AGRARIAN RELATIONS AND ESTATE (*ÇİFTLİK*) AGRICULTURE IN OTTOMAN THESSALY

(c. 1780 – 1880)

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

Agrarian Relations and Estate (*Çiftlik*) Agriculture in Ottoman Thessaly

(c. 1780 – 1880)

This dissertation analyses agrarian relations and çiftlik agriculture in Thessaly from c. 1780 to c. 1880. It explains the dynamics of the rural economy in a Balkan region during a lengthy and critical epoch from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century by focusing on agrarian relations and institutions. This research proposes a methodological contribution to the history of the Ottoman rural economy by utilising different fiscal, judicial and administrative archival sources as a means of analysing the continuities and changes in the countryside. Specifically, it addresses the transformation of Ottoman land, labour and taxation institutions. Law, taxation regimes, land tenure organisations, imperial and provincial governments, and pious foundations (vakıf) are the main institutions focused on in this research. Tax farming, being a high-ranking official and dynastic titles are among the major features of the çiftlik ownership in the region throughout the century.

This research also offers an in-depth examination of Thessalian çiftlik economy. The different types and the amount of crops are analysed in a comparative approach regarding both regional variations and the change over this period. Labour agreements between landlords and different classes of peasantry are analysed. This dissertation makes a chronological analysis of the continuities and changes in agrarian relations and çiftlik agriculture in Thessaly. It is mainly argued that the continuity of the absentee mode of landownership was the hallmark of the region from c. 1780 to c. 1880. Yet, the changing characteristics of absenteeism created new property relations in rural Thessaly.

ÖZET

Osmanlı Dönemi'nde Tesalya'da Kırsal İlişkiler ve Çiftlik Tarımı (1780-1880)

Bu tez, 1780'lerden 1880'lere kadar olan dönemde Tesalya'daki kırsal ilişkileri ve çiftlik tarımını inceler. On sekizinci yüzyılın sonundan, on dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonuna kadar uzanan bu uzun ve önemli zaman dilimi boyunca, kırsaldaki ilişkilere ve kurumlara odaklanarak Balkanlarda kırsal iktisatın dinamiklerini tartışır. Bu tez, çeşitli mali, hukuki ve mülki nitelikli arşiv belgelerini, kırsaldaki süreklilik ve değişimleri incelemek için kullanarak, Osmanlı kırsal iktisadına usul bakımından da bir katkı sağlar. Temel olarak Osmanlı toprak, emek ve vergi rejimlerine dair kurumlar incelenir. Hukuk, vergi toplama usulleri, toprak tasarrufu biçimleri, merkez ve taşra idareleri, vakıflar bu çalışmada konu edinilen kurumlardır. İltizam, yüksek rütbeli makam sahipliği ve hanedan ailesi üyeliği bölgede çiftlik edinmek için bu yüzyıl boyunca geçerli kriterler olmuştur.

Tesalya çiftlik ekonomisinin geniş kapsamlı bir incelemesi de bu çalışmada sunulmuştur. Zirai ürünlerin çeşitleri ve miktarı, hem bölgesel farklılıklar, hem de zaman içindeki değişimler bakımından incelenmiştir. Toprak sahipleri ve çeşitli çiftçi sınıfları arasında yapılan emek anlaşmaları da bu analizin önemli bir parçasıdır. Bu tez, Tesalya'daki zirai ilişkilere ve çiftlik tarımına dair süreklilik ve değişimleri kronolojik olarak inceler. Bu çalışma, nâmevcut toprak sahipliliğinin 1780'lerden 1880'lere uzanan sürekliliğinin bölgenin en önemli niteliği olduğunu savunur. Bunun yanında, nâmevcut rejimin özelliklerindeki önemli değişimlerin, bölgede yeni mülkiyet ilişkileri oluşturduğunu vurgular.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation analyses the agrarian relations and çiftlik agriculture in Thessaly from c. 1780 to 1880.[1] It explains the dynamics of the rural economy in a Balkan region during a lengthy and critical epoch from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century by focusing on the questions of land, labour and taxation. Its main aim is to explain the process of çiftlikisation, i.e., the formation and evolution of the çiftliks in this region. It also aims at discussing the transformation of Ottoman land, labour and taxation institutions from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century while it offers an in-depth examination of Thessalian çiftlik economy. For this aim, it also examines forms of land tenure other than the çiftliks and their relationship to the çiftliks. This research proposes a methodological contribution to the history of Ottoman rural economy by utilising different fiscal, judicial and administrative sources as a means of analysing the continuities and changes in the agrarian economy.

Institutions are durable yet transformable settings and organisations in which social relations are materialised. They also provide an area of conflict where different interests meet, clash and produce new settings. These are the conflicts of interest between landholders and state, landholders and their agents, absentee and local landlords, landholders and peasants, state and peasants, and among different classes of peasantry.

Law, taxation regimes, land tenure organisations, pious foundations (*vakıf*), imperial and provincial governments, and communal organisations can be counted as

[1] This study refers to the name of the region as it is in English, i.e., Thessaly. The Turkish name of the region is "Tesalya". Names of the villages, towns and provinces are given in Turkish, and in the form they were used during the late Ottoman period.

the main institutions examined in this research. It is mainly argued that continuities and changes of these institutions were indispensable from the dynamics of the rural economy of Thessaly. The continuity of the absentee mode of landownership was the hallmark of the region from c. 1780 to 1880. Yet, the changes in the characteristics of absenteeism created new property relations in rural Thessaly.

1.1 The literature on the Ottoman land regime and Thessaly *çiftlik*s

1.1.1 Land regime before the late-eighteenth century

The Ottoman land regime was based on multiple land tenure and tax collection institutions. This regime was not frozen in time; rather, it had different characteristics in each period. Until the end of the sixteenth century, the domestic source of the political economy was rural taxes, and subsistence and provisioning of the urban and rural society were its main premises.[2] It had an understanding of a moral economy, which was based on the protection and regulation by the state of relations on land, labour, cultivation and landholders.[3]

The Ottoman tax regime had included different ways of tax collection since the early times of the empire. The fief (*timar*) system required collection and spending of taxes at the local level. Taxes were collected in kind; thus the surplus was in circulation at the local level without reaching the central treasury.[4] Agrarian tax in kind, usually in the form of a tithe, constituted the most important tax collected by the timar holder.[5] Direct taxation (*emanet)*, on the other hand, meant that tax collection was the duty of the state officer. A number of taxes, head tax (*cizye*) for

[2] Genç, "Osmanlı İktisadi Dünya Görüşünün İlkeleri," 47.
[3] İslamoğlu, "Property as a Contested Domain," 16.
[4] Pamuk, "Osmanlı Devletinin İç Borçlanma Kurumlarının Evrimi," 28.
[5] Şener, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Vergi Sistemi,* 121.

instance, were collected directly by the state.[6] Finally, tax farming (*iltizam*) was widely applied as a tax-collection system. It was the auctioning of the tax units (*mukataa*s) for limited periods to the intermediaries. A tax unit (*mukataa*), the term originally denoting "farming out tax revenue", has later adopted the meaning of "a tax unit subject to tax farming". This term was used interchangeably with iltizam.[7]

In the landholding regime of this era, vakıfs had particular importance both as a legal category of land, and as a form of securing the property. Particularly during the sixteenth century, as Barkan argues, the nobility ("*asiller*") established hereditary vakıfs to prevent the confiscation of their lands, which were granted earlier by the sultan as their personal property *(temlik*).[8] The rents and revenue from these vakıf lands were not assigned to any particular charitable purpose but remained in the hands of the family. Barkan analyses the labour regime on these vakıf lands. He argues that the main type of labour on vakıf lands was sharecropping, which constituted a form of servitude labour ("*ortakçı-kesimci kullar*").[9] In contrast, the main type of labour on state (*miri*) lands was composed of tithe-payer peasants. Vakıf (and also freehold [*mülk*]) lands, in contrast to the *miri*, were counted among the personal property of the estate-holders.[10] Thus, peasants working on mülk or vakıf lands belonged to these estate-holders as well. In a similar vein, Halil İnalcık discusses the vakıf-lands of pre-eighteenth century as a form of landed property, and he underlines the features of their labour regime. He states that large vakıf estates,

[6] Şener, 112.
[7] Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde *Mukataa* Kavramı," 57.
[8] Barkan, "Türk-İslam Toprak Hukuku," 211-214.
[9] Barkan, "XV ve XVI'ıncı Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Toprak İşçiliğinin," 613.
[10] Barkan, "XV ve XVI'ıncı Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Toprak İşçiliğinin," 659. Footnote number 107 discusses this situation.

which were established in Rumelia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by transforming the miri land into mülk, were based on slave labour.[11]

The eighteenth century, following the gradual change in the seventeenth century, was the period of a far-reaching transformation for the fiscal and administrative rule of the empire.[12] By the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, iltizam was very widely practised due to the state's need for cash.[13] It gradually replaced timar because, as the central armed forces were established, the state wanted to accumulate the agrarian surplus at the centre.[14] Besides, increasing budget deficits stimulated the use of iltizam as a means of short-term internal credit borrowing for the state. By the end of the seventeenth century, iltizam contracts were being auctioned for longer periods. In other words, the state was in need of long-term borrowings. Finally, in 1695, an imperial order announced the life-long tax farming (malikane) contracts.[15] It is probably the most significant transformation of the early modern taxation regime. It is a turning point in fiscal, economic, political and ideological terms.

Mehmet Genç is the first historian to explain the main premises of the malikane system. Malikane, in its ideal terms, functioned in the following way: The state announced that a tax collection right for a certain mukataa (tax unit) in a certain

[11] Barkan, "XV ve XVI'ıncı Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Toprak İşçiliğinin," 651.
[12] For the gradual change in the seventeenth century both in imperial and provincial levels, see Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City*; Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy*; Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State*; Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town*; Gara, "Moneylenders and Landowners"; Murphey, "Continuity and Discontinuity"; Tezcan, "The Second Empire". For a comprehensive framework for the eighteenth-century fiscal and political regime, see McGowan, "The Age of Ayans"; Khoury, "The Ottoman Centre Versus Provincial Power-Holders"; Barkey, *Empire of Difference*; Anscombe, "Continuities in Ottoman Centre-Periphery Relations"; Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi*.
[13] Akdağ, "Osmanlı Müesseseleri Hakkında Notlar," 40. For a discussion on the transformation of fiscal bureaucracy in the eighteenth century, see Cezar, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Merkez Mali Bürokrasi Tarihine Giriş." Tax farming was also widely applied in eighteenth-century France with similar motivations, yet, different from the Ottoman Empire, it was abolished before the Revolution. See White, "From Privatized to Government-Administered Tax Collection."
[14] Pamuk, "Osmanlı Devletinin İç Borçlanma Kurumlarının Evrimi," 28.
[15] Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde *Malikane* Sistemi," 106. The term *malikane* took place in the classical Ottoman history as well, yet it is totally different from the later term. See Barkan, "*Timar*," 295.

place would be sold for a lifetime; the minimum amount set as a down payment (*muaccele*) was also announced. After the applicants declared their offers, the owner of the highest bid claimed the right to have the malikane; if none of the offers could reach the minimum muaccele, the auction was repeated.[16] Following a successful auction, the owner of the highest bid, or malikaneci, became eligible to collect the taxes for that certain mukataa during his lifetime. Malikaneci was also obliged to pay an annual cash tax (*mal*) to the central treasury in addition to a number of other related taxes that changed from 5% to 20% of this annual cash tax.[17] When he failed to fulfil these obligations, the state had the right to confiscate his malikane to re-auction it.

Genç's pioneering work, first published in 1975, shows that a significant number of tax units (mukataa) were incorporated into a new system called malikane throughout the eighteenth century. Genç argues that malikane is an expected consequence of the fiscal compulsions of the seventeenth century, reminding us that the lifelong delivering of the mukataas originally started as a wage-payment method for the military class.[18] Genç also shows that malikane holders were given what amounted to property rights, which could be considered the main reason behind the emergence of large estates known later as çiftliks.[19] In a similar vein, İnalcık argues that estates based on the mukataa system, which were founded by renting miri lands, similar to the malikane system were "virtually like private property"; their holders with usufruct rights of the soil were demanding land rents from the peasants.[20]

Genç's explanation has substantially contributed to Ottoman economic history by highlighting that the consequences of the transformation of the Ottoman

[16] Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde *Malikane* Sistemi," 108.
[17] Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde *Malikane* Sistemi," 110.
[18] Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde *Malikane* Sistemi," 106-107.
[19] Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde *Malikane* Sistemi," 106-116.
[20] Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde *Malikane* Sistemi," 351-352.

tax system were quite broad and long-lasting. However, as he focuses on the question of the origins of the large estates, his account does not explain how they functioned as economic units. It conceptualises these estates solely as fiscal units. Although it also provides some explanations on how the tax was farmed to the local elites and how it was collected from the peasants, other questions about the relationship between landholder and peasants – namely, the ones about land tenure and labour regime – are left without answers.

