadırcı, "Türkiye'de Muhtarlık Teşkilatının Kurulması Üzerine Bir İnceleme", *Belleten* 34/135 (1970) 409-20. Hereafter *Çadırcı, Muhtarlık*, For a regional study of the reforms of the period see, Ursinus, Manastır, 40-100. R. Özdemir, *XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Ankara* (Ankara 1986). 171-173. Hereafter *Özdemir, Ankara*.

51. Özkaya, Ayanlık, 302.

52. Lewis, Modern Turkey, 445. A.G. Gould, "Lords or Bandits? The Derebeys of Cilicia", *IJMES* 7/4 (1976), 485-506.

53. Karal, Osmanlı Tarihi 5, 159-60. S. Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831,1914", *IJMES* 9 (1978) 325-338, esp. 325. Hereafter *Shaw, Census*.

holdings and thus make possible a more efficient and accurate system of tax assessment and collection"⁵⁴.

The census data of 1830 can be briefly summarized, the population of the empire was recorded to the religions such as Muslim, Christian, Jewish and age category which is under 16, between 16 and 40, an over 40. Owing to the military service, Muslims were divided into three groups according to age. Shaw states that "the men in the middle group being listed in separate conscription registers turned over to the army"⁵⁵. On the other hand Christian and Jewish males were not subject to military service, but they were subject to *cizye* (poll-tax). Henceforth, they were divided into three categories according to wealth: the highest (*'ala*), middle (*evsat*), and lowest (*edna*). The people of old age, or infirmity destitution were recorded separately, exempted from any tax. The sicil at our disposal illustrates that Muslim and non-Muslim tax-payers were recorded in the same register, but they were listed separately according to their religion (*millet*)⁵⁶.

The census was completed after severe difficulties due to be following reasons: a) The census officials were untrained and unsupervised. b) The census officials did not reach the more isolated areas, so many people were left uncounted. c) The gypsies and nomadic tribes were assumed to be entirely Muslim, and were counted on the basis of estimates supplied by their chiefs. d) Females and most parts of the empire were not counted. e) The capital city of the empire was not counted⁵⁷.

In brief, it can be said that the figures of the 1831 census seem very low, or partial, and are therefore far from being accurate or covering the whole population of the empire. Nevertheless, they give us at least some idea of the state of the population of the empire in the early years of the century. Despite its limitations and incompleteness, Shaw considers it to have remained the "only empire-wide count of the population available for official and private use for at least fifteen years"⁵⁸. The reforms in census making were however improved and new institutions were introduced in the aftermath of the 1831 census.

54. Lewis, *Modern Turkey*, 88-9.

55. Shaw, *Census*, 325-6.

56. *Ibid.*, 326. Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi* 5, 159.

57. Shaw, *Census*, 326-7.

58. *Ibid.*, 327.

The early Tanzimat-ı Hayriyye provincial reforms, which essentially were inaugurated after the destruction of the Janissaries, included provisions for census counts as part of the process by which the tax and property systems were reformed. The local *muh-tars* as well as millet religious officers were assigned a locality to count the population, to announce and execute state regulations, and ultimately, to issue the census receipts (*nüfus tezkiresi*) and travel permits (*mürur tezkiresi*)⁵⁹.

Defter Nazırı, Mukayyid and Jurnal Katibleri: The *defter nazırı* was appointed by the mutasarrıf of the province among the notable and wealthy people, but he was to be ratified by the Sultan in İstanbul after the consent of the Ceride Nazırı. Defter Nazırı appointed all sancak and eyalet-level. He was primarily in charge of making the census registers of his area. In this respect, he obtained a record of deaths and births, and of the age, sex, etc., of the population and the amount of poll tax (*cizye*) assigned to them. It was also in his authority to issue travel visas (*murur tezkeresi*), documents allowing people to travel between the provinces⁶⁰.

The responsibilities of the *mukayyid* appear to have been similar to those of the *defter nazırı*, operating on *kaza* level, but it seems that his rank was lower than that of the Defter Nazırı⁶¹.

Among the new institutions of the reforms of Mahmud II was the introduction of the *jurnal katibliği* in the provincial administration. The institution was firstly introduced in İstanbul and İzmit and was later extended to the other provinces of the empire. The *jurnal katibleri* were a sort of inspection acting as an intelligence service responsible for informing the state about the important events in the provinces concerning all kind of the matters⁶².

Sandık Eminliği. The Sandık Eminliği was one of the new institutions of the financial reforms of Mahmud II, which replaced the a'yans' control over expenses of the *kaza*⁶³.

The institution of Sandık Eminliği was firstly set up in Bursa in 1828 by Celaleddin Paşa, the mutasarrıf of Çirmen in Edirne

59. Shaw, *Census*, 327.

60. Özdemir, Ankara, 164-65.

61. *Ibid.*, 165-6.

62. *Ibid.*, 166-7.

63. Ursinus, Manastır, 95-9.

from 1815 to 1822⁶⁴. After its application in Bursa the institution was extended to other provinces of the empire. The Sandık Emni was chosen from among the trusted people of each kaza and appointed and sanctioned by the governor of his province. It appears that the principal target of the establishment of the Sandık Emni was to free the re'aya from the collection and assignment of tax abuses by the a'yan⁶⁵.

Muhtarlık; The Muhtarlık organisation was one of the new institutions resulting from the reforms of Mahmud II, which replaced the "*ahali ihtiyarları*" functioning as an intermediary between the state and the re'aya. The term Muhtar was sometimes known to have been used in the empire as the head or representative of the village or community⁶⁶.

The institution of Muhtarlık was first established in Istanbul in 1829. The first Muhtarlık outside Istanbul was, however, established in Kastamonu in 1833 by Dede Mustafa Ağa, the müteselîm, after the disposition of the local a'yan of Taşköprü, a kaza of Kastamonu. After it was proved useful in Kastamonu, the organization was extended to the other provinces of the empire on the basis of vilayet, kaza, vilages and quarters (mahalleler). The muhtar was elected from among the trusted people of each mahalle being "muhtar-ı evvel" and "muhtar-ı sani". After their election the names of the muhtars were sent to İstanbul by the Defter Nazırı of the vilayet for inspection by the Ceride Nezareti. If the muhtar elects were confirmed by the authorities in İstanbul, the Sultan ratified their election and the seals (mühür) were sent to them by the Ceride Nezareti⁶⁷.

Among the responsibilities of the muhtars was the security of the place, the registration of births and deaths, immigration and emigration. He was also responsible for making the register of income and expenses of his mahale. He also worked in the *meclis-i şer* with the assistance of the imam to assign the proportion of the tax to be levied per capita in the mahalle. In this sense the muhtars were true representatives of the people in their locality before the state⁶⁸.

64. Ibid., 96, Özkaya, Ayanlık, 301.

65. Ursinus, Manastır, 96-8, 249.

66. Özdemir, Ankara, 172, n. 171.

67. Çadırıcı, Muhtarlık, 410-3.