Late-twentieth-century Ottoman historiography contributed significantly to explanations about the malikane system. There were accounts that focused on its fiscal functions, as well as on the relationship between the state and tax farmers.[21] Among them, Ariel Salzmann provided an important discussion of the political economy of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in order to explain the main premises of the malikane system. She argues that malikane was the main pillar of the "privatisation" of the administrative structure during the period from 1695 to 1793, a process resulting from the increasing need of cash due to the emergence of a global market system, long and costly wars, and the disruption of agricultural populations.[22] Malikane contracts, implemented first in 1695 with the promise of "immunity from interference by the local authorities", were aimed at attracting reliable agrarian tax farmers.[23] The aim was achieved as significant numbers of taxable units were incorporated into this system and the imperial cash need was gradually met for a while. Challenging the paradigm of decentralisation stemming the decline, she argues that this decentralised apparatus also facilitated the transition

[21] Pamuk, "Osmanlı Devletinin İç Borçlanma Kurumlarının Evrimi"; Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi*; Özvar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikane Uygulaması*; Çizakça, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İç Borçlanmanın Evrimi"; Batmaz, "İltizam Sisteminin XVIII. Yüzyıldaki Boyutları."
[22] Salzmann, "An Ancien Regime Revisited," 394-398.
[23] Salzmann, "An Ancien Regime Revisited," 402-405.

to the centralised state of the nineteenth century.[24] Nevertheless, her research does not offer enough support for her claim that the institutional centralisation and the modern state were fully established in the nineteenth century.

Salzmann explains the fiscal and administrative changes consequent to the malikane system concentrating on the transformation of the relations between state and society. However, as "society", she looks at merely the provincial bidders, including both higher and lower elites. As profound as it is, this analysis of tax-collectors does not include clues about the tax-paying population under the malikane system and their relations with the landlords.

Yaycıoğlu raises an alternative to Salzmann's approach, since he emphasises the people's collective while taking the provincial landlords as a stimulus for change of the regime.[25] He argues that the provincial notables' offices and contracts as malikane "not only integrated themselves to the institutional apparatus of the empire, but also monopolized taxation, public finance, policing, provisioning, conscription and other imperial and public services" in the province.[26] Consequently, the regime was restructured on the premises of localisation, monetisation and politicisation of governance.[27] There is also a growing literature that takes the peasantry as an active subject (by focusing on its reaction and unrest against the provincial notables) in the analysis of the provincial rural history of the pre-nineteenth century. [28] The focus on the communal organisations is another approach to be taken. Local community has been an important institution in the countryside, especially with the rise of the

[24] Salzmann, "An Ancien Regime Revisited," 394. For the idea that the decline of central authority created a process of "decentralisation" whereby provincial elites acquired considerable political power, see, İnalcık, "Centralization and Decentralization," 27-31.
[25] Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire*, 117-156.
[26] Yaycıoğlu, 67.
[27] Yaycıoğlu, 79-80.
[28] For example, see Kolovos, "Riot in the Village"; Anastasopoulos, "Crisis and State Intervention"; Gounaris, "Reassessing Wheat Crises"; Canbakal, "Preliminary Observations on Political Unrest."

malikanes, because malikane-holder central elite delegated the responsibility of tax-collection to the local communal leaders as the ayan and the kocabaşı.[29]

Vakıfs continued to be important institutions of the land regime in the eighteenth century. The literature on late-seventeenth and eighteenth-century vakıfs underlines their role as landholders, and it also highlights the fiscal regime behind the vakıf-lands. In this period, tax farming became a common practice for vakıfs with the main aim of increasing agrarian tax revenue.[30] Haremeyn vakıfs (vakıfs usually founded by imperial family members or highest-ranking vezirs, with the aim of supporting the Haremeyn region) showed extensive use of the method of tax farming.[31] The eighteenth-century Ottoman state quickly noticed this attractive revenue source. Theoretically, the state allocated the revenue (i.e., the taxes to be paid by the peasants) yielded from a land to a vakıf, whilst keeping the property of the land as miri. In practice, vakıfs, being entitled to tax collection and land administration, established a "virtually autonomous zone of local authority".[32] But, by the eighteenth century, revenue of the vakıfs, particularly of the Haremeyn vakıfs, were being absorbed by the central treasury of the state.[33] Since it was "theoretically" the state revenue allocated to a vakıf, the state could justify its interventions especially during a fiscal crisis.[34] These interventions expanded to the extent of seizing the control of vakıf revenue and to re-allocating them to the highest bidders as life-long tax-farms (malikane). In 1758, it was decided to farm out

[29] Petmezas, "Christian Communities in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Greece," 79. For the relationship between communal organisations and the fiscal administration, see also Hadjikyriacou, "Revisiting the Millet Debate: Community and Representation in Early Modern Cyprus."
[30] Güran, *Ekonomik ve Mali Yönleriyle Vakıflar,* 19-22. See also Orbay, "16. ve 17. Yüzyıllarda Bursa Ekonomisi."
[31] This practice was officially conducted by "*Haremeyn mukataacılığı*" a sub-division of the "*Haremeyn Evkaf Nezareti*" established in the sixteenth century. Güler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Haremeyn Vakıfları,* 14, 206, 218.
[32] Güran, *Ekonomik ve Mali Yönleriyle Vakıflar,* 7- 9. Translation is mine.
[33] Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi*, 22.
[34] Güran, *Ekonomik ve Mali Yönleriyle Vakıflar*, 11.

revenue sources of Haremeyn vakıfs from the centre instead of the provinces.[35] This was an attempt by the state to take a share for the central treasury. The practice of including the revenue sources of Haremeyn vakıfs into the life-long tax-farming regime began in 1760, whereby the tax farmers were granted judicial and administrative rights on these domains, the rights once held by the vakıf deputies. [36]

1.1.2 Land regime from the late-eighteenth to the late-nineteenth century: the *çiftlik* debate and beyond

The Ottoman historiography of the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century land regime usually focuses on the large estates, or *çiftlik*s. Their origins, upsurge and characteristics are explained by different perspectives. For Barkan and İnalcık, çiftliks emerged due to a degeneration of the classical land regime. They claimed that the miri regime, based on peasants with "permanent and hereditary tenancy rights"[37] or small farms of peasant families[38], constituted the ideal land regime. However, the argument follows that the estates of eighteenth-century notables (*ayan*s) or çiftlik-type large estates were against the premises of this regime. These large estates flourished consequent to degeneration of the timar regime and the decline of the state authority. Çiftliks, for instance, were intended to be eliminated by the Land Code of 1858, which aimed at preventing land shortage for peasant families, but lack of state authority impeded its enforcement.[39] However, çiftliks were actually recognised by the Land Code of 1858, and their legal status was protected by granting their holders with title-deeds.[40]

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[35] Güran, *Ekonomik ve Mali Yönleriyle Vakıflar*, 62.
[36] Güran, *Ekonomik ve Mali Yönleriyle Vakıflar*, 63.
[37] Barkan, "Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesinin Tarihi Esasları," 127-128.
[38] İnalcık, "Village, Peasant and Empire," 141-142.
[39] Barkan, "Türk Toprak Hukuku Tarihinde Tanzimat," 367-368.
[40] *Arazi Kanunnamesi*, Article 99.

Compared to Barkan, İnalcık proposes a more detailed explanation about the origins and characteristics of the çiftliks. He claims that they were "plantation-like", "large agricultural lands organized as a production unit under a single ownership and management and usually producing for the market", and they usually originated from waste (mevat) lands.[41] For him, conversion of miri lands into private property-like çiftliks was a difficult task due to strict prohibition by the state. Local notables' control over miri lands in the eighteenth century was a temporary situation with limited effects; it never provided them with "perpetual and absolute control of land and peasant".[42] Thus, reclamation of waste lands was a more possible means to acquire large estates.[43] In contrast to Barkan, İnalcık refers to the earlier forms of large estates, with reference to local notables holding them. These notables, rising in the provincial administration, acquired a significant power by the seventeenth century that could no longer be curbed by central authority.[44] Nevertheless, arguing that there was a "powerful and efficient centralist state control over land possession and family labour," combined with "an imperial bureaucratic apparatus", he never attributes an immense power to the landholding classes.[45] The holders of large estates are described by this approach in a negative way, i.e., as rebels against state authority and as outrageous representatives abusing their duties.[46]

The approach of Barkan and İnalcık to the çiftliks reproduces the drawbacks of the decline paradigm on several aspects.[47] It does not examine the continuities in the Ottoman land regime by locating the çiftliks at the assumed divergence between

[41] İnalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, *Çiftlik*s," 108.
[42] İnalcık, "Village, Peasant and Empire," 149.
[43] İnalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, *Çiftlik*s," 109.
[44] İnalcık, "Centralization and Decentralization," 31.
[45] İnalcık, "Village, Peasant and Empire," 155.
[46] İnalcık, "The Ottoman Decline and its Effects upon the Reaya," 341.
[47] For comprehensive discussions on periodisation of Ottoman history and on decline paradigm see Hathaway, "Problems of Periodization in Ottoman History"; Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline"; Quataert, "Ottoman History Writing."

the "classical" and "decline" periods. Moreover, this approach does not analyse the transformation of the land tenure and tax collection institutions during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Related to this, it does not take the çiftlik as an institution per se. Çiftliks, however, were neither products of the degeneration of the sipahis, nor of the lack of state power. They were, on the contrary, products of the tax farming regime and land tenure arrangements (as miri and vakıf) that were applied for long centuries. In addition, the local notables were not simply abusive rebels. Most of them were official or unofficial title-holders with a significant reputation and authority in the province.[48] In addition to this, these notables were not only from local origins. A significant number of the çiftlik-holders of this period were notables living in Istanbul, and most of them were affiliated with the imperial family or had high-ranking titles.

The topic of the genesis of the çiftliks was revisited by the 1970s' school of Marxist historiography and by the approaches that took the world economy as the unit of analysis, mostly because the issue of çiftliks was considered as an important aspect of the question of transition to capitalism.[49] The outcome of this inquiry was one of the famous debates in twentieth-century Ottoman economic historiography, i.e., "the çiftlik debate". Bruce Mc Gowan, although with a strong emphasis on commercialisation, underlines the transformation of the timar system, long-term

[48] See Petmezas, "Christian Communities in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Greece."

[49] The transition from feudalism to capitalism is widely discussed in the European literature. Particularly the British Marxist historians conducted the "Transition Debate", which evolved around the controversy about whether internal mechanisms of feudalism (petty mode of production) or the external factors (the rise of towns and the triumph of exchange economy) were at the genesis of capitalism. Sweezy emphasised expansion of trade; Dobb argued for conflictual social relations and later peasant freedom; and Hilton underlined primitive accumulation of the peasants under pressure as the cause of transition. They all perceived landholding institution as a result, rather than a cause. For further information, see Sweezy et al. *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*.

leases of tax-farms and the enclosure of common pastures.[50] Similarly, Lawless explains the process with land granted to sipahis of the timar system, which was later consolidated by rule of local notables.[51] Gilles Veinstein argues that timars were transformed into a more secure form of tenure, becoming private property de jure or de facto.[52] Lampe and Jackson have a different take on the question; they argue that çiftlik formation was not very widespread and the accumulation of capital from the çiftliks was not in a significant degree.[53] Kasaba, following Wallerstein's World-Systems Theory, analyses the question in terms of incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the world economy. Underlining that çiftlik-owners had de facto private property claims on land, he argues that çiftliks did not generate large-scale investments during even their most intense period in the late-eighteenth century, thus, they did not create a major economic transformation unlike central and eastern European estates.[54]

These explanations, nevertheless, incorporate çiftliks to either pre-eighteenth-century institutions, or to the post-eighteenth-century commercial change. They did not usually contextualise çiftliks within the Ottoman political economy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, it was neither only the pre-eighteenth-century institutions, nor the commercialisation that has generated the çiftliks. The role of the landholding and tax collection institutions of the late Ottoman period on the genesis of the çiftliks should also be discussed. The emphasis on the institutions

[50] McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe,* 69, 138. Extensive land enclosures had a significant role for creating the private estates in the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England. See, for instance, Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 238; Thompson, "Custom, Law and Common Right,"128; Neeson, *Commoners*, 223. In France, enclosures were initiated during the eighteenth century and concentrated at the end of the century. See Plack, "Agrarian Individualism," 40; Plack, *Common Land*, 133.
[51] Lawless, "The Economy and Landscapes of Thessaly," 509-515.
[52] Veinstein, "On the *Çiftlik* Debate," 44.
[53] Lampe and Jackson, *Balkan Economic History*, 34.
[54] Kasaba, "Incorporation of the Ottoman Empire," 823-830. See also Wallerstein and Kasaba, "Incorporation into the World Economy." For an institutionalist critique of World-Systems Theory, see Benton, "From the World-Systems Perspective to Institutional World History."

does not mean an emphasis on state-centred approaches or on a centralisation paradigm. Rather, these institutions were extensively controlled by a network of notables. Hence, this network of notables should be carefully analysed and the conflicts of interest that evolved within and around this network should be considered as a part of the process of çiftlikisation.

By the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century, a number of scholars proposed new explanations for the transformation of the Ottoman land regime. These new approaches succeeded in explaining the landed estates of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries within the context of the political and economic regime of the era. Some of these explanations underlined different practices implemented by both local and imperial institutions, as others focused on the conflicts generated by these settings.