68. Ibid., 413-4.

Reorganisation of the Timars. As is mentioned above, the policy of confiscating and converting timars and ze'amets into domains and then leasing it as iltizam had been applied by Selim III. Mahmud II's revocation of all remaining timars in 1831 was thus a continuation of the policies of his predecessors⁶⁹. He also confiscated many timars to create new income for the new army. Most of the remaining parts were assigned to support the provincial cavalry as a branch of the new army (*Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*). Other parts of it were assigned to sipahis as their pensions. The confiscation of timars prepared the provincial regiments under local command, which provided the seed of a new regular cavalry army⁷⁰. The timar system was to appear in the Tanzimat period without functioning presumably until the land reforms in 1858⁷¹.

Redif (Provincial Reserve Militia). The redif was one of the new organizations in military reforms of Mahmud II. The redif militia law was proclaimed in 1834. The aim of the redif system was to train men who were to serve their areas in order to save the order of their locality. When the sultanate was at war, they were sent to the front, and they were conscripted according to the needs and capacity of each village. Redif battalions were founded in all sancaks of Anatolia and the Balkans. The members were aged between 26 and 32 and they were commanded by local notables. They were appointed by the governors and sent to İstanbul by the governors of the vilayet for confirmation by the Serasker. If the appointed commanders were confirmed by the authorities in the capital, the Sultan ratified their appointment. They were permitted to marry. Every six months a year in April and September the battalions gathered in the sancak capitals where the governors checked them. The redif corps were in normal military service. At that time their salaries were one quarter of those of the regular troops except when the redif forces went on active duty, when they were the same⁷².

Under the local notables the redif organization developed promptly over two years. In 1836, the redif troops were reshaped by Mahmud II, when local opposition arose in some places. Owing to this, the redif were extended and also connected more directly to the Porte. Shaw notes that "The powers of the provincial nota-

69. Lewis, *Modern Turkey*, 89-90.

70. Shaw-Shaw, *The Ottoman Empire*, 26, 43.

71. Özkaya, *Timar*, 247.

72. Shaw-Shaw, *The Ottoman Empire*, 43-4.

bles was reduced by grouping the provincial battalions into regional regiments headed by the Ottoman officials given the rank of müşir...⁷³. The new regulation of redif was significant for the provincial administration of the empire, as the new adjustments were not accepted by the notables who gave up their cooperation. It was a prototype of the provincial armies which were created later during the Tanzimat period.

III. The Provincial reforms of the early Tanzimat-ı Hayriyye Period reflected by the Tevzi' defteri of the kaza of Avrethisari

This part devotes to examine the provincial administration at the beginning of the *Tanzimat-i Hayriyye* period in the light of the tevzi' defteri of the kaza of Avrethisari. The reform period had been inaugurated by Selim III (1789-1807) and Mahmud II (1808-1839). While the former did not accomplish his reforms, but only prepared the way for the reforms conducted in the reign of his successor, Mahmud II managed to fulfil his reforms both centrally, especially by establishing the *Meclis-i Valayı Ahkam-ı Adliye* (The Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances)⁷⁴ towards the end of his reign on 24 March 1838 (27 Zilhicce 1253). and provincially, centralizing the state as a door opening to a new era which was to be called "*Tanzimat-ı Hayriyye*" in English "*Beneficient Reorderings*"⁷⁵.

Mahmud II, who is often referred to as the father of the reforms of the Ottomans, died on 30 June 1839 and his young son Abdülmecid became the sultan of the Empire. During the reign of Abdülmecid the reforms that followed often imitated many of Mahmud II's programmes and plans, but they were carried out mainly under the leadership of Mustafa Reşid Paşa⁷⁶, firstly the foreign secretary of the Empire and then the Grand Vezir. The Ottoman re-

73. Ibid., 44.

74. For a detailed description of various Ottoman conciliar bodies, including the Supreme Council of Judicious Ordinances see S. Shaw "The Central Legislative Councils in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Reform Movement Before 1876", *IJMES* 1 (1979) 51-84.

75. M. Ursinus "Holy Mountain and Supreme Council: Mounth Athos at the beginning of A New Era", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 13 (1989) 257-284, epc. 257-63ff.

76. As a general introduction into the period of Mustafa Reşid Paşa and men of the Tanzimat see Shaw-Shaw, *The Ottoman Empire*, 55-171. Lewis, *Modern Turkey*, 101-125. R.H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (New York 1973) esp. 36-51. And also İnalcık, *Nature*, 55-63.

form programme, as developed by his own experience and observations in consideration of the empire's current needs, was officially proclaimed on 3 November 1839, an imperial rescript of *Hatt-ı Şerif* read by Mustafa Reşid Paşa at Gülhane. This initiated the era of reform called *Tanzimat* in Ottoman Turkish history⁷⁷.

"The empire had been declining for one hundred and fifty years. because the religious laws and imperial laws had been disregarded. In order to restore its prosperity and strength new legislation was required which should be based on the principle of securing the life, honour, and property of all subjects. Taxation and conscription laws would be revised in accordance with the demands of justice. The tax farming system would be abolished and each citizen taxed in proportion to his means. Every accused person should be publicly judged. These guarantees should be extended to all subjects of whatever religion or sect"⁷⁸.

Under the Hatt-ı Şerif of 1839, the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances was charged with preparing new laws to carry out the reform. It operated on Western-style rules of parliamentary procedure, and the sultan promised to put into effect the laws it prepared⁷⁹. It was, however, in no way a representative assembly, being composed of appointed high officials⁸⁰.

Establishment of the Provincial Councils and emergence of Representative Government in the Provincial Administration of the Ottoman Empire. The ferman of January 1840 to provincial officials was the true start of representative governments and councils in the provinces of the empire⁸¹. According to the ferman, the powers of the governors of the vilayets and sancaks were undeniably re-

77. For the Hatt-ı Şerif and its analyse in general see, İnalçık, *Sened-i İttifak*, esp. 611-22. For a detailed analysis of the Western influence on bringing about the proclamation the Hatt-ı Şerif in general see, E.Z. Karal, "Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayununda Batının Etkisi", *Belleten* 28/112 (1964) 581-601.

78. İnalçık, *Nature*, 56.

79. "Over 90 per cent of the council's recommendations were promulgated by the sultan without change": Shaw-Shaw, *The Ottoman Empire*, 78. And also see, R.H. Davison "The Advent of the Principle of Representation in the Government of the Ottoman Empire", (Ed., W.R. Polk and R.L. Chambers) *Beginnings of the Modernization in the Middle East* (Chicago 1968) 93-108. esp. 97. Hereafter *Davison, Advent*.

80. *Ibid.*, 97, İnalçık, *Nature*, 56.

81. An important document giving all these enactments collectively is the ferman which was sent to the provinces toward the end of Zilkade 1255. The document is given in full, as it appears in the Bursa Ser'iye sicilleri, in İnalçık "Tanzimat'ın Uygulanması ve Sosyal Tepkileri", *Belleten* 28/112 (1964) 623-90. Esp. 660-71. doc. n. 4.

duced and only in their hands remained military and policy matters. All financial matters were handled by the muhassıl-ı emval, on the sancak level and the müdir, on the kaza level. The muhassıl and müdir and other officials were now appointed directly by the Porte. When the muhassıl was appointed, Müşir Paşa in the provinces, Ferik Paşa in the sancaks who held all policy and military functions. However, under the control of the muhassıl there were some soldiers to assist him in his tax collecting services. The redif troops were used for this aim, in districts where there was no regular force⁸².

On the other hand, the missions and powers of the local kadı were reduced by the central authority. They now became monthly salaried officials of the state like other state employees. It was a very significant transformation which occurred in the function of the kadıs and their deputies were forbidden to collect remunerations. They received their salaries monthly which were paid by the office of the muhassıl. Furthermore, the office of the muhassıl collected the legal judicial fees and fines which were considered as court incomes⁸³. According to the sicil of the kaza of Avrethisarı, the legal fees which were then *harc-ı ferman* (1406 guruş), *harc-ı imza* (206 guruş), *kalemiyye*, *kaydiyye*, *sarfiyye* and *muhziriyeye* (6 guruş for each), were collected by the office of the muhassıl of the afore mentioned kaza⁸⁴.

82. For detailed information see, H. İncalcık "Application of the Tanzimat and its Social effects", AO 5 (1973) 97-127. (We used in this study see, *The Ottoman Empire Conquest, Organization and Economy*, by, H. İncalcık, London Variorum 1978) esp. 5. Hereafter *İncalcık, Application*. The provincial councils and representative government are discussed in S. Shaw "The Origins of Representative Government in the Ottoman Empire: The Provincial Representative Councils, 1839-1876", (Ed., R. Winder) *Near Eastern Round Table*, 1967-1968 (New York 1969) 53-142. Esp. 59-60. Hereafter *Shaw, Representative*. Also for the development of the councils of the provinces and the sancaks see, M. Çadırcı "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Eyalet ve Sancaklarda Meclislerin Oluşturulması (1840-1864)", *Ord. Prof. Yusuf Hikmet Bayur'a Armagan* (Ankara 1985) 257-77. Hereafter *Çadırcı, Eyalet*. As a general introduction of the new reforms of the provincial administration see, İ. Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Sonra Mahalli İdareler* (Ankara 1974) esp. 13-31. Davison, *Advent*, 100. For Arab lands see, M. Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1861* (Oxford 1968) esp. part VII, Urban Politics: The Meclis, 87-107. Also see idem "The Impact of Modernization of Syrian Politics and Society During the Early Tanzimat Period" (Ed., W.R. Polk and R.L. Chambers) *Beginnings of the Modernization in the Middle East* (Chicago 1968) 333-349. For the European part of the empire in general for late provincial reforms in H.J. Kornrumpf, *Die Territorialverwaltung im ostlichen Teil der europäischen Türkei vom Erlass der Vilayetsordnung (1864) bis zum Berliner Kongress (1878) nach amtlichen osmanischen Veröffentlichungen* (Freiburg 1976) esp. 40-45.

83. İncalcık, *Application*, 6, Shaw, *Representative*, 59-60.

84. See Appendix I.

As to the councils established by the ferman of 1840, large councils (*büyük meclisler* or *muhassıl meclisleri*) were created in the sancak capitals to which muhassıls were appointed. These muhassıl councils consisted of 10 members in the muslim areas and 13 in the non-Muslim areas: six of the members were officials, and remaining members were local notables⁸⁵. The members of the councils were the muhassıl, his subordinate the police chief (*umur-ı zaptiye amiri*) and two clerks (*katibs*), the local kadı, the müfti. The remaining members were local Muslim notables (*vücut-ı memleket*) who were chosen locally to represent the local people's interests. Metropolitan and two kocabaşılar were the members of the council in the area where Christians were predominant. The kocabaşı was also chosen among the notables of Christians. Their duties were the same as Muslim notables, for except military matters. The head of the councils was in the provinces Müşir and in the sancaks Ferik, especially ferik was appointed the head of the council by the sultan⁸⁶. İncalcık cites that "Later regulations stated that in case the Ferik Paşa was a person not capable of filling this position, the head of the council should be elected by a drawing of lots from among the muhassıl, the kadı, and the security chief. Literacy was made a sine qua non for the head of council"⁸⁷.

The second category of councils established by the ferman of 1840 were small councils (*küçük meclisler*) introduced in each kaza where the Tanzimat provincial reforms were being applied. These councils consisted of five memberships. The small councils consisted of the kadı, the security chief, the muhassıl's representative in the kaza, who was called the *vekil*, and two local notables, of whom there had to be a non-Muslim in kazas where non-Muslims lived⁸⁸. The case is well attested by the sicil of the kaza of Avrethisarı. There the small council in 1840 consisted of the kadı, the vekil, the müdir, the local notables, of whom the first one was mentioned as "*ashab-ı alaka ve ahali muhtarı*", the other was mentioned kocabaşıları in the document⁸⁹.

85. These numbers are differed from 6 to 7 some investigations of historians. For example, S. Shaw claims that seven members of the councils were officials which were the muhassıl, two clerks, the local kadı, the müfti, the security chief and the metropolitan who was the religious leader of the Christian Greek millet. Shaw, Representative, 61.

86. Shaw, Representative, 60-2ff, Çadırcı, Eyalet, 261ff.

87. İncalcık, Application, 6.

88. İncalcık, Application, 6-7.

89. See Appendix I. It appears that according to this document there is no security chief, but instead of this, there is müdür.

The small councils met two or three times a week and discussed administrative, financial and civil matters. In the meetings, members expressed their opinions freely and without interference⁹⁰. The mentioned document at our disposal demonstrates that the council's members of the said kaza gathered and took some decisions without any intervention. As a specific example, they decided to collect a certain sum from their district in order to meet the expenses of the kaza of Avrethisarı⁹¹. The council's members met on Saturday 29th of August 1840 in the court of the kadı to debate previous expenditures and the collection of new taxes for the needs of their kaza. The decision of the council was as follows: The council decided that 8819 guruş were to be paid on an equal basis by the 5979 nefer (individuals) already listed and recorded in the population record of the mentioned kaza, according to which each person was to pay 59 para to be collected in specified amounts by the Muhassıl Vekili, of the said kaza, Memiş Beg. According to the document at our disposal, the expenses were spent in the payment of the purchase of 8 horses and repairing of the court building (mahkeme). This money was to be collected on an equal basis by the individual (*nefer*) which were listed and recorded in the population record of the kaza of Avrethisarı, according to which each person was to pay 59 para which would be collected in specified amounts by the muhassıl vekili Memiş Beg. This evidence indicates that the application of the Tanzimat-ı Hayriyye reforms with regard to the collection of the local taxation was applied on an equal basis to every individual. Who were the tax payers in the document at our disposal? This question has been studied by many scholars in order to establish the tax payer, in general the classic and modern period of the Ottoman empire. Despite these studies, this problem has not yet been explicitly exploited by the historians. It has been shown that the records of every provinces' data and tax measures differed from each other in various parts of the empire. The Turkish-English Redhouse dictionary explains the term nefer as a single individual or a person⁹². Apparently in our document the term refers to a person or a single individual who was at least 16 year old men and above. As has been mentioned in the second chapter, in the first censuses only men were included, since only they served in the army and paid taxes. It was also ordered that the small councils submit their deci-