Özer Ergenç explains the transformation of the miri regime by the end of the sixteenth century not as a sudden break, but as a gradual process in which the practices already in place within the existing land system became more visible. Hence, he provides a solid alternative to the understanding of the decline paradigm, according to which the decline of the state authority caused the degeneration of the "golden age" and the "classical" land regime.[55]

Ergenç argues that large estates of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did not violate the legal framework, nor were they alien to the economic practices. The institutions that originated the land estates were inherent in the land regime but they were rarely observed. The mukataalı estates, which had been applied infrequently until the sixteenth century in the miri and vakif regime, acquired certain privileges ("*serbestiyyet*") afterwards, which meant that they became increasingly free from the

[55] Barkan, "Türk Toprak Hukuku Tarihinde Tanzimat," 368; Barkan, "Balkan Memleketlerinin Zirai Reform Tecrübeleri," 406; İnalcık, "Village, Peasant and Empire," 148; İnalcık, "The Ottoman Decline," 340.

interventions of the local administration.[56] As the mukataa system became more widespread by the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the reasons discussed previously, lands with such privileges became more common.

To explain the background of these private property-like characteristics, he argues for two definitions of private property in the Ottoman context; first was the de jure definition by the *Emlâk-ı Sırfa Nizamnamesi* of 1874, and the second was the de facto one during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.[57] In the latter one, peasants interpreted their tenure or usufruct rights as a "private property right" and they acted upon this claim.[58] Thus, the nature of the tenure rights of peasants should be closely examined in order to understand whether these rights generated property claims.[59] Examining land transaction records, he concludes that the permanency of tenure rights on timars transformed them into private property rights as reflected in a number of sources: Claims on property were never abolished without the will of landholder, land could be handed down to heirs and land became a commodity exchanged between rural and urban people.[60]

Still, it would be interesting to see some further elaborations in Ergenç's comprehensive studies. His definition of "private property", which is based on land becoming a commodity, could also pertain to the relations other than market transactions. Namely, the landlord's right to land, the degree of his control on the production on his land, and the terms of the labour contract between the landlord and the peasantry could also be considered as components of the definition of property. Furthermore, the conflict of interest between different classes could have been integrated into his explanation of long-term transformation.

[56] Ergenç, "Osmanlı'da 'Serbest Dirlik' Uygulamasının Boyutları," 208-210.
[57] Ergenç, "XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıl Anadolusu'nda Toprak Tasarrufu," 217.
[58] Ergenç, "XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıl Anadolusu'nda Toprak Tasarrufu," 217.
[59] Ergenç, "XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıl Anadolusu'nda Toprak Tasarrufu," 215-216.
[60] Ergenç, "XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıl Anadolusu'nda Toprak Tasarrufu," 240-241.

İslamoğlu provides a unique contribution to this subject. She explains the process of transformation of property rights whereby a conflict of interest moulded new institutions. [61] She argues that the modern concept of individual property was created at the conflictual domain defined by law and administrative practices during the controversies that emerged in the codification and law-enforcement process of the mid-nineteenth century.[62] The 1858 Land Code marks the most important part of this process.[63] Before the Land Code, she argues, the state was in constant negotiation with holders of different claims on land; whereas by the mid-nineteenth century, it attested its ability to mediate the conflicting interests by setting a general code on property.[64] However, İslamoğlu does not trace the roots of the landed property to the pre-nineteenth century era. Her theory is based on the idea that the mid-nineteenth century was a turning point that marked the birth of a modern state apparatus stimulating the establishment of private property. Moreover, she limits the conflicts to the ones between landlords and state. Another, and perhaps more important, part of this tension is the one that has evolved among different groups of landlords, between landlords and their intermediaries, and between the peasantry and the landlords.

A later generation of historians revised İslamoğlu's approach to the mid-nineteenth-century transformations by emphasising local dynamics and resistances, and they proposed a definition of property beyond the framework of the "modern

[61] This open emphasis on institutions is added by İslamoğlu in a recently written preface to a new edition of the Turkish translation of the book "State and Peasants". Her interpretation of institutions also has a modernist view not shared in this study, that is, the new interests always overcome the old ones. İslamoğlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Köylü*, 21.
[62] İslamoğlu, "Towards a Political Economy of Legal and Administrative Constitutions of Individual Property," 8-11.
[63] Land Code of 1858 classifies land under five types: Freehold lands (*arazi-i memluke*), state lands (*arazi-i emiriyye*), lands of pious foundations (*arazi-i mevkufe*), abandoned lands (*arazi-i metruke*) and uncultivated lands (*arazi-i mevat*). See *Arazi Kanunnamesi*. For a detailed survey on different perspectives on Land Code of 1858, see Aytekin, "Agrarian Relations, Property and Law."
[64] İslamoğlu, "Politics of Administering Property," 290-292.

state". Alp Yücel Kaya focuses on the local resistances against property registration during the mid-nineteenth century.[65] He also underlines the role of local councils and commissions in this process, which outweighed the legal aspect of the property question vis-a-vis the fiscal one.[66] Yücel Terzibaşoğlu underlines that the shift from multiple claims on land to a single claim, and from collective possession to an individual one can be regarded as a form of "privatisation" that has been moulded throughout the nineteenth century.[67] He analyses the local councils and courts of the nineteenth-century Balkans and shows that the attacks against the customary rights of commoners were institutionalised and the claims of commoners were defined as a crime. [68] Selçuk Dursun studies the transformation of property rights with a specialised understanding of land use by his research on Ottoman forests.[69] Meltem Toksöz underlines the role of mid-nineteenth century law and administrative practices for the constitution of property with a stronger emphasis on the local initiative in this process.[70] Eugene Rogan proposes considering the 1864 Provincial Reform Law and the 1858 Land Law together because of the strong connections between administrative and economic reforms.[71]

There are also studies on Ottoman provincial societies that emphasise the role of the vakıfs as landholders. For instance, Yuzo Nagata makes a very important contribution with his research on the Karaosmanoğlu family, in which he underlines

[65] Kaya, "Politics of Property Registration."
[66] Kaya, "The Reorganization of the Ottoman Legal Administration in the Balkans in the Nineteenth Century." Kaya, "XIX. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz Liman Şehirlerinde Kadastro Siyaseti." The approach towards property as an area of political conflict between private and public interests is adopted also in contemporary context. See Gülöksüz, "Negotiation of Property Rights in Urban Land in Istanbul"; Kuyucu, "Law, Property and Ambiguity."
[67] Terzibaşoğlu, "Eleni Hatun'un Zeytin Bahçeleri."
[68] Terzibaşoğlu, "The Ottoman Agrarian Question and the Making of Property and Crime."
[69] Dursun, "Forest and the State."
[70] Toksöz, *Nomads, Migrants and Cotton in the Eastern Mediterranean*, 8-9.
[71] Rogan, *Frontiers of the State*, 60.

the role of vakıfs in the making of the provincial notables. [72] However, he takes local notables as the unit of analysis; hence, the functioning of a vakıf-çiftlik or the institutional effects of vakıf on çiftlik are not depicted in detail. Studies on Gazi Evrenos Vakf's çiftliks at Macedonia and eastern Thessaly, and having different focal points such as ethnic composition of land or the vakıf-holder family, still should be counted within the research on vakıf-çiftliks.[73] Nevertheless, the majority of studies on the economic aspects of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century vakıfs do not concentrate on the vakıf-çiftliks. As the earlier studies were interested in vakıfs as a part of the Ottoman economic administration (hence assuming them as a branch of the centrally organised state mechanism),[74] more recent ones that take vakıf as a rather autonomous institution usually focus on merely its fiscal aspects.[75]

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Based on the review of the literature on the history of the Ottoman land regime, this research challenges the decline paradigm and the conventional periodisation of history. It suggests considering the transformation of the Ottoman land regime as a process of continuities and changes, and does not adopt a state-centred approach regarding this transformation. Rather, it focuses on the relations between the centre and province, and on the network of notables because the land tenure and tax collection institutions were extensively controlled by a network of notables, which was composed of local and absentee ones and their intermediaries.[76] Transformation

[72] Nagata, "Ayan in Anatolia and the Balkans," 269.
[73] Demetriadis, "Problems of Land-Owning and Population"; Kayapınar, "Osmanlı Uç Beyi Evrenos Bey".
[74] Köprülü, "*Vakıf* Müessesesinin Hukuki Mahiyeti ve Tarihi Tekamülü"; Berki, "Türkiye'de İmparatorluk ve Cumhuriyet Devrinde *Vakıf* Çeşitleri"; Öztürk, *Menşei ve Tarihi Gelişimi Açısından Vakıflar*; Öztürk, *Türk Yenileşme Tarihi Çerçevesinde Vakıf Müessesesi*.
[75] Yayla, "Operating Regimes and Government"; Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations*; Yediyıldız, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye'de Vakıf Müessesesi*.
[76] For the approach of highlighting the interaction between the individuals and institutions, i.e., cumulative causation, see Hodgson, "Varieties of capitalism," 217. The Annales school gave important examples of this approach. For instance, see Bloch, "The Rise of Dependent Cultivation";

of such institutions and how these institutions transformed the rural economy are the main subjects about the continuity and change in the countryside.[77] Specifically, the question of property will be analysed as the subject of a lengthy transformation covering the period from the end of the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth century.

Hence, this research suggests rethinking the above-mentioned literature on property on Ottoman lands and integrate different approaches in order to formulate a methodology to study the question of Ottoman landed property and çiftlikisation from the late-eighteenth century onwards. Ergenç's conceptualisation of the de facto property rights from the seventeenth century onwards is very important in order to understand the private property-like characteristics of the landed property. His argument that the çiftliks of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries neither violated the legal framework nor were they unusual economic practices should be adopted. Yet, his definition of property is limited to taking land as a commodity. Rather than this, İslamoğlu should be followed in order to define these private property-like characteristics. Her argument about the definition of property through the conflict of interest is a more fruitful way than limiting this definition to the land transactions. The weight on the legal aspect of this conflict is also important.[78] Still, her strong emphasis on the mid-nineteenth century codification, and, related to this, her idea that a centralised modern state was established in this context, should be replaced by the current approaches which focus on the local dynamics from the earlier periods, and that propose a definition of property beyond the framework of the "modern

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Bloch, *French Rural History*; Bloch, "Avrupa Toplumlarının Karşılaştırmalı Tarihi İçin," 25-27; Le Roy Ladurie, *The Peasants of Languedoc*, Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism,* 256.

[77] For the idea that "an institutional approach to economic history should deal with economy as an institutionalised process", see Özveren, "Kurumsal İktisat," 19.

[78] For the theoretical discussions on the relationship between the legal change and social antagonisms, see Stanziani, *Rules of exchange,* 11; Davies and Fouracre, "Introduction," 3; Musson, *Medieval Law in Context,* 2.

state". These approaches also take the peasantry as an active subject and contextualise the legal change in parallel with the social change.[79]

Related to that, this research follows the literature that explains the process of çiftlikisation as a part of the fiscal and economic transformation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It also situates the formation and the evolution of the çiftliks within the context of their rural relations. Namely, the local dynamics will be considered as an active part of the çiftlik-making. Provincial notables, tax farming and vakıfs (as economic entities) will be included into the analysis. The conflict of interest that evolved within and around the network of notables is to be underlined. Vakıfs and malikanes are considered as particularly important for the çiftliks because their role on the formation and the evolution of çiftliks has remained understudied so far.

1.1.3 Balkan historiography and Thessaly land regime

The decline paradigm, one version of which is explained in the previous part, has another version in the Balkan historiography. It does not idealise a "golden age" of the Ottoman regime that later declined. On the contrary, it is based on the idea that the Ottoman rule and institutions, i.e., the "Ottoman yoke", was the reason for the economic backwardness of the Balkans. Carter argues that Ottoman hegemony established a traditional rural lifestyle, only the elimination of which enabled the transformation into a "provincial variant of the so-called Western style of

[79] There is an important European literature that takes law as an active part of the social conflicts. For studies on competing legal spheres in eighteenth-century French society, see Reinhardt, *Justice in the Sarladais*; Crubaugh, *Balancing the Scales of Social Justice*; Jones, *Liberty and Locality in Revolutionary France*; Campbell, "Introduction." For the British context, see Thompson, *Whigs and hunters*; Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*; King, *Crime and Law in England.* For the involvement of the common people into the legal and judicial processes through petitions and accusatory practises, see Emsley, "The Nation State, The Law and the Peasant," 158-164; Würgler, "Voices from among the 'silent masses'"; Nubola, "Supplications between Politics and Justice"; Fitzpartick and Gellately, "Introduction to the Practices of Denunciation."

civilization."[80] Stoianovich depicts the basis of this hegemony with a "patrimonial-prebendal economy" in the Balkans, characterised by "subsistence, non-growth or non-market economy."[81] For him, between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Balkans were not integrated into a monetary economy, but rather remained as "closed" or "half-closed" economies.[82] He defines the eighteenth-century Balkans with "a constant consolidation of private land ownership."[83]

Genesis of the Thessaly çiftliks was another field that was examined by different approaches. Thessaly was characterised by çiftliks, i.e., estates larger than peasant family plots, in the literature. By the eighteenth century, "a constant consolidation of private land ownership" was a quite visible trend in the region.[84] Barkan states that the total of the lowlands of Thessaly (making up 75% of all cultivable fields of the region) was occupied by çiftlik-villages, ranging in size from 1,000 to 4,000 hectares (10-40 km²s) by the late nineteenth century.[85] İnalcık counts Thessaly among the Balkan regions that had a spread of çiftliks by the late-eighteenth century.[86] Lawless presents an estimation that "in the second half of the nineteenth century 460 villages out of 658 in Thessaly formed estates (*çiftlik*s) owned by landlords" which were cultivated by Christian sharecroppers.[87] Adanır defines Thessaly (with Macedonia and Thrace) as "the *çiftlik* region par excellence in Balkan history."[88] Laiou shares Adanır's remark and explains this with large plains

[80] Carter, "Introduction to the Balkan Scene," 17.
[81] Stoianovich, "Balkan Peasants and Landlords and the Ottoman State," 15.
[82] Stoianovich, *Balkan Worlds,* 193.
[83] Todorov, "Social Structures in the Balkans," 57.
[84] Todorov, "Social Structures in the Balkans," 57.
[85] Barkan, "Harp Sonu Tarımsal Reform Hareketleri," 52.
[86] İnalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, *Çiftlik*s," 25.
[87] Lawless, "The Economy and Landscapes of Thessaly," 515-516.
[88] Adanır, "Tradition and Rural Change in Southeastern Europe," 151.

with easy access to Selanik and Golos ports.[89] She also shows that sharecropping was the prevalent labour regime in the Meteora region at Western Thessaly. [90]

Earlier approaches represented in the "çiftlik debate" were also utilised about Thessaly çiftliks. Lawless argues, for instance, that Thessaly çiftliks emerged out of sipahi farms and were reinforced by the dominance of local notables.[91] He also regards western European demand (and thus rising prices) for agrarian products as a reason. His ideas probably originated from Cvijic, a significant geographer of the early-twentieth century. Cvijic explains the genesis of Balkan çiftliks as follows: After the fourteenth century, sipahis or beys replaced the sovereign, clergy and nobility as the new great landowners. "The lands with the village and the peasants who were attached to it were designated as ciflik or citluk, and the peasants who cultivated the lands of the beg were generally called cifcije, in the northwest of the Peninsula, kmet."[92] He underlines a different aspect of çiftlik formation in Thessaly; that is the çiftliks of Ottoman beys passed into the hands of great proprietors by purchasing them from Greek peasants, which attenuated the çiftlik regime there.[93] He claims that Balkan rural property entered into a change from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Thessaly, together with Bosnia, remained as almost the sole example of çiftliks, as most of them disappeared in newly founded Balkan states.[94] More importantly, all types of collective property rapidly disappeared, resulting in the fragmentation of property.[95]

[89] Laiou, "Some Considerations Regarding *Çiftlik* Formation," 256.
[90] Laiou, 260.
[91] Lawless, "The Economy and Landscapes of Thessaly," 509-515.
[92] Cvijić, *La péninsule balkanique,* 171. Translation is mine.
[93] Cvijić, 172.
[94] Cvijić, 176.
[95] Cvijić, 176. About the importance of communal property in the case of land shortages in the Balkans before the nineteenth century, see Parveva, "Rural Agrarian and Social Structure in the Edirne Region," 25.

These approaches towards Balkan historiography were revised, and later challenged, in different respects.[96] Balkan çiftliks became a significant area of research in this revisionist methodology.[97] In the context of Thessalian economic history, Michel Sivignon should be counted as an early contributor to the newly emerging revisionist area. Sivignon's explanation about the Thessalian economy from the nineteenth to the twentieth century reflects some premises of the decline paradigm.[98] Still, it is important that he does not associate the economy of the Balkans with an "Ottoman yoke". Rather, he underlines the nineteenth century institutions as the reason for decline. More importantly, the major contribution of Sivignon is his geographical studies on Thessaly. He analyses the geography of Thessaly in detail and builds its connections to agrarian economy.

Sivignon explains the çiftlik system as a form of "large property ownership"; and he is openly against this: "The system of large properties was linked to a very rigid social structure. Large landowners cultivated the land with the help of sharecroppers (*kolligas*) and agricultural labourers (*parakentedes*), whose social status was even poorer than that of the sharecroppers. In addition, very small landowners operated tiny holdings especially in regions of broken relief."[99] He adds that "large properties still covered 60 per cent of the cultivated surface in lowland regions in the departments of Karditsa and most probably of Trikkala in 1971."[100]

[96] For revisionists approaches towards Balkan history, see Lampe and Jackson, *Balkan Economic History*; Palairet, *The Balkan Economies*; Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*; Faroqhi and Adanır, *The Ottomans and the Balkans*; Mazower, *The Balkans*.
[97] For the recent literature in Balkan *çiftlik*s, see Ursinus, "The *Çiftlik Sahibleri* of Manastır as a Local Elite"; Anastasopoulos and Gara, "The Rural Hinterland of Karaferye"; Papastamatiou, "The Structure, Content and Development of Large Estates"; Kotzageorgis and Papastamatiou, "Wealth Accumulation in an Urban Context."
[98] He asserts that the previously prosperous region declined in the nineteenth century as the Ottoman Empire did, and flourished again after annexing to new Greek Kingdom, thanks to becoming the grain provider of the country. See Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 379.
[99] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 398.
[100] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 398.

Socrates Petmezas, starting with the 1990s, provided a novel perspective to the studies of the Thessaly land question and the Balkan economy. Supporting the historical data with the fields of geography and economics, he analyses Ottoman and Greek institutions of the nineteenth and early-twentieth century in order to explain the rural transformation in the Balkans. He shows the institutional continuities between the late Ottoman and early Greek rule in Thessaly and argues that these continuities kept the problems of the land and labour regimes unresolved. Sharecropping, as the main agrarian labour form, was practised as a combination of cultivation and animal husbandry, which worked in favour of the latter and resulted with stagnation of cereal cultivation during the early twentieth-century Greece. [101]

His research on eastern Thessaly, focusing on the period 1750-1860, explains the agrarian origins of proto-industries in the area.[102] Although the main focus is not analysing the eighteenth-century agrarian relations, the article provides important explanations about the çiftliks. Established on plains and controlled by absentee-landlords living in cities, the çiftliks were inhabited by the sharecroppers and seasonally hosted transhumant shepherd communities.[103] Conditions were different for mountain settlements; they were densely populated, dominated by cash-crop agriculture of small owners, and always short of sufficient income sources.[104] These conditions stimulated the genesis of silk, cotton and woollen proto-industries in the region by the early nineteenth century. Moreover, the lesser notables were not simply

[101] Petmezas, "Rural Macedonia from Ottoman to Greek Rule," 375-376.
[102] Another study on Thessalian proto-industries is the PhD dissertation of Maria Stamatoyannopoulos, focusing on the pre-modern industry in the village of Ayia (at Eastern Thessaly) during 1780-1810 based on dyeing cotton yarns. See Stamatoyannopoulos, "*Societe Rurale et Industrie Textile*." For another discussion on the origins of the proto-industrial villages in the Balkans, see Öncel, "Explaining the basics of proto-industrialization in mid-nineteenth century Ottoman Bulgaria," 99-110.
[103] Petmezas, "Patterns of Protoindustrialization," 578.
[104] Petmezas, "Patterns of Protoindustrialization," 580.

political intermediaries, but had significant economic and fiscal roles in Thessaly economy.[105]

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Based on the critical review of the above-mentioned literature, this research adopts the following view about studying Balkan economic history: The approach of explaining the Balkan "decline" with the Ottoman "yoke" is another state-centred perspective, as it assumes that the Balkan land regime was centrally regulated by the Ottoman state. It also takes the model of Western European economic growth as an ideal to be achieved.[106] Instead, Ottoman institutions should be carefully analysed because they established continuity with the economic and administrative settings of the twentieth-century Balkan states.

Moreover, the claim that Thessaly was fully "privatised" or it was composed solely of the çiftliks should be reconsidered given the recent research about the region. Due to the regional variations, especially the mountain settlements, one should also look for the land forms other than çiftliks. Last, but not least, this research does not adopt an ethnic-based analysis of the Balkan countryside. Instead of ethnicity, it was the interests that caused conflict or coalition of the people. Hence, this research classifies the society with respect to the status of the people in the rural economy. The extraction capacity (i.e., the power to collect tax), terms of the land possession, type of the labour agreement are among the criteria to be followed for this purpose.

[105] Petmezas, "Patterns of Protoindustrialization," 583.
[106] For approaches taking Western European economic growth as an ideal model, see North, *The Rise of the Western World*, 5, *122*, *127*, 150; North, *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance*, 95-96; Acemoğlu et al. "The Rise of Europe," 550; Acemoğlu and Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, 207. For their critique, see Boldizzoni, *The Poverty of Clio*, 22.

1.2 The conceptual framework

This research has a conceptual framework that is established upon a number of research questions and hypotheses. Its main aim is to explain the characteristics of çiftlikisation in Thessaly from the end of the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth century. The formation and evolution of the çiftliks and how they functioned constitute the core of this aim. Examining the process of çiftlikisation does not mean examining only the çiftliks. Rather, this examination should be based on the inquiry of different land forms in a region. The interaction between çiftliks and other land forms (such as independent villages and transhumant settlements) would explain the evolution and the functioning of the çiftliks, as it would also depict the regional economy as a whole. Related to this, it will be questioned in which ways Thessalian rural economy was transformed in the given period. The institutions that have moulded different types of land tenures and taxation practices will be revealed.

The theoretical approach for studying this subject will consist of fundamental questions about the main paradigms regarding this period. First, it will be questioned as to whether there was a turning point for çiftlikisation. This research is based on the hypothesis that the codification movement of the mid-nineteenth-century, especially the Land Code of 1858, was not a moment that created the çiftliks. They had already been formed by the late eighteenth century. The empirical evidence will be evaluated in order to test this hypothesis. Second, the question of property will be discussed by including both its legal and practical meanings. It will be asked to what degree law was effective on land ownership and attributing private property-like characteristics to the land. The point of this research is not to ask whether private property, in an inalienable and absolute form, existed in the Ottoman state. This kind of inquiry not merely has the risk of being rhetorical and thus reproducing a legal

formalism, but also it is far from explaining the real dynamics of the long-term transformation of the Ottoman land regime. Third, the question of centralisation will be raised with regard to the institutional transformation. Namely, it will be questioned whether the continuities and changes in the landholding regime could be explained within the framework of centralisation or decentralisation. The dynamics of this process will be analysed to understand if they surpass these paradigms. The periods that the fiscal and administrative control (by the imperial authorities or by the absentee central elite) decreased and increased will be carefully elaborated.

In order to fulfil the requirements of a regional analysis, an analytical way of describing a region will be used. For the case of Thessaly, the characteristics of its regional variations will be highlighted, and their relationship to different economic forms will be discussed. The rural population of the region will be defined beyond the terms of ethnicity. Population density and its distribution in different geographic formations will be questioned, in addition to the subject of settled and unsettled communities. These communities will be analysed in relation to the economic geography, and the attempts to sedentarise the latter one will be explored.

The inquiry in this research about the landed property in Thessaly is based on the hypothesis that there were a number of institutions that have moulded different forms of çiftliks. Namely, the tax farming system, imperial vakıfs, provincial and imperial governments, and communal organisations will be addressed during the span of a century. Their function in the çiftlik formation will be addressed and the competition between these institutions will be explored. The dynamics of the land market will be highlighted. Some of the specific research questions about the landed property are about the types of property. The ways that property was defined in different periods, the differences between the land tenure forms, the ways that

different land tenure forms evolved in comparison to each other constitute the basis of the main questions to be asked in this subject. Specifically, the differences between a village and a çiftlik, the conditions of the timars, the conversion of a malikane-mukataa into a çiftlik, and the formation of the vakıf-çiftliks will be examined. The role of land enclosure in the çiftlik formation will also be questioned.

The main actors that competed in the land market will be revealed in this analysis. In particular, the absentee and local notables, their extractive capacity and their role as a stimulus for changing the rural dynamics will be explained. The dynamics of the struggle among the elites, and between the elites and the imperial authority will be explained. Imperial family members among these absentee notables will be highlighted and the boundaries between the state and the imperial family will be questioned. The methods of çiftlik management will be explained under the control of local and absentee landlords in different periods. The role of the middle-men will be emphasised not only for the çiftlik management, but also for the rural taxes and the rural economy in general.

The conditions of peasantry require another group of questions to be asked. The continuities and changes in the land and tax regimes will be evaluated with respect to their effects on the conditions of peasantry. The degree of change and continuity for the rural population will be analysed for diffent producer classes. First of all, forms of labour in and around the çiftliks will be defined for different decades, and the terms of their labour agreements will be explained. The differences between sharecroppers and other types of rural labour in çiftliks is an important part of this question. This analysis also includes the issue of agrarian production and taxation. Types of crops produced in Thessalian lowlands will be comparatively evaluated. Since Thessaly has been known as a grain producer region, the relationship between

the grain cultivation and provisioning will be questioned. The types of agrarian taxes will be identified, and the amount of tax payments will be compared for different periods and different landholding forms. Different legal and practical definitions of being a tenant in a vakıf-çiftlik will be compared. Forms of bondage and peasant indebtedness will be discussed.