90. Shaw, Representative, 62ff., İnalçık, Application, 7, Çadırcı, Eyalet, 261.

91. See Appendix I.

92. J.W. Redhouse, *Redhouse Yeni Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlük* (New Redhouse Turkish-English dictionary) (İstanbul 1986). 874.

sions for approval to the large councils of the sancaks to which they belonged. But the mentioned kaza council of Avrethisarı did not submit their decision for approval to the large council of the sancak of Salonica. It seems that the small councils did not submit all matters, but they submitted very important matters concerning general tax, conscription, and judicial matters⁹³. At the same time, the large councils dealt mainly with civil, judicial, and financial matters of the sancaks. They prosecuted those who committed tax fraud or other offences in obvious disregard of the stipulations of the Tanzimat. They sentenced those who committed any crime in accordance with the Seri'at. If the cases were important ones such as murder or robbery, they were brought to be attention of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances⁹⁴.

After the introduction of the new provisional administration in the provinces of the empire in March 1840, there were eight sancak councils and ten kaza councils functioning in the Balkans. In August, 1840, there were nine more muhassıl councils and twenty small ones, including the mentioned kaza of Avrethisarı in consideration, functioning in the Balkans, and twenty-seven large ones created and in operation in Anatolia. In January, 1841, this number had increased to forty-nine large councils and five hundred and eighty small ones functioning in all parts of the empire, and the numbers continued to rise during the next few years⁹⁵.

The councils of the early Tanzimat both large and small did not achieve their duties exactly on the basis of the regulation of the Tanzimat. They spent mostly useless debates which were concerned with taxes and administrative misgovernment and autocracy. The council only succeeded in collecting the local taxes. It should not be forgotten that the council played a role as mediator between the representatives of the government and the local people; this role had been acted successfully by the council of ayan and eşraf under the leadership of kadı semiofficially from the last quarter of the sixteenth century until the introduction to the Tanzimat⁹⁶. Shaw indicates that "In cases involving administrative misrule or injustice, the councils, in most cases, assumed full power to consid-

93. İncalcık, Application, 7.

94. *Ibid.*, 7, Shaw, Representative, 73-5, Çadırcı, Eyalet, 265-6.

95. Shaw, Representative, 66.

96. See chapter I and II. The functions of the local notables are discussed here. As a general introduction into the that period see İncalcık, Decentralization.

er complaints brought to them by aggrieved individuals as well as those uncovered by their own investigators, there numerous on record, even at this early time, where bureaucrats as high as muhasils and feriks were dismissed by the central government upon receipt of complaints from the local and district councils, and where such officials also had their salaries lowered by action of the same councils, without reference to İstanbul⁹⁷.

On the other hand, the councils were still functioning within the general scope provided for them by the regulation of 1840. Nevertheless, many of them went far beyond going so far as to draw up reports of local grievances on matters such as bad roads, insufficient police protection, delays in carrying out certain Tanzimat reforms in their areas, and so on⁹⁸. Following these complaints in some areas people were provoked by their local leaders including the members of the councils, in particular, the notables, the metropolitan, müftis, kadıs etc. Such reactions prepared the uprising of Niş in 1841⁹⁹, and in Bala a kaza of Ankara in Anatolia¹⁰⁰, both of which occurred as local reactions to the Tanzimat programme. Ziya Paşa states that "Though the privileges of the ayan, the control of the Janissaries, and bad practices such as placing government agents into governorships have been abolished on paper by the Blessed Tanzimat... in the provinces feudal lords still flourish but under different names now, one group of them consisting of the foreign consuls and the other of influential and rich local people, such as council members and other urban notables"¹⁰¹.

Indeed, by such actions some council members were merely representing the interests of their own groups and some usurers. Those who were against the Tanzimat reforms, including muhasils, feriks kadıs, and metropolitan strictly complained about these matters to central government. They demanded in their complaints the elimination of the councils. In order to prevent such problems the government dismissed opponents of the Tanzimat from the councils. Such dismissals were not carried out properly, because many members of the councils were chosen among the local notables. Furthermore, the central government did not interfere in the

97. Shaw, Representative, 73-4, Çadırcı, Eyalet, 265-8.

98. Shaw, Representative, 74. For a detailed description see İnalçık, Application, 12ff., Çadırcı, Eyalet, 263-5ff.

99. See, İnalçık, Application, 21-30.

100. Ibid., 18 and idem, Nature, 60.

101. İnalçık, Application, 26.

elections of the council, this gave them a great opportunity to elect similiar interested people¹⁰².

The provincial reforms of the Tanzimat, especially in the later period, transformed provinces, sancaks, kazas and villages. Our sivil illustrates very well some of the changes which the kaza of Avrethisarı underwent. It came to include the kaza of Gevgeli and its villages (Kevata, Bugruç, Üstüban, Böbrek, Çidemli, Harcan, Karasula etc.) and some villages of the kaza of Doyran became villages of the kaza of Avrethisarı. Later, the village of Gevgeli became the centre of a kaza and the mentioned villages were transferred into its territory from the neighbouring kaza of Avrethisarı. At the same time, villages of neighbouring kazas were transfered into the kaza of Avrethisarı after the new regulations of the late Tanzimat period¹⁰³.

It is well-known that during the first two years of the Tanzimat-ı Hayriyye, the new provincial reforms, of which the councils were a part, did not work properly. Provincial governors lost so much power that internal security -and much more important as far as İstanbul was concerned government revenues from provincial taxation- dropped drastically. The replacement of the governors and, under them, the tax farmers by salaried muhassıls could not produce satisfactory results, since most of mahassıls came from the a'yan or mütesellim, who did not give up their bad habits in the years before the Tanzimat periods. What is more, in a time when communications were still poor compared with European countries of the time, the central government was only beginning the process of extending its ability to supervise and control its agents in the provinces. As a results of these and other reasons, it was almost impossible to secure efficient tax collection from salaried officials whose financial interests, unlike those of tax farmers, were not directly involved in the efficient performance of their duties¹⁰⁴.

As has been cited before, the governors had been made so powerless in the financial area by the January 1840 reforms that they were unable to remedy the situation. Owing to this, treasure

102. Ibid., 10-11, Shaw, Representative, 74.

103. See Appendix II and Map. For a regional study of cartography of the area see, E. Kruger, *Die Siedlungsnamen Griechisch-Makedoniens nach amtlichen Verzeichnissen und Kartenwerken* (Berlin 1984).

104. For a general information see note 10 above. And also see esp. İnalçık, Application, 18-9, Shaw, Representative, 75, Çadırcı, Eyalet, 259-60.

revenues decreased rapidly, and in order to cover part of the state salaries and other expenditures, the state was forced to issue government bonds called *esham kava'imi*. So, Mustafa Reşid Paşa who initiated and prepared the Tanzimat reforms, was dismissed in March 1841. After the dismissal of Mustafa Reşid Paşa the conservatives came to power, and they were to create radical changes in provincial organization. These were introduced in a series of regulations decreed in March 1841, and put into effect in January 1842¹⁰⁵.