1.3 The methodology and sources of the study

This research proposes a methodological contribution to Ottoman economic history in different ways. It aims at making an analysis of a lengthy and critical period, namely the span of a century from 1780 to 1880. In terms of Ottoman economic history, covering both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provides a ground to explain the continuities and changes in the land regime.

This study also aims at analysing the fiscal, judicial and administrative records in a way to highlight the social struggles and institutional formations. Fiscal sources are usually utilised in the conventional literature in order to describe the financial status of the state, and to depict the fiscal bureaucracy. In a similar vein, judicial and administrative sources are conventionally analysed in a normative sense, and their connections to social practices are rarely established. This research, however, used fiscal records in order to analyse the rural economy. Land and labour relations are examined through production and taxation records. Competition between absentee and local landlords for land and agrarian revenue is highlighted. Tax-farming contracts of different decades were comparatively studied in order to explain how tax farming became a major way of çiftlikisation. Moreover, tax burdens under different land regimes are analysed in order to show the effects of institutional change on the peasantry. Similarly, legal and administrative documents

such as court cases, petitions and regulations are studied to analyse agrarian relations.

This dissertation is based on the following primary sources: official archives of the Ottoman Empire located at Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri-BOA*) in Istanbul and at the National Library of Greece in Athens; *vakıf* (foundation) archives at IBB Atatürk Library (*Atatürk Kitaplığı-AK*) in Istanbul and at The Historical Archive of Macedonia in Thessaloniki; Ottoman yearbooks (*salname*) at ISAM Library in Istanbul; consular reports at Gennadius Library in Athens; and travellers' accounts at Boğaziçi University Aptullah Kuran Library, Library of the University of Crete in Rethymno, Library of the Institute for Mediterranean Research in Rethymno (most of which are also accessible online).[107] Secondary sources are consulted usually at the above-mentioned libraries. The primary sources are mainly in Ottoman Turkish, whereas the secondary sources are in Turkish, English, French and Greek languages.

1.3.1 Official archives of the Ottoman Empire

Ottoman state archives used in this research are predominantly located at the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives. Since the lengthy time period covered in this research had profound bureaucratic and administrative changes, the archival recording and classification can also be found in a number of different forms. Materials in *defter* (book) form provide information mainly on agrarian production and taxation (in cash or kind), names (of landlords, tax-collectors, various sub-contractors, peasants), place names (for villages and *çiftlik*s). Materials in *belge* (loose document) form contribute to defters by historical narratives on land struggles, certificates for tax

[107] Hereafter, *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri* is referred as "BOA" and *Atatürk Kitaplığı* is referred to as "AK."

farming or *vakıf* granting, information regarding centrally appointed officers or local power-holders.

State archives, in addition to other sources, are consulted for the presentation of the administrative taxonomy of Thessaly. Documents from *Cevdet* (*Adliye, Maliye, Saray Muhasebe*), *Hatt-ı Hümayun* and *Kamil Kepeci* classifications of BOA are referred in that respect. Furthermore, provincial yearbooks (*vilayet salnameleri*) and state yearbooks (*devlet salnameleri*) of the late nineteenth century are used as reference points while referring to the statistics about population, settlements, taxes and production.

The period from 1780 to 1820 is studied through the following BOA classifications: *Ali Emiri* (AE) is a rich collection including important documents on *timar*s, *mukataa*s and *vakıf*s. Sub-divisions of *Cevdet* classification of BOA include a significant number of defters about the economic history of Thessaly. *Cevdet Dahiliye* (C.DH), *Cevdet Maliye* (C.ML.) *Cevdet Adliye* (C.ADL) consists of the topics as agrarian production, provisioning of the army and Istanbul, provincial account books and population registers. *Cevdet Saray Muhasebe* (C.SM) has Imperial Domains (*Emlâk-ı Hümayun*) *çiftlik* registers. *Hatt-ı Hümayun* (HAT), i.e., the imperial edicts, depict the responds to queries or demands of provincial rulers, or petitions of common people. Imperial edicts selected for this study are about the landholding disputes, tax complaints, and official changes about administration and taxation. Confiscations of this era are followed through the account books at *Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Halifeliği Muhallefat Defterleri* (D.BŞM.MHF.d.) and *Maliyeden Müdevver* (MAD.d.) classifications.

Other archival material that might be useful to study this period would be *sicil*s, i.e., records of *kadı* courts in the provinces. Nevertheless, only one sicil could

be detected in the archives for towns of Thessaly, which is the sicil of Tırhala dated 1792/93.[108] Composed of 135 pages, it was probably not the whole volume, which would be normally around 200 pages, but a compilation of some excerpts from a volume. This compilation does not provide a systematically organised database for this study. There were some çiftlik lists, but only their names with the number of çifts were indicated. Hence, this source is not utilised in this study.

Explaining the process of distribution of land to new landowners, the period of 1820 to 1860 makes a survey of account books in BOA classifications of *Kamil Kepeci* (KK.d), *Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Kalemi* (D.BŞM.d), *Cevdet Saray Maliye* (C.SM) and *Maliyeden Müdevver* (MAD.d.), which consists of *timar* and *mukaata* registers and *çiftlik* account books. *Kamil Kepeci* classification mostly includes the account books of the fiscal administration, and the books usually have a subtitle referring to the name of the fiscal office from which they came. *Bab-ı Defteri* served as the main financial office (*defterdarlık*), and *Başmuhasebe Kalemi* (chief accounting office) was its most important body, which registered all of the revenue and expenses of the empire.[109]

Income Surveys (*Temettuat Defterleri*) located at BOA could be considered as an important source to study the economic history of the mid-nineteenth century. However, despite searches in different archival classifications, no Income Survey book could be located for any of the Thessaly *kaza*s.[110]

State archives used to study the period from 1840 to 1860 are a group of documents (*berat*s, i.e. imperial licences) and account books from the *Evkaf* (EV)

[108] BOA. KK.d. 801. I wish to thank Antonis Anastasopoulos for tutoring me on sicils and examining this volume of sicil with me.
[109] *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi*, 146.
[110] BOA. ML.VRD.TMT.d 11787, 11788, 11789 and 11790 are classified in BOA as Income Surveys of *kaza* of Tırhala. However, this information is not correct. These are the registers of *kaza* of Tarhala, near Manisa.

classification of BOA, that focus on land transactions in *vakıf* estates. Furthermore, *İrade Meclis-i Vala* (İ.MVL.) classification is consulted to explain the legal change initiated with the Bylaw of Tırhala.

Some of the Ottoman state archives are located in Greece. Manuscript Collections of the National Library of Greece in Athens hosts a limited archival collection called *Θεσσαλικά* (Thessalika) including official documents for eighteenth and early nineteenth century in Turkish, Greek and German languages.[111] These documents are classified in three boxes and extensively deal with the town of Agia and also other towns and villages in Eastern Thessaly. Not being a principal source of information for this study, these documents are consulted occasionally to support the BOA sources.

1.3.2 *Vakıf* archives

Vakıf archives used in this dissertation belong to "Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfı", located at IBB Atatürk Library under the classification of "Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Evrakı."[112] This vast collection includes 5,625 items. For this study, eight account books for Thessaly çiftliks and a large number of documents are studied for the period from 1863 to 1882.

Archives of "Gazi Evrenos Vakfı" can be counted as another source about vakıf-estates in Thessaly. This source is not extensively consulted in this research, but occasionally used for explaining the dynamics of the nineteenth-century vakıf-estates. The archives are located at The Historical Archive of Macedonia (Ιστορικό Αρχείο Μακεδονίας) in Thessaloniki, Greece. The registers of Gazi Evrenos Vakfı's estates in Macedonia and eastern Thessaly start during the 1830s and last until the

[111] National Library of Greece/Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles, Archio Emporikis Syntrofias Aghias (=Αρχείο Εμπορικής Συντροφιάς Αγιάς), Box no: Θ1, Θ2, Θ3.
[112] Hereafter referred as "AK. PVS. EVR."

end of the century, and they focus on land transactions. Usually under the title "*tapu malumat defteri*" (book of title-deed information), they include categories as the name of the town, location, frontiers, size, land type, name of the land-holder (*mutasarrıf*), price of land transfer and fees.

1.3.3 British consular reports and other private archives

Gennadius Library in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens hosts a very important source in its Rare Books Collection.[113] This is the collection of the reports dated 1879-1880 under the name of *Correspondence respecting insurrections in Thessaly and Epirus*, which were prepared by British Consul-General J.E. Blunt and Colonel Synge, who both served in Thessaly.[114] The collection of completed reports is bound together with eight other items under the general title from the spine: "Rectification of Greek Frontiers, 1878-80." This volume includes correspondence between a number of different representatives of the Great Britain at the Ottoman lands and the British parliament regarding the "rectification of the Greek frontier", i.e., the partition of Northern Greece between the Greek State and the Ottoman State.

Blunt's report was written in Salonica on July 25, 1879, and addresses Sir A.H. Layard. His purpose in writing the report was to prove that "the Greek state will acquire a large and very fertile extent of country, occupied by a population almost entirely Christian" if the Greek frontier would be rectified in a way to include the four districts he would describe.[115] Blunt, upon his visits, provides a survey of the population and the disposition of landed property in four frontier districts of

[113] American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Gennadius Library Archives, Rare Book Collections.
[114] Great Britain, Parliament, *Correspondence respecting insurrections in Thessaly and Epirus.*
[115] Great Britain, Parliament, *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 15.

Thessaly, namely, Ermiye, Çatalca, Domnik, Kardiça and Tırhala. He claims that the numbers he provided about population were derived both from local sources and "local Turkish records" – which was not further explained – and confirmed by his observations.[116] The second section of the source, written by Colonel Synge with the title "Notes by Colonel Synge respecting the state of the Peasant Farmers in Thessaly," further describes the land and labour relations in the 1880s. In particular, Synge focuses on the çiftliks of Thessaly.

Gennadius Library of Athens hosts another significant collection: The Ali Pasha Papers.[117] This collection has 1,500 public and private documents, which were predominantly in the Greek language, about Tepedelenli Ali Paşa and his sons, Veli Paşa and Muhtar Paşa, for the period 1802-1820. This collection was later published in four volumes. [118] The extensive number of documents would require further research, and thus, they are not examined in this study.

1.3.4 Travellers' accounts

W.M. Leake (1777-1860) was an English military officer sent to the Ottoman Empire for his duty during the early nineteenth century.[119] In 1807, "he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Ali Pasha of Ioannina, whose confidence he completely won, and with whom he remained for more than a year as British representative."[120] His accounts about his personal contacts, observations and travels in Thessaly and Epirus were published in 1835.[121] Henry Holland (1788-1873) is an English traveller and

[116] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 11.
[117] American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Gennadius Library Archives, The Ali Pasha Papers (Αμερικανική Σχολή Κλασικών Σπουδών στην Αθήνα, Γεννάδειος Βιβλιοθήκη, Αρχείο Αλή Πασά).
[118] *Αρχείο Αλή Πασά.* (Ali Pasha Archives).
[119] Chisholm, "Leake, William Martin," 329.
[120] Chisholm, "Leake, William Martin," 329.
[121] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*.

physician. The account of his travels in Thessaly and Epirus during 1812-13 was published in 1819. [122]

The most comprehensive source on Vlachs is the travel account of Alan John Bayard Wace and Maurice Scott Thompson between 1910 and 1912 at Epirus and Thessaly.[123] Their work takes Vlachs as the main subject of the study. The authors joined the seasonal journeys of Vlachs within Thessaly for three consecutive years and provided a very detailed portrait of their living and working conditions.

1.4 The chapter outline

This dissertation makes a chronological analysis of the transformation of agrarian relations and çiftlik agriculture in Thessaly. Following the chapter on the geography of the region, three chapters explain the periods 1780-1820, 1820-1860 and 1840-1880 respectively. The final chapter reveals the conclusion of this research.

Chapter Two describes the physical and human geography of Thessaly and discusses the role of geography with the Thessalian rural economy. It defines the Thessaly region from various perspectives and locates the rural economy in the spatial realm. Based on the use of Ottoman yearbooks, official documents, travellers' accounts and consular reports, in addition to the secondary literature, this chapter presents geography as a vivid feature of the economic relations and land regime. It is mainly argued that variations within the Thessalian geography had a profound effect on different institutional settings of its eastern and western parts. Furthermore, these variations created an economy composed of mutual interdependences of agriculture, stockbreeding and trade.

[122] Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia.*
[123] Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans.*

This chapter starts with a portrait of Thessalian physical geography with respect to its location, topography, water sources, plant covers, climate, and soil. It emphasises regional variations between its eastern and western parts. It also presents the administrative geography of the region from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century.[124] After that, the population and settlement patterns are presented, and major settlements are introduced. The following part discusses the main characteristics of the economic geography of the region with an emphasis on land tenure. Finally, as an example of the relations between geography, economy and human settlements, transhumant communities of Thessaly are analysed.

Chapter Three focuses on the period from the 1780s to the 1820s, which can be defined as the age of vakıfs, malikanes and provincial notables. It analyses the landed estates in the Alasonya town of Thessaly. This chapter mainly argues that malikanes can be an explanation, among others, for the origins of the landed estates, or çiftliks, in Thessaly. It is emphasised that malikane was not only a tax-collection method; it provided its holder with judicial and administrative authority in the provinces. Thus, it became a means of revenue-sharing and land-holding in the rural scene. Besides, it is argued that Ali Paşa's control of the malikane-estates consolidated the legacy of çiftliks in Alasonya. Research on Ali Paşa's çiftliks presents very important details on the çiftlik economy of the early nineteenth century. Namely, these çiftliks reflected a differentiation of the peasantry as sharecroppers, labourers, perakende and merchants. Furthermore, sharecropping agreements show that sharecroppers paid 65% of their production to the landlord and local çiftlik manager (subaşı), and they had bondage to the soil and to the landlord.

[124] The Turkish names of Ottoman cities, towns and villages are used in this study.

Supremacy of wheat cultivation (which remained as the main trend until the end of the century) and its relationship to the provisioning policy is also discussed.

In the first part of this chapter, the institutional basis of the competition for the tax-farm revenue sources is discussed. This competition took place mainly between Esma Sultan and Tepedelenli Ali Paşa, respectively, the prominent absentee and local notables of the district. For this aim, revenue-collection and land tenure institutions related to life-long tax farming are described. The co-existence of different legal categories of land tenures (as vakıf, has and çiftlik) is explained. Legal and extra-legal means of landholding are analysed. The second part focuses on the confiscation of Ali Paşa's property during 1820-1826. After a discussion of this process and the review of the confiscation books, selected confiscation records are used to make an in-depth analysis of the çiftlik economy in Alasonya during late 1810s and early 1820s.

Chapter Four discusses the period from 1820 to the late 1850s, in which the Thessalian landed property was redistributed by the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun). The redistribution had two phases. First, from 1820 to 1823-25, land and other revenue sources were entrusted to superintendents of the Imperial Domains. The superintendent was practically an absentee landlord; he controlled çiftliks via local çiftlik managers as subaşı and kocabaşı who were not dismissed alongside Ali Paşa. The second phase of redistribution of Thessaly çiftliks was the land sales of the Imperial Domains. This institution sold the çiftliks confiscated from Ali Paşa with the method of tax farming from c.1825 until the abolishment of this method in 1840s. Later, the land transactions were named as "sale". In both methods, landed revenue sources of Thessaly were transferred to new entrepreneurs, who usually belonged to the similar classes of title-holding imperial elite. The first wave of new tax farmers

during 1825-1830 had mid-rank administrative or military titles. After 1830, landlords from higher ranks of imperial bureaucracy and military and also the members of the dynastic family acquired the tax farms. Hence, the political and economic control of rural Thessaly was again held by the class of strong absentee landholders who had official posts and dynastic relations. It is also argued that the new era did not create immediate changes in terms of the sharecropping agreements. The state authorities' promise of amelioration of the peasantry's tax burden after Ali Paşa was not kept: Sharecroppers' rents in kind did not decrease; besides, cash rents increased at least five times. This was among the causes of the severe rural distress in the region.

This chapter presents the transition era of the landholding in Thessaly in four parts. The first part of this chapter discusses a case study from the era of superintendents during the first half of 1820s. The second part is about the çiftlik sales of the Imperial Domains, a process that followed the era of superintendents and lasted around two or three decades. The third part of this chapter moves beyond the case studies of land transfer and agrarian production in Thessaly. It focuses on one of the most important legal documents about the agrarian relations in the region, namely, the Bylaw (Layiha) of Tırhala. This part also compares the sharecropping modalities defined in the bylaw with the related material discussed in this chapter. Finally, the conclusion of this chapter discusses the continuities and changes in the land and labour relations of Thessaly from the 1820s to 1850s.

Chapter Five analyses the period from c.1840 to 1880 with an emphasis on the re-introduction of vakıf control in Thessaly landed property Vakıfs became more visible and the Ministry of Imperial Foundations (Nezaret-i Evkaf-i Hümayun) undertook the mission of the redistribution of land. It is argued that the vakıf, as a

landholder, followed the tendencies of the period that gradually shifted from multiple claims to a single claim on land. Vakıf-registers of land surveys and transfers reflected the attempt to formulate land as a well-defined space. Nevertheless, old institutional legacies of landholding and tax-collection continued after the mid-nineteenth century: Malikane, absentee-landlordism and vakıf-villages were present despite some changes in their practices. Examination of vakıf-çiftliks for four decades reveals important conclusions about the çiftlik economy. Despite the attempted centralisation, the structure of intermediaries was not eliminated. Yet, the relationship between intermediaries and peasantry acquired a new form, since the former were transformed from share holders to officers with cash salaries. Although the rent in kind paid by peasantry decreased to 40% of the total production in this period (which was previously 65%) several cash taxes and feudal dues still prevented the amelioration of their conditions.

The first part of this chapter focuses on the vakıf control in Thessaly during the years from 1840 to 1860, a period in which vakıfs leased their estates to several local and absentee entrepreneurs. Three case studies are presented. The vakıf of Bahçekapusu Valide Sultan, and Esma Sultan, both discussed in Chapter Three, re-appear in these cases as landholders. The second part focuses on the newly founded vakıf of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan as a landholding institution in Thessaly. It examines a significant number of account books and documents at the archives of this vakıf for 1862-1882.

CHAPTER 2

PHYSICAL AND HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THESSALY

The primary condition of making a regional study is an apparent yet challenging task, describing the respective region. This description has to be clear enough to make an introduction to the subject. However, it also has to be comprehensive enough to provide a guide to the region, consistent enough to locate the research subject on the spatial realm and analytical enough to build the connections between the research subject and this realm. This chapter proposes to follow this methodological task in order to describe Thessaly. The primary sources used in this chapter are Ottoman *salname*s (official yearbooks); archival documents from BOA; archival documents from the National Library of Greece; travellers' accounts (Evliya Çelebi, W.M. Leake, Henry Holland, A.J.B. Wace and M.S. Thompson); and nineteenth-century consular reports (British Consul-General J.E. Blunt). The bulk of the secondary literature consulted is from scholars emphasising a geohistorical approach towards Thessaly such as N.D. Pappos, Jovan Cvijić, Michel Sivignon, Socrates Petmezas, Alp Yücel Kaya, Faruk Tabak, Stocia Lascu and Richard Lawless. Encyclopaedic references and toponymy dictionaries are also utilised.

For this aim, first, the physical geography of the region is portrayed. Location, topography, water sources, plant covers, climate and soil are described both in their current and previous conditions. Regional variations between its eastern and western parts stand at the centre of understanding Thessalian geography. Second, the administrative taxonomy of the region is described from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century. Since Thessaly is a large region with a number of important centres and many towns, the administrative subordination among them has to be

identified. Moreover, the frequent changes in the Ottoman administrative taxonomy during the second half of the nineteenth century and the new frontiers between the Ottoman and Greek states made the task of tracking the administrative changes of Thessaly even more important. Third, the population and settlements are discussed. Reasons of different population densities are questioned, population estimations and ethnic division of population are referred, and ten major settlements are introduced. Fourth, in the light of the geographical descriptions and related discussions provided in the previous sections, the economic geography of Thessaly is analysed. The effects of the physical geography and institutional formations of the region on its economic geography are examined. The connections among main forms of economic organisations, i.e., çiftliks, independent villages and seasonal migrant shepherds (transhumants), are described in relation to Thessalian geography.

Finally, transhumant communities of Thessaly are analysed as a case study. Taking the question of their sedentarisation at the centre, the subject is approached as a means of explaining the relation of human movements, geography and economy.

2.1 Physical geography

Thessaly is the name of the geographical and administrative area of today's northern Greece (Appendix B, Figure B1). It is at the south of the administrative region of Macedonia, east of Epirus and north of central Greece. The Aegean Sea is its natural border from the east. The region has the largest plains of Greece, according to statistics prepared by the Ministry of Economic Affairs in 1896, which demonstrates that Thessalian lowlands have a total surface of 4,000,000 acres (16,187 km^2).[125] The Thessalian plain is surrounded by mountain ranges: Pindus from the west and

[125] Cited in Πάππος, Ζητήματα αγροτικής οικονομίας εν Θεσσαλία, [Pappos, Issues of rural economy in Thessaly] 4.

northwest, Khassia and Kamvounion from the north, Olympus Ranges from the northeast, Ossa, Mavro, Vouni, Pelion from the east, and Agrafa and Othrys from the south. The plain opens to the Aegean Sea by Golos (mod. Volos) at its southeast. Pinios River, sourced from the eastern Pindus Mountains, drains onto the Thessaly plain and flows into Thermaikos Gulf. Thessaly is a region of varied plant cover stemming mainly from the differences in altitude, coastal affects, climate and humidity. There were three main types of plant cover in the region: a narrow green facade by the Aegean coast of eastern Thessaly; cultivated crops on the plains and low hills of the interior part, which had cleaned the natural plant cover, and bushes at its slopes that replaced trees; and large forests where plant types varied according to the altitude.[126]

Thessaly is composed of the adjoining plains at its eastern and western sides, which are partially divided by the Zarkos mountain ranges. Geographical characteristics of eastern and western Thessaly are different. The location and height of the mountains constitute a key reason for this difference. Related to this, climate and irrigation are other reasons. The eastern Thessaly plain is surrounded by mountain ranges, which divided Thessaly and Macedonia and has the highest point of Greece, i.e., Mount Olympus. This mountain range reaches through the Aegean coast on the Magnesia peninsula and opens to the sea via the port city of Golos (mod. Volos). Although this peninsula is attached to Thessaly administratively, it does not have many connections with the Thessaly plain. Rather, as Sivignon underlines, these coastal mountains are part of the Aegean or even Mediterranean region and had maritime relations with the Aegean Islands, Piraeus, and even with Lebanon and Egypt.[127] Eastern Thessaly soil is usually dryer than in the western part. The soil has

[126] Sivignon, *La Thessalie*, 67.
[127] Sivignon, *La Thessalie*, 16.

a fine texture due to the change of the level of subsurface water.[128] Wheat was grown on lowlands, which was replaced by maize at higher altitudes as the Pindus, Lower Olympus and Pelion mountains.[129] During the nineteenth century, American crops such as maize and tobacco began to be cultivated at the higher altitudes of eastern Thessaly, on which the coastal effects of Aegean Sea were visible; this was a common trend in the Mediterranean region.[130] Barley was the second important crop. Traditional agricultural methods such as fallow and crop rotations were in use in this region as late as the early twentieth century. It was when a considerable area of land was still left to fallow in eastern Thessaly, more than the ratio of fallow in the west. In eastern Thessaly, the ratio of fallow to cultivated land was around 1 or even higher. [131] Obligatory crop rotation was also in use, which disappeared approximately before the 1910s.[132] High altitudes and related climatic conditions were usually not very favourable for a significant amount of stock-raising in eastern part.[133] The mountains of the eastern part had altitudes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters.

The western Thessaly plain is mainly composed of the districts of Tırhala (mod. Trikala) and Kardiça (mod. Karditsa), constituting a lowland from north to south. It is surrounded by moderate heights from 200 to 500 meters, and enclosed from the west by the Pindus mountain range, which separates Thessaly and Epirus. Tırhala, at around 150 meters above sea level and protected by these moderate heights, does not have very cold temperatures on average.[134] The western plain has usually humid soil. During his visit to Tırhala in the 1810s, Leake notes that the draught he observed is explained as an "unusual occurrence", and "in general there is

[128] Sivignon, *La Thessalie*, 87.
[129] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 390.
[130] Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean*, 265.
[131] Sivignon, *La Thessalie*, 125.
[132] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 393.
[133] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 390.
[134] Sivignon, *La Thessalie*, 38.

a sufficiency of moisture to make the light rich mould of Thessaly the most productive soil in Greece."[135] In Tırhala, there is an alluvial soil with good drainage, whereas in Kardiça, the soil is with "fine material."[136] It is better irrigated than the east and receives higher rain levels. As a typical Balkan phenomenon, maize production was important, which was more than barley and half of wheat.[137] Beans were grown as a secondary crop in the wet parts. Land left to fallow in the early twentieth century was limited in Western Thessaly; the ratio of fallow to cultivated land is less than 0,5.[138] However, obligatory rotations on the fields known as "damka" were enforced until the 1950s.[139] This obligatory crop rotation may be explained by Sivignon with the effects of the Central Europe on western Thessaly. Contrary to the Mediterranean effect on eastern Thessaly, the western part was closer to the physical and economic geography of Central Europe.[140] Due to favourable topographic and climatic conditions at moderate heights, western Thessaly had larger numbers of livestock compared to the east, and concentrated particularly on cattle-raising.[141] Especially the Pindus ranges were summer pastures for the shepherd transhumant communities, which will be explained in detail below.

2.2 Administrative taxonomy of Thessaly

The term Thessaly was used in the ancient and Byzantine period as it is today, but the Ottomans usually did not identify the region with this term, nor had they used

[135] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 436-437.
[136] Sivignon, *La Thessalie*, 87.
[137] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 390.
[138] Sivignon, *La Thessalie*, 125.
[139] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 393.
[140] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 393.For an ecological approach to the discussion of Mediterranean effects on Thessaly, see Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean*, 123-24.
[141] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 390.