The provincial reforms of 1842 did not basically effect the councils directly, but they significantly altered the structure of administration around them. The election systems of the council were abolished, so new members were appointed by the kaymakams. According to the regulation of 1842, every provincial governors had to establish provincial administrative councils (*eyalet idare meclisi*) and their members were chosen from several sancak councils. The main object of the reform was to improve tax collection and restore administrative efficiency on all levels of provincial government. The office of the muhassıl was abolished and the governors once again concentrated on the authority to deal with both security and financial matters of their provinces, just as before the proclamation of the Tanzimat. In the sancaks and kazas, the muhassıls and vekils were replaced by their local military opposites. The müşir and ferik took over administration of eyalets and sancaks. Governors officially retained their former title of vali even when müşirs held the post. On the other hand, on the sancak level the office of muhassıl was now changed to the less autonomous title of kaymakam who was a substitute or agent of the governors. He was appointed by the governors. While müşirs and feriks now took entire command of the provincial administration in the provinces and sancaks, they were given provincial treasurers (*defterdars*) and district scribes (*katıbs*) sent from İstanbul in order to advise and assist them¹⁰⁶.

The new provincial councils continued to operate according to the government's expectations in most places, and as the Tanzimat provincial reforms were spread, they continued to be introduced all over the empire. By the start of 1844, sancak and kaza councils were functioning almost everywhere. From 1844 to 1849 the councils were spread all over the Ottoman empire, so the Tanzimat pro-

105. Shaw, Representative, 75-8, İncalcık, Application, 18-9.

106. Shaw, Representative, 75-9, İncalcık, Application, 17-20.

vincial reforms were developed at best rather than previous four years in this period, and it was to prepare the new applications of 1849 and 1964. Especially, the latter was the core of later developments, both of the Ottoman empire and its real and main successor, the state of Turkey.

IV. The importance of the tevzi defteri (Masarîf Defteri) of the Kaza Avrethisarı as a historical source

In this part I shall examine the importance of the tevzi' defteri of the kaza of Avrethisarı as a historical source. From the second half of the seventeenth century until the early Tanzimat period tevzi (masarîf) defterleri are, the primary sources for the history of Ottoman provincial administration. The mentioned sicil at our disposal is a very good example of a type of late tevzi' (masarîf) defteri¹⁰⁷. Therefore, it may be useful to give brief details of the contents and functions of the tevzi defteri. During period of the decline the changes in taxation, two institutions, the tevzi' defterleri (register of apportioning) and the council of a'yan, were very important. These institutions provided the mechanism for local administration and led to the emergence of an internal autonomy, a certain degree of independence in the handling of affairs within the community itself. Therefore, the tevzi' defterleri are very important primary sources for the Ottoman provincial administration. A separate tevzi' defteri was to be made and used for different purposes: the 'avarız levies, the imdad-ı seferiyyes, the imdad-ı hazariyye, the mal-ı maktu' and the vilayet harı. But the various tevzi' defterleri differed from each other only in their content; in their structure they were the same¹⁰⁸.

In general, tevzi defterleri were made twice a year in the Ruz-ı Hızır and Ruz-ı Kasım¹⁰⁹. These registers specified the taxes to be collected from each kaza, which were then entered in the registers of the kadıs, i.e., şer'iyye sicils. The amount of 'avarız or imdadiyye to be collected from a kaza was to be established by councils convening in the capitals of the provinces and in the sancaks. Then the sum apportioned to a given kaza was directed to the local kadı by the mübaşir who was responsible for the collection of the taxes un-

107. The document is given in the Appendixes.

108. For a detailed information see, Ursinus, Manastır, 45f., 67-77. İnalçık, Military, 335.

109. M.Z. Pakalın, "Tevzi Defterleri", *OTDTS* III, 485-6.

der the supervision of the kadı. Then the kadı and local a'yan reviewed the sum apportioned to their area and made the necessary adjustments for the completion of the defter which was then to be ratified by the kadı before the collection of the agreed sums among the people in the villages and the kazas by the mübaşir¹¹⁰.

However the masarîf defterleri (local expense registers), also known as vilayet harcı or salyane registers, were vastly different in content from all other tevzi' defterleri in that they were strictly devoted to the urgent expenses of the communities themselves; thus, they took on the nature of the provincial budgets. The levies recorded in these registers were mostly of the tekalif-i şakka type which were mainly as follows: a) zahire -baha to cover expenses of provision and entertainment of governors, provincial officials and to cover travel expenses and pay daily for the mutesellim while he was touring the province on a public assignment, b) levy to cover fees paid to kadı to court officials, servants and various expenses connected with the repairing of the local court and celebrations in town¹¹¹.

The document is taken from a sicil. The handwriting is of the type known as *Ta'lik*. It is written in Turkish, but the date is given in Arabic letters. The document is four pages in total, and includes an entry and list of the village of the kaza. The document sheds light on several aspects of the history of the kaza in the period concerned:

1. It reflects the administrative and political structure of the kaza and its villages.
2. It deals with economic and fiscal matters of the kaza concerning the tax collection and tax payers.
3. It illustrates the religious and ethnic structure of the population of the kaza.
4. It provides valuable topographical information on the kaza of Avrethisarı.

The kaza of Avrethisarı, known also as Kılıks, was a small administrative unit in the Ottoman provincial administration known as kaza. The kaza of Avrethisarı is very important for our study, because one of the earliest kaza council was created there at the be-

110. Ibid., 485-6, İnalçık, Military, 336-7, McGowan, Ottoman Europe, 158-70.

111. İnalçık, Military, 337.

ginning of the application of an institution on the kaza level¹¹². When was this council setup? There is no information in the document as to when the council first began. It seems that the council was functioning soon after the introduction of the larger councils in January 1840. The council was probably established between February and August 1840. The document indicates the member of the council and their positions.

The kaza meclis (council) of Avrethisarı (August 1840)

The kadı	1
The müdir	1
The muhassıl vekili	1
The ashab-ı alaka	Many
The ahali muhtarları	Many
The kocabaşları	Many

This list shows that there were three members who were the local kadı, the müdir and the muhassıl vekili, and other local representatives of the kaza. It is impossible to be sure how many ashab-ı alaka, ahali muhtarları and kocabaşlar attended the meetings of the council. As has been explained in the first part the institution of a'yanlık and its position so as to understand the functions of the local notables were in the Ottoman Empire during the period of decline.

As with most Ottoman kazas, there was a kadı, the judge of the kaza according to the tevzi defteri that we have at our disposal. The document furthermore provides valuable information about the kadı who was the member of the new-established council of the kaza. Thus, he was also responsible for recording the decisions of the council in the sicil after each debate was concluded. The muhassıl vekili, Memiş Beg was another official in the kaza mentioned in the document. He was the chief of the council. He was dependent on the Muhassıl-ı Emval on the Sancak level in Salonica which was the provincial centre for the kaza of Avrethisarı. He was appointed by the muhassıl to represent his interest in the kaza. The main duty of the muhassıl vekili, as reflected by our document, was to assign the taxes and to collect them in accordance with the decision of the kaza council. The müdir was another officer in the administration of the kaza of Avrethisarı, but unlike the muhassıl vekili he was appointed directly by the central government.

112. A general introduction of the earliest council was discussed in the third part.

On the other hand, the local notables are mentioned in the document at our disposal as "ashab-ı alaka ve ahali muhtarına ve kocabaşları". They were elected by the local people of the kaza in order to represent them vis a vis the central authority. If our document is not an exception they were also members of the council. Among them kocabaşı was the head and chief of a Christian community in the Kaza of Avrethisarı, as was the case in other parts of the empire.

The document indicates that the majority of the tax-payers were non-Muslims. Who were the non-Muslims in the kaza of Avrethisarı? As has mentioned earlier in the second part, the first modern census was initiated by Mahmud II and it was completed in 1830. It was compiled during the course of one year, 1831¹¹³. The document states that "The council has decided that the remaining 8819 guruş is to be paid on an equal basis by the 5979 nefer (individual), excluding the redif, already listed and recorded in the population record of the mentioned kaza, ...". It is likely that the population record of Avrethisarı was prepared in 1831 and the tax payers of the mentioned kaza were taken from this population record. The births and deaths were also recorded regularly by the mukayyid of the kaza. According to the census of 1831, the male population of the kaza of Avrethisarı was in the following proportions¹¹⁴:

Muslims	3.176
Re'aya	6.949
Gypsies	332
Total	10.457

It is well-known that the re'aya refers to Orthodox Christians in Ottoman historical documents as is the case in the population record of 1831 and the document at our disposal¹¹⁵. Who were these Orthodox Christians in the documents? Re'aya, especially in the Balkans, meant Orthodox Christians, that is, the Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, and Vlachs. Non-Muslims referred to Orthodox, Armenians and Jews in the historical sources of the Ottoman Em-

113. A brief discussion of the 1830 or 1831 for a specific area see, M. Çadırcı, "1830 Genel Sayımına Göre Ankara Şehir Merkezi Üzerine Bir Araştırma", *JOS* 1 (1980) 109-32. Esp. 110-11.

114. K. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*. (Wisconsin 1985) esp. 109. Hereafter, Karpat, Population.

115. *Ibid.*, 114.

pire. It is clear that the population record of Avrethisarı and the tevzi' defteri at our disposal registered non-Muslims as re'aya who must have been the Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, and Vlachs. It should be said that there were no Jewish and Armenian communities in the kaza of Avrethisarı. On the other hand, the population of the province of Salonica consisted predominantly of Jews. It is impossible to identify the gypsies from our document. We know that the Muslim and Christian gypsies were listed and recorded separately in the population record of 1831. But we assume that the Christian gypsies constituted the majority of the gypsy population in the kaza of Avrethisarı.

According to the census of 1831 the Christian population formed nearly 70 % 7170 (re'aya 6949 and the Christian gypsies 221) of the total male population in the kaza of Avrethisarı. The Muslims formed nearly 30 % 3287 (Muslims 3176 and the Muslim gypsies 111) of the total male population in the kaza of Avrethisarı. It can be concluded that the total male and female population of Avrethisarı was around 20.914 in 1831. Unfortunately, the document at our disposal does not give the male population of the kaza, but only the tax-payers of the kaza of Avrethisarı. Therefore, we cannot give the figure of the male population of the said kaza.

We come to description of the tax-payers of the kaza of Avrethisarı. In our document, Muslim tax-payers appeared with a total of 379 nefer, excluding the redif who were not counted as tax-payers owing to their tax-exempt status. Who were the tax-payers (nefer, pl. neferen) in the document? We have briefly discussed the tax-payers (nefer) in the third chapter. It is certain that in the period under study the tax was paid individually (neferen). According to K. Karpat "The head tax, levied on non-Muslims, usually those between the ages of fifteen and sixty, ..."116. It is known that non-Muslims who were handicapped, old or destitute were exempt from taxation. It seems that the term nefer referred to men aged between 15 years old and 60 years old according to the document at our disposal. It seems that without the redif, Muslim tax-payers of the kaza of Avrethisarı formed 6.3 % 379 of the total tax-payers. The rest of the 93.7 % 5600 of the tax-payers were non-Muslims.

The kaza of Avrethisarı consisted of 72 villages including the kaza itself and 23 çiftliks (farms). There were 3 villages of tax-

116. Ibid., 20.

paying Muslims Sersemli, Sarıgöl and Aşıklı. Apart from these 16 villages there were both Muslim and non-Muslim tax-payers who inhabited the same villages, but apparently had separate quarters. As can be seen from Appendix II, the document clearly distinguishes between Muslim and non-Muslim villages. Thus, Muslim villages were recorded as "Muslim-i Kılıkıs, Muslim-i Sesemli...", while non-Muslim villages were recorded as "Karye-i Karabınar, Karye-i Durasanlı...", and non-Muslims were simply identified as "Re'aya". The largest village with Muslim tax-payers was Muslim-i Birde Piç, consisting of 56 Muslim tax-payers. This village is followed by Muslim-i Bogdanca 53. The others in order are: Kılıkıs 40, Turunca 37, Mirzen 29, Armutcı 26, Bugruç 22, Çidemli 18, Böbrek 17, Erikli 15, Gevgeli 14, Aşıklı and Kalınova 11, Sersemli and Avrethisarı 9, Üstüban 4, Sarıgöl 3 and Selmanlu 2. Muslim populated villages situated around the village of Gevgeli, which became a kaza in the later periods, and especially Eastern and Northern sides of the Kılıkıs. My investigation of the salname of the province of Selanik¹¹⁷ and some modern maps¹¹⁸ has shown that the other muslim villages were located mostly in Kılıkıs, the centre of the kaza; the village of Postular situated Southwest of the kaza and Selmanlu situated in the Souteast. The Christian populated villages had the same name as the Muslim villages which were called Kılıkıs Re'ayası, Karye-i Armutcı Re'ayası, Karye-i Gevgeli Emlak, Karye-i Birde Piç Re'ayası and so on. It can be, however, seen only in the village names of Karye-i Postular and Karye-i Erikli.

As has been noted the farms (çiftlik) which numbered 23 in all were very common in the kaza of Avrethisarı. They were handled by Muslim owners who were usually among the local wealthy people, military and religious groups as was discussed in the first part. Some çiftlik owners are also mentioned in the document, for example Timur Aga, Halil Aga and Devletlü Ömer Paşa in the village of Karasula, Mustafa Beg in the village of Gevgeli, El-Hacı Bayram in the village of Macikova, İbrahim Beg and Salih Beg in the village of Üstüban, Mustafa Beg in the village of Kalınova, Ali Beg in the village of Hırsova, Mustafa Aga in the villages of Haydarlu, Ahmed Aga and El-Hacı Mustafa Aga in the village of Selmanlu, Devletlü Ömer Paşa and Hasan Beg in the village of Ali Havaceler, Mehmed Aga in the village of Butraş.