Peloponnese, Attica, Epirus, Macedonia or Thrace.[142] They referred to the region by the name of its central town, i.e., Tırhala. In the beginning of the Ottoman rule, the district (*sancak* or *liva*) of Tırhala was the administrative unit covering the Thessaly region including Badracık (mod. Ypati) to the south until this town was included in the *sancak* of Eğriboz in 1470. By the first half of the sixteenth century, the *sancak* of Tırhala included the towns (*kaza*s) of Tırhala, Fener, Cuma, Agrafa, Alasonya, Yenişehr-i Fener.[143]

Table 1. Administrative Divisions, Timar Organisations and Vakıfs of Thessaly (Sancak of Tırhala) According to Evliya Çelebi (1668)[144]

Town or Village	Has	Zeamet	Vakif	Other Regime
Ermiye (kaza)				*
Velestin (kaza)	*			
Golos (kaza)	*			
Alasonya (kaza)	*		*	
Kalambaka		*		
Kardiça		*		
Yenişehr-i Fener (kaza and nahiye)				*
Masholouri			*	*
Cuma	*	*		
Tırhala (kaza and nahiye)				*
Tırnovi			*	
Fener	*		*	
Farsala				*

Evliya Çelebi's travels to the sancak of Tırhala in the seventeenth century help us to identify some of its kazas as Tırhala, Yenişehr-i Fener, Ermiye, Velestin, Golos and Alasonya, in addition to the dominant land regimes in different towns (i.e., timar and vakıf organisation) (Table 1). According to him, "has" type of timars were Velestin,

[142] Hacısalihoğlu, "Yunanistan," 587.
[143] Kiel, "Tesalya," 524.
[144] Παλιούγκας , Η θεσσαλια στο οδοιπορικο του περιηγητη Εβλιγια Τσελεμπη *(1668),* 11 [Paligas, Thessalia in the journey of the traveller Evliya Çelebi (1668), 11]. This table is directly quoted from this source. Translation from Greek into English is mine.

Golos, Alasonya, Cuma and Fener; zeamet timars were Kalambaka, Kardiça and Cuma; vakıf lands were Alasonya, Mashollouri, Tırnovi and Fener; as Tırhala, Yenişehr-i Fener, Ermiye, Mashollouri and Çatalca had lands of various other types.[145]

Table 2. Administrative Taxonomy of Thessalian Settlements (1780-1913)

c. 1780-1840[146]	Eyalet of Rumeli	→	Sancak of Tırhala	→	Kaza of Tırhala, Alasonya, Golos, Ergalaşti, Yenişehr-i Fener, Ermiye, Katrin, Velestin, Çatalca, Domnik, Badracık, Tırnovi, Kırçova, Serfice, Agrafa
1847[147]	Eyalet of Selanik	→	Sancak of Tırhala		
1853[148]	Eyalet of Yanya	→	Sancak of Tırhala, Ergiri, Berat, Narda, Golos		
1864[149]	Eyalet of Tırhala	→	Sancak of Tırhala		
	Eyalet of Selanik	→	Sancak of Golos, Aynaroz, Siroz, Drama		
1867[150]	Vilayet of Tırhala	→	Sancak of Avlonya, Preveze, Golos		
1871[151]	Vilayet of Yanya	→	Sancak of Tırhala	→	Kaza of Tırhala, Yenişehr-i Fener, Golos, Kardiça, Çatalca, Alasonya, Ermiye
1881	Kingdom of Greece	→	Tırhala		
1889[152]	Vilayet of Manastır	→	Sancak of Serfice	→	Kaza of Alasonya
1913[153]	Kingdom of Greece	→	Alasonya		

The sancak of Tırhala was a sub-unit of *eyalet* (province) of Rumeli for long centuries since the beginning of the Ottoman rule. During c.1790-1840, the sancak of Tırhala had kazas as Tırhala, Alasonya, Golos, Ergalaşti, Yenişehr-i Fener, Ermiye,

[145] Παλιούγκας , Η θεσσαλια στο οδοιπορικο του περιηγητη Εβλιγια Τσελεμπη *(1668),* 11 [Paligas, Thessalia in the journey of the traveller Evliya Çelebi (1668), 11].
[146] BOA. C. ADL. 14/873; BOA. C. ML. 449/18155; BOA. C. ML. 575/23594; BOA. C. SM. 90/4502; BOA. HAT. 538/26477; BOA. KK.d. 660.
[147] *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye 1263*. The source refers to "*liva*" instead of "*sancak*", but due to the interchangeable use of these terms, I preferred "*sancak*" for the sake of consisency.
[148] *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye 1269.*
[149] *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye 1281*.
[150] *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye 1284.*
[151] *Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi 1288.*
[152] Sezen, *Osmanlı Yer Adları*, 21, 157.
[153] Sezen, *Osmanlı Yer Adları*, 21, 157.

Katrin, Velestin, Domnik, Badracık, Tırnovi, Kırçova, Serfice and Agrafa.[154] The administrative taxonomy of the region was subjected to serious and frequent changes by the mid-nineteenth century. These changes had both local and general reasons. Locally, attempts to eliminate the semi-autonomous political control of the established elite in the first half of the century initiated administrative changes. Furthermore, the Greek independence of the 1820s and Yanya Uprisings of 1854-1855 were the reasons behind the Ottoman state's quest to establish more efficient political control in Thessaly, which may have been sought through administrative changes. On a more general level, the reorganisation of the Ottoman state bureaucracy after the Tanzimat edict of 1839 is behind the policy of increased central control, for which several changes were introduced into the provincial administration.

Hence, the administrative taxonomy of Thessaly was profoundly altered at least once in every decade after 1840.[155] In 1846, the sancak of Tırhala became a sub-unit of the eyalet of Selanik, other sancaks of which were Selanik, Siroz and Drama.[156] In 1853, the sancak of Tırhala was subordinated to the eyalet of Yanya, in addition to other sancaks; Narde, Berat, Ergiri and Golos.[157] The status of Tırhala was elevated from sancak to eyalet in 1864.[158] Later, the Vilayet Regulation of 1864 abolished the hitherto "eyalet" system. In 1867, Tırhala's name was changed from "eyalet" into "vilayet".[159] In 1871, Tırhala lost its status of vilayet; the sancak of

[154] BOA. C. ADL. 14/873; BOA. C. ML. 449/18155; BOA. C. ML. 575/23594; BOA. C. SM. 90/4502; BOA. HAT. 538/26477; BOA. KK.d. 660.
[155] For a comprehensive analysis of Thessaly as a borderland and the effects of Ottoman centralisation reforms on Thessaly's territorial organisation during mid-nineteenth century, see Özkan, "Ottoman Perceptions and Considerations on the First Ottoman-Greek Borderlands in Thessaly (1832-1865)."
[156] *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, 1263.* The source refers to "liva" instead of "*Sancak*", but due to the interchangeable use of these terms, I preferred *Sancak* for the sake of consistency.
[157] *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye 1269.*
[158] *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye 1281.*
[159] *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye 1284.*

Tırhala (with kazas of Tırhala, Yenişehr-i Fener, Golos, Kardiça, Çatalca, Alasonya and Ermiye) was subordinated to vilayet of Yanya.[160]

These administrative changes apparently were not enough to keep Thessaly within the Ottoman territories. In 1881, according to an agreement in the aftermath of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-78, a significant part of Thessaly (covering almost the total sancak of Tırhala) was annexed to the Kingdom of Greece.[161] The kaza of Alasonya, which remained in the Ottoman territory, was subordinated to sancak of Serfice and vilayet of Manastır in 1889.[162] In 1913, Alasonya was also included in the Kingdom of Greece[163] (Table 2).

2.3 Population and settlements

Variations of Thessalian geography stimulated settlements with different population densities. The census of 1881, referred to by Sivignon, shows that the population density of Thessaly was lower than the average for Greece (21 persons/km^2 for the former, 32 persons/km^2 for the latter).[164] However, the port town of Golos was an exception with the population density of 100 persons/km^2, as Larissa (70-100 persons/km^2) and Tırhala district including Kardiça (40-70 persons/km^2) had considerable densities.[165] As a characteristic of Mediterranean countries, high densities were in semi-mountainous country such as the Pelion region, the Lower Olympus and the Pindus mountains, but not in the lowlands.[166]

The population of Thessaly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was mainly composed of Turks, Greeks and Vlachs (an extensive discussion on the

[160] *Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi 1288.*
[161] Hacısalihoğlu, "Yunanistan", 588.
[162] Sezen, *Osmanlı Yer Adları*, 21, 157.
[163] Sezen, *Osmanlı Yer Adları*, 21, 157
[164] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 381.
[165] Sivignon, *La Thessalie*, 94-95.
[166] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 382.

Vlachs of Thessaly takes place below in this chapter). Turks from Anatolia settled there, especially in the eastern part, during the fourteenth century.[167] Population estimation, especially for the late Ottoman history, is a challenging task not only because of the scarcity of data, but also due to the political and ethnic biases. Regarding Thessaly, the number of Turks and Greeks had been a long discussion in the nineteenth century, and was used in order to support the arguments of each of these parties. For instance, Kiel refers to the late-nineteenth-century population of Thessaly as 365,000 people, and claims that theTurkish population is under-represented as 40,000 by biased Greek calculations.[168] He argues that Fallmerayer's calculation, i.e., Turks are one-third of the population, is also wrong.[169]

It is therefore not a coincidence that Sirozlu Yusuf Paşa, a local ruler of the Ottoman state, prepared reports in 1827 to object to the claim that many districts of Thessaly were overwhelmingly Greek-populated; on the contrary, as he argued, there were many Muslim villages and çiftliks.[170] Sivignon argues that, in the late nineteenthth century, Turkish influence was more in eastern Thessaly, and many çiftliks were named after Turkish place names, and this was an indicator of their population density there.[171] In contrast, Turks were in a minority in Western Thessaly towns, and almost non-existent in the countryside. British Consul-General Blunt observes for the same period that "Greek is also generally spoken by the Turkish inhabitants, and appears to be the common language between Turks and Christians."[172] He also underlines the abundance of churches, which, as he claims,

[167] Kiel, "Tesalya," 522.
[168] Kiel, "Tesalya," 525.
[169] Kiel, "Tesalya," 525.
[170] BOA. HAT. 847/38054B.
[171] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 386.
[172] Great Britain, Parliament, *Correspondence respecting insurrections* 12.

were supplied usually by Turkish çiftlik owners "as decoys to attract and secure the permanency of the tenants on the estates." [173]

The main settlements of Thessaly were Tırhala (Trikkala), Kardiça (Carditza) and Fener (Phanari) in western part, and Yenişehr-i Fener (Larissa), Alasonya (Elassona), Ermiye (Almyros), Çatalca (Pharsala) and its sub-district Domnik (Domeniko), Tırnovi (Tyrnavos) and Velestin (Velestinos) in the eastern part (Appendix B, Figure B2).[174]

Tırhala, the oldest town in Thessaly (after Yenişehr-i Fener), was put under Ottoman control after the conquest of Gazi Evrenos in the late 1300s.[175] Kiel explains the privileges granted to the famous monasteries of Kalambaka and its vicinity as a means of ensuring the sustainability of the Ottoman rule in the district.[176] Leake defines Tırhala in the early 19th century as a prosperous town of mostly Turks and then Greeks, and that becomes more populated in winter by Vlachs from the highlands.[177] British Consul-General Blunt argues that, in his time (1880s), Tırhala was better off than other parts of the region. He underlines the geographical advantages as fertile valleys formed by the Agrapha Mountains and numerous streams of the Pinios River flowing from the area to explain its prosperity coming from agriculture and stockbreeding. [178] He observes that "[i]ts decent villages, its fine pasture and arable lands, and the number of its flocks and herds, give to the inhabitants an aspect of well-being and progress which are not seen in the other districts of Thessaly."[179] He defines another distinguishing characteristic of Tırhala,

[173] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 13.
[174] Settlement names will be referred to as what they were called in Turkish during the Ottoman period.
[175] Kiel, "Tırhala," 114.
[176] Kiel, "Tırhala," 115.
[177] Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, 279-287.
[178] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 14.
[179] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 14.

which is the significant volume of commercial activities expanding abroad through export markets:

> There are several native Greek and Vlach merchants in the place, who have direct commercial relations with Italy, France, Austria, and the Levant, with which they carry on an active business partly through Arta in Epirus, but mostly through the port of Volo. They export wool, silk pods, cotton, tobacco, skins, and furs, and import British, French and German goods. A considerable quantity of cheese made in the Vlach villages is also sent from here to Italy and the Levant; and the mountain villages supply most of the province with timber for building purposes, which they make up into rafts and float on the river Peneus to Larissa and to other localities.[180]

Tırhala was a predominantly rural settlement during the nineteenth century. According to the Yearbook of Yanya (1288/1871-72), the total male population of kaza of Tırhala (including villages) was 44,544, out of which 1866 were Muslims.[181] Blunt estimates for the similar decade that the town centre of Tırhala had a mixed population of 10,789 inhabitants composed of Muslims, Christians and Jews (2,817 Muslims, 7,274 Christians and 598 Jews). The total population of the town and countryside was 76,953 (2,817 Muslims, 53,781 Greeks, 19757 Vlachs, and 598 Jews). The countryside was composed exclusively of Greek and Vlach Christians, the former usually on the plain, while the latter in village communities in the Agrapha Mountains (in winters, the population increased as Vlachs came down from mountains).[182] There were 65 villages (41 inhabited by 13,601 Greeks, 24 by 19,757 Vlachs, including women and children) and 130 çiftliks (64 owned by Turks, 55 by Christians and 11 by Turks and Christians jointly).[183] He estimates the annual tax payment as 47,000 l., composed of 5,000 l. property tax, 5,600 l. military commutation tax, 16,000 l. tithes, 11,000 l. sheep tax.[184]

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[180] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 14.
[181] *Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi 1288*, 98-99.
[182] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 14.
[183] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 14.
[184] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 14.