117. I am debt to M. Ursinus who provide me the map of the salname of the Salonica which is dated from 1904.

118. The map of Greece, Thessaloniki 1:250, 000 Greece, sheet G2 Thessaloniki.

There were four village people recorded as "Karye-i Mezburda Parakende Re'ayası" (share-croppers in the mentioned villages). The share-Croppers of the villages lived in areas around the river of Vardar, near to the villages of Gevgeli, Bogdancı, Bugruç and Üstüban. There were also four villagers recorded as "Karye-i Mezburda Fatihan Re'ayası" (re'aya of the conquerors which were in the mentioned villages). It seems from the document at our disposal that the Fatihan Re'ayası was a non-Muslim community, since they were clearly distinguished from Muslim villages by the term "karye and re'aya"¹¹⁹. There is a possibility that they may have been non-Muslim Turks who fought in the war against the Christians during the classic period of the Ottoman Empire and they were settled by the state. These re'aya were found in the vicinity of the villages of Macikova, Turunca, Bağcılar and Butraş. The majority of the çiftlik were situated around the river of Vardar and other small rivers, predominantly in the northwest of the kaza around the villages of Gevgeli, Birde Piç, Turunca, Bugruç, Karasula, Üstüban, Macikova and Kalınova.

The refer of the çiftlik appear to have made up 12.5 % 752 of the total tax-payers of the kaza. This proportion clearly suggests that the farms seem to have continued to function economically and agriculturally during the reign of Mahmud II and Tanzimat period in Ottoman history, especially in the central provinces of the Balkans and Anatolia. In this period, as was mentioned in the second part, the central government reduced the number and influence of local notables; their positions were now lowered and they were appointed only by the central authority as Muhtar, Sandık Emni, the chief of the local militia. They also became Muhassıl, Muhassıl Vekili and Müdür when the Tanzimat provincial reforms were introduced by the men of the Tanzimat.

The kaza centre of Kılıkı contained the largest number of tax-payers including non-Muslim and muslim tax-payers were 764 and 40 respectively. The total of 804 tax-payers amounted to 13 % of all tax-payers in the kaza of Avrethisarı. The other villages with large numbers of tax-payers were Karye-i Lübenice, Karye-i Bogdanca, Karye-i Macikova, Karye-i Kıraç and Karye-i Yaneş, which had 399, 286, 246, 210, and 177 tax-payers respectively.

119. For a general information, see, M.T. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar, ve Evlad-ı Fatihan* (İstanbul 1957).

The document also provides valuable toponymic information concerning the names of the kaza of Avrethisarı. 50 % of the village names were Turkish. In other words, most places had name of Ottoman-Turkish, Arabic or Persian origin. The villages which had Turkish names are as follows: Sarıgöl, Sersemli Armutcu, Erikli, Selmanlu, Aşıklı (or Işıklı), Kalınova, Çidemli, Turunca, Böbrek, Avrethisarı, Üstüban, Gayr Yeşil, Karasula, Koyun, Sermetli, İsmukoyca, Birde Piç, Kovanca, Gayr Çeste, Hırsova, Harcan, Çugunca, Beglerli, Kazanova, Yeniköy, Davutlu, Şekerli, Haydarlu Emlak, Gölbaşı, Koca Ömerlü, Sarıbazar, Çömleki, Akça Kilise, Karabınar, Bağcılar, Ali Havaceler, Karaca Hızırlı, Durasanlı, Kıraç, Vargetür.

All in all, it is clear that the tevzi' defteri that we have at our disposal reveals much information relating to the Ottoman administrative, fiscal, military regimes, as well as to the socio-economic history of the kaza of Avrethisarı from the last decades of the reign of Mahmud II up to the early Tanzimat-ı Hayriyye period. The document is of great significance in that it indicates the new and old institutions and practices of the kaza unit in the Ottoman Empire.

Appendix I

Transliteration of the text:

Ba'is-i defter oldur ke

Bundan akdem 'Avrethisarı kazasında esbak A'yan Mustafa Ağanın konak ve sarnıç ta'miri mesarafatlarından on bin guruş harc-ı ferman bin dörtyüz altı guruş cem'an onbirbin dörtyüz altı guruş alacak matlubatı bism-i anda bekayası kaldığını kaza-ı mezbur meclisinde bi'l-cümle müdir ve ashab-i alaka ve ahali muhtarına [ları] ve kocabaşları hazır oldukları halde muvacehelerinde taleb eylediklerinde cümlesi mukayyed ve mukarrin olduklarında üzeriye [me] mahkeme ta'mirat-ı mesarufı olan seksan buçuk guruş ile ber mu'tad-i kadem ikiyüz altı guruş harc-ı imza ve altı guruş kalemiyye ve kaydiyye ve sarfiyye ve muhzırıyyeleri ke min haysi'l mecmu'i onyedibin sekizyüz otuz buçuk guruşdan kaza-ı mezburun kirahanesinden bey' olunmuş olan sekiz re's bargir esmani üçbin guruş te'diyye ve teslim olundukda baki kalan sekizbin sekiz yüz on tokuz guruş kaza-ı mezburda mevcut olub defter-i nüfusda mes-tur ve mukayyed olan ez gayri redife yalnız beşbin tokuzyüz yetmiş tokuz nefer üzeriye tevzi' ve taksim olunarak tahsil olunmasına meclisce karar virildiginden beher nefere ellitokuzar para isabet eylediği zikr-i ati meblag-ı merkumun tahsiliyçün kaza-ı mezbur Mu-hassıl Vekili atufetlü Memiş Beg tarafından meclisce virilan defterdir ke ber vech-i ati zikr ve beyan olunur. Fi Gurre-i min şehri- Recebü'l-mürecceb sene sitte ve hamsin ve miateyn ve elf.

Translation of the text into English:

This is the cause of the register

Previously, the former a'yan in the kaza of Avrethisarı, Mustafa Aga, asked 10.000 guruş for the expenditure of the repairing the mansion and cistern [and] 1.406 guruş for the *harc-ı ferman*, a total debt of 11.406 guruş from the *meclis* of the *kaza* where the *müdir* and *ashab-ı alaka* and *ahali muhtarına*[ları] and *kocabaşları* were all present. Everything has been recorded and put together by me being the expenditures of the repair [set] by the mahkeme (court) which is 80.5 guruş, and altogether makes 17.832 guruş including 206 guruş for the usual fixed *harc-ı imza* and 6 guruş for the *kalemiye* and *kaydiyye* and *sarfiyye* and *muhzırıyyeler* of which 3000 guruş has been submitted and paid as the price of 8 horses which

were purchased from the rental house of the said kaza. The council has decided that the remaining 8819 guruş is to be paid on an equal basis by the 5979 *nefer* (individual), excluding the *redif*, already listed and recorded in the population record of the mentioned kaza, according to which each person is to pay 69 *para* which will be collected in specified amounts by the *Muhassıl Vekili* Memiş Beg, the *atufetlü*, of the said kaza. This is the register given by the council, which is mentioned and declared in the following manner. On the first month of *Receb*, the honoured, the year of twelve hundred fifty six (29 August 1840).

APPENDIX II

	Para	Neferan	Guruş
Müslim-i Kılıks	40	59	00
Müslim-i Sersemli	09	13	17
Müslim-i Sarıgöl	03	04	17
Müslim-i Armutcı	26	38	14
Müslim-i Postular	03	04	17
	<u>81</u>	<u>119</u>	<u>19</u>
Müslim-i Selmanlu	02	02	38
Müslim-i Erikli	15	22	05
Müslim-i Avrethisari	09	13	11
Müslim-i Aşıklı	11	16	09
Müslim-i Kalnova	11	16	09
	<u>129</u>	<u>190</u>	<u>11</u>
Müslim-i Çidemli	18	26	22
Müslim-i Böbrek	17	25	04
Müslim-i Üstüban	04	05	36
Müslim-i Bugruç	22	32	18
Müslim-i Bogdanca	53	78	07
	<u>243</u>	<u>357</u>	<u>17</u>
Müslim-i Birdepiç	56	72	24
Müslim-i Turunca	37	54	23
Müslim-i Mirzen	29	42	31
Müslim-i Gevgeli	14	20	26
	<u>379</u>	<u>559</u>	<u>01</u>
Kılıks Re'ayası	764	1126	37
Karye-i Armutcı Re'ayası	11	16	09
Karye-i Gayr Yeşil	66	97	14
Karye-i Mihaloğa	60	88	20
Karye-i Karasula Emlak	03	04	17
	<u>1283</u>	<u>1792</u>	<u>18</u>
Karye-i Mezburda Alaka-ı Timur Aga	15	22	05
Karye-i Mezburda Alaka-i Halil Aga	14	20	26
Karye-i Mezburda Alaka-ı Devletlü Ömer Paşa	09	13	11
Karye-i Vardina	23	33	37
Karye-i Kulibeler	13	19	07

	135	2001	24
Karye-i Dambova	54	79	26
Karye-i Rehveyaca	49	72	11
Karye-i Ispanç	17	26	22
Karye-i Gevgeli Emlak	54	79	26
Karye-i Beyafca	70	103	10
	1602	2372	38
Karye-i Gevgeli Alaka-ı Mustafa Beg	56	82	24
Karye-i Mezburda Perakende Re'ayası	19	28	01
Karye-i Lübenice	399	588	21
Karye-i İsmol	32	47	08
Karye-i Macikova	246	362	34
	2354	3473	36
Karye-i Mezburda El-Hacı Bayram Aga	25	36	35
Karye-i Mezburda Fatihan Re'ayası	74	109	06
Karye-i Üşleb	46	67	34
Karye-i Koyun	81	119	19
Karye-i Sermetli	114	216	23
	2827	4022	23
Karye-i İsmukoyca	148	218	12
Karye-i Birdepiç Re'ayası	34	50	06
Karye-i Turunca Emlak	08	11	32
Karye-i Mezburda Fatihan Re'ayası	22	32	18
Karye-i Vak'i Çiftlikat Re'ayası	68	100	12
	3007	4435	23
Karye-i Diredene	45	66	15
Karye-i Kovanca	20	29	20
Karye-i Balurca	21	30	39
Karye-i Mirzen Re'ayası	43	63	17
Karye-i Gevata	78	110	02
	3214	4740	23
Karye-i Gayrçeste	75	110	25
Karye-i Bogdanca Re'ayası	233	343	27
Karye-i Mezburda Parekende Re'ayası	36	53	04
Karye-i Bugruç Emlak	57	82	24
Karye-i Mezburda Parekende Re'ayası	32	47	08
	3646	5377	34
Karye-i Üstüban Alaka-ı İbrahim Beg	47	69	13
Karye-i Mezburda Alaka-ı Salih Beg	67	98	33
Karye-i Mezburda Parekende Re'ayası	38	56	02
Karye-i Bacadız	22	32	18

Karye-i Böbrek Re'ayası	13	19	07
	<u>3833</u>	<u>5653</u>	<u>27</u>
Karye-i Çidemli Re'ayası	14	20	26
Karye-i Kalınova Emlak	26	38	14
Karye-i Mezburda Alaka-ı Mustafa Beg	14	20	26
Karye-i Hirsova Emlak	129	190	11
Karye-i Mezburda Alaka-ı Ali Beg	12	17	27
	<u>4027</u>	<u>5941</u>	<u>12</u>
Karye-i Harcan	18	26	22
Karye-i Çugunca	67	98	33
Karye-i Kazanova	79	101	31
Karye-i Beglerli	50	73	30
Karye-i Diragomir	173	255	07
	<u>4405</u>	<u>6497</u>	<u>15</u>
Karye-i Govalan	42	61	38
Karye-i Yeniköy	32	47	08
Karye-i Davutlı	37	54	23
Karye-i Şekerli	22	32	18
Karye-i Melafca	13	19	07
	<u>4551</u>	<u>6712</u>	<u>29</u>
Karye-i Haydarlı Emlak	26	37	14
Karye-i Mezburda Alaka-ı Mustafa Aga	29	42	31
Karye-i Avrethisari Emlak	68	100	12
Karye-i Gölbaşı	31	45	29
Karye-i Koca Ömerlü	104	153	16
	<u>4809</u>	<u>7093</u>	<u>11</u>
Karye-i Sarıbazar	23	33	37
Karye-i Yaneş	177	261	03
Karye-i İstrezova	27	41	12
Karye-i Çömləkci	24	35	16
Karye-i Akçakilise	13	19	07
	<u>5074</u>	<u>7474</u>	<u>06</u>
Karye-i Selmanlı Alaka-ı Ahmed Aga	18	26	22
Karye-i Mezburda Alaka-ı El- Hacı Musa Aga	13	19	07
Karye-i Karabınar	22	32	18
Karye-i Bağcılar Emlak	39	57	21
Karye-i Mezburda Fatihan Re'ayası	54	79	26
	<u>5220</u>	<u>7699</u>	<u>20</u>
Karye-i Ali Havaceler Emlak	20	29	20
Karye-i Mezburda Alaka-ı Devletlü Ömer Paşa	56	82	24
Karye-i Mezburda Alaka-ı Hasan Beg	19	28	01

Karye-i Postolar	93	137	07
Karye-i Karaca Hızurlu	59	87	01
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	5467	8063	34
Karye-i Kelindir	86	126	34
Karye-i Durasanlı	21	30	39
Karye-i Kıraç	210	309	30
Karye-i Viladiye	29	42	31
Karye-i Erikli	65	95	35
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	5878	8670	03
Karye-i Rateş	14	20	26
Karye-i Gola	40	59	00
Karye-i Butraş Mehmed Aga	07	10	13
Karye-i Mezburda Fatihan Re'yası	15	22	05
Karye-i Vargetür	25	32	25
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	5979	8819	01