Kardiça was at the south of Tırhala and shared its physical and economic characteristics. Kardiça and its sub-district Fener were also predominantly rural settlements and subsisted on a balance of agriculture and stockbreeding. The area is a broad and fertile plain reaching Agrapha Mountains at its south-west. Blunt states that its wealthy farmers were producing wheat, Indian corn, barley, tobacco, wool, silk, wax, and cotton, mostly to export from Golos, adding that they keep sheep and cattle.[185] According to the Yearbook of Yanya (1288/1871-72), the total male population of kaza of Kardiça (including villages) was 18,828, out of which 788 were Muslims.[186] During the 1870s, as Blunt's report reveals, the district had 71 villages (8 Muslim, 61 Christian, 2 mixed) and 69 çiftliks (48 owned by Turks, 14 by Christians, 7 jointly owned), those tenants were usually better off compared to other regions, with a total population estimated as 79,296 (5,922 Muslims and 73,374 Christians).[187] The average annual amount of taxes from this district wasabout 37,000 l.; "chiefly derived from the following sources; property tax 5,500 l.; military commutation tax 5,000 l.; sheep tax 7,000 l; and tithes 14,000 l."[188]

Yenişehr-i Fener was established by the Evrenos family, descendants of Gazi Evrenos Bey, in the area of the ancient town of Larissa.[189] In addition to them, the Turahan family (descendants of Gazi Turahan Bey, vali of the region in the mid-fifteenth century) also contributed to the infrastructure and constructions of Thessaly.[190] These two families settled Turkish people from western Anatolia in this area.[191] The town is described by Leake during his visit in the 1810s as the most

[185] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections* 13.
[186] *Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi 1288*, 98-99.
[187] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections,* 13.
[188] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections,* 13.
[189] Kiel, "Tesalya", 523.
[190] Kiel, "Tesalya", 523.
[191] Kiel, "Yenişehr-i Fener," 474.

developed town of the region.[192] As an explanation for this, its proximity to the port city of Golos and location on the Thessaloniki-Athens road may be counted.[193] The Yearbook (Salname) of vilayet of Yanya for 1288/1871-72 states that kaza of Yenişehr-i Fener had a male population of 50,326, of whom 14,934 were Muslims and 36,993 were Christians and Jews.[194] As Kiel refers to a Greek report by Kokidis in 1880, the population was 10,800 Turks compared to 6,000 Greeks and 3,000 Jews.[195] After Thessaly was annexed to the Greek Kingdom in 1881, many Turkish people sold their property and left.[196]

Alasonya was situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, which is the starting point of the mountain range surrounding the eastern coast of Thessaly. Evliya Çelebi notes that Alasonya, which he visited in the 1660s, was among the personal domains (has) of the valide sultan with the privilege of certain tax exemptions.[197] According to the Yearbook of Yanya dated 1871, the total male population in kaza of Alasonya was 15,434, 816 of whom were Muslims.[198] According to the Salname-i Vilayet-i Manastır (Yearbook of the Province of Manastır) dated 1889, the town centre of Alasonya had 919 inhabitants, and its 66 villages had 23,040 inhabitants. A total of 2,179 were Muslim and 21,780 were Greek and Vlach.[199] Land distribution in 1889 was as follows: 500 *dönüm*s[200] of vineyards (*bağ*), 300 *dönüm*s of meadow (*çayır*), 30,000 units of (*kıta*) field (*tarla*) and 40,000 *dönüm*s of pasture (*mera*).[201] The agrarian products were wheat, barley, rye, vetch, sesame seeds, chickpeas, cotton,

[192] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 441.
[193] Kiel, "Yenişehr-i Fener," 473.
[194] *Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi, 1288*.
[195] Kiel, "Yenişehr-i Fener," 475.
[196] Kiel, "Yenişehr-i Fener," 475
[197] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 83.
[198] *Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi 1288.*
[199] *Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Manastır 1308,* 117.
[200] The unit of land measurement is used as "*dönüm*" in this research. 1 hectar=10.88 *dönüm*s. See Güran, "Osmanlı Dönemi Tarım İstatistikleri," xix.
[201] *Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Manastır 1308,* 118.

maize, beans and lentils. Fruit trees were quince, pomegranates and chestnut.[202] During the nineteenth century, the Olympus mountain range in this area hosted a number of densely populated independent villages, which were commercialised, intensive, yet insufficient farming villages (discussed in detail below).[203]

Ermiye was resettled on the remnants of the old city during the fifteenth century by the Anatolian Akkeçili nomads and settlers from Aydın.[204] Consul-General Blunt describes Ermiye as lying on the basin of a fertile plain, which "grows good grass, and affords rich winter pasturage, of which Albanian and Vlach sheep farmers largely avail themselves", hence mainly engaged in agriculture and stockbreeding.[205] Wheat was the main crop; in addition to this, barley, Indian corn, and tobacco are grown, and other products as silk, cotton, wine and oil were exported from Golos.[206] In the 1870s, its total population was estimated as 11,265 (2,907 Muslims and 8,358 Christians), and its adult male population of 3,357 people were entitled annually with the following taxes: "1,000 l. from 'Virghu' tax on property; 600 l. 'Bedelatti-Askeriyeh', military commutation; 2,000 l. 'Agnam', sheep tax; 3500 l. 'Ashar,' tithes."[207]

Çatalca and its sub-district Dömeke (mod. Domokos) were also agricultural and pastoral areas. The combination of these activities was probably due to its topography. A report, dated 1827, from its local governor, specifically characterises this region with moderate heights, which contradicts a previous claim of very high

[202] *Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Manastır 1308,* 118.
[203] Petmezas, "Recherches sur l'Economie et les Finances des villages du Pélion," 758.
[204] Kiel, "Tesalya," 523.
[205] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 12.
[206] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 12.
[207] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 12.Blunt refers to the source of his population estimations as a "Census in Turkey" and calculated the total population by first tripling the adult male population provided in this census, then adding 50% more to the population of Christians, claiming "larger proportion of their children". Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 16.

mountains.[208] According to the Yearbook of Yanya (1288/1871-72), the total male population of kaza of Çatalca (including villages) was 13,140, of whom 4,500 were Muslims.[209] The area had 32 villages (25 Turkish, 5 Christian, 2 mixed) and 64 çiftliks (45 owned by Turks, 14 by Christians and 5 jointly by Turks and Christians – all with Greek tenants) in the 1870s, many of which were situated in the Çatalca plain, which was well watered by streams and used for animal grazing and cultivation.[210] "It produces excellent tobacco, as well as cereals, wool, silk, cotton, and most of which are exported through the port of Volo."[211] The Çatalca and Dömeke district had approximately 30,941 inhabitants (7,953 Muslims, 22,988 Christians), and paying the annual taxes of "about 33,000 l. Per annum, to which 2500 l. are contributed by the virghu, tax on property; 1,600 l. by the bedelati askeriye, military commutation tax; 6,000 l. by the agnam, sheep tax; and 17000 l. by the ashar, tithes of agriculture produce".[212]

Tırnovi is located at the northwest of Yenişehr-i Fener, on the intersection of the main roads and railways connecting Ambelakia, Thessaloniki and Athens.[213] After it was re-founded by the Turahan family in the 15th century, it became the largest town of Thessaly.[214] The source of its prosperity was weaving and cloth dyeing, which declined in the late-eighteenth century due to the importing of mechanised cheap textile products.[215] A poll-tax record of 1823-24 shows that there

[208] BOA. HAT. 847/38054B.
[209] *Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi 1288*, 98-99.
[210] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 12.
[211] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 12.
[212] Great Britain, Parliament. *Correspondence respecting insurrections*, 13.
[213] Kiel, "Tesalya," 524.
[214] Kiel, "Tırnova," 117.
[215] Kiel, "Tırnova," 118.

were 1,143 Christian adult males.[216] A Greek military report dated 1880 records the population as 950 Muslims and 4,500 Greek people.[217]

Velestin was a small settlement between Yenişehr-i Fener and Golos. It was not mentioned in the Yearbook of Yanya, but briefly in the report of Colonel Kokkidis of 1880, which states its central town had a population of 1,500 Turks and 300 Greeks.[218] The vilayet of Velestin had 46 villages and a town with a population of 27,000 (14,195 Muslims and 9,745 Christians).[219]

2.4 Economic geography

The economy of Thessaly was mainly based on agriculture and stockbreeding during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Commercial activities, based on the selling of crops and products of animal husbandry, also had a share in this economy. The economic geography of Thessaly, i.e., the spatial organisation of these economic activities, was formed through the incorporation of its physical geography and institutions. Thessalian geography, as discussed above, is mainly characterised by two large lowlands at its east and west, with highlands surrounding them. The main land regime of these lowlands was çiftliks, and agricultural production of the region was carried out there. In the highlands, small peasant villages (*kefalochoria*) and the summer residence of transhumant animal-breeding communities constituted other institutional forms. Agriculture in çiftliks was not independent from the highland settlements. It was mutually dependent on animal breeding highland communities and small villages that were based on trade.

[216] Kiel, "Tırnova," 118.
[217] Kiel, "Tırnova," 118.
[218] Kiel, "Velestin," 23.
[219] Kiel, "Velestin," 24.

There was a symbiotic relationship between agriculture and animal husbandry in Thessaly. One reason was the traditional crop cultivation method. Leaving lands to fallow was a common method in wheat cultivation; especially eastern Thessaly had a high ratio of fallow lands. Villagers and shepherds grazed their cattle, sheep and goats on these fallow lands.[220] A more important part of this symbiosis concentrated on the relationship between the plain and mountains.[221] Animal-grazing transhumant communities of mountains complemented the çiftlik economy in the lowlands. Lawless explains this in two ways: First, these shepherd communities rented "stubbles", which is the part of the crop left attached to the soil after the harvest. Shepherd communities collected these stubbles after the harvest – in other words, they were "reaping" them. The second type of relationship between the shepherds and the lowland economies is that they rented permanent pastures of çiftliks to graze their animals.[222] These çiftlik-pastures served as a winter shelter for the flocks of these transhumant shepherds.

The institutional framework, i.e., the land and labour regime, strengthened this symbiosis. During the period from 1750 to 1860, western Thessaly was dominated by semi-nomads, while the eastern part was characterised by small land owners in the highlands and çiftlik villages (based on sharecropping) in the plains.[223] Socrates Petmezas underlines the sharecropping agreements, constituting the main labour form in çiftliks in this respect:

> It is important to underline the fact that large estates, cultivated through sharecropping arrangements, were dominating the lowlands where cereal production was combined with extensive animal husbandry. Sharecroppers (or rather sharecropping families) were given an amount of land relative to the number of working plough-teams in their possession [...] The land in use

[220] Lawless, "The Economy and Landscapes of Thessaly during Ottoman Rule," 520.
[221] Petmezas, "Recherches sur l'Economie et les Finances des villages du Pélion," 758.
[222] Lawless, "The Economy and Landscapes of Thessaly during Ottoman Rule," 520.
[223] Petmezas, "Patterns of Protoindustrialization in the Ottoman Empire," 577-578.

> in the large estates of the lowlands was thus directly dependant on the available workforce and the number of ploughs." [224]

For Petmezas, though, this agreement worked against cereal cultivation and resulted in the stagnation of cereal production in Thessaly in the late nineteenth century: Although the revenue was divided equally between landlord and sharecropper, some privileges (as free/inexpensive access to pastures, free cultivation of orchards) had moved the sharecroppers gradually away from agriculture. Hence, sharecroppers became shepherds and continued agriculture only in order to justify their presence. Moreover, people other than sharecroppers, namely the "parakende", enjoyed a similar privilege of free/inexpensive access to meadows.[225]

Sivignon highlights another aspect of the relationship between geography and land regime. He argues that the dichotomy between Mediterranean versus Central Europe applies to the region; the eastern part is open to innovations, compared to the west where some institutional constraints against innovations (e.g., crop rotation was obligatory and enclosure was forbidden) lasted much longer. [226]

Small peasant ownership was another important form of economic organisation in Thessaly. It was especially common in Eastern Thessaly. The mountain range between Yenişehr-i Fener plain and Mount Olympus was known for the small peasant ownership of a group of Turks called "Koniaridhes", as reflected in Leake's travels dated in the early 1800s.[227] They were named after their place of origin, Konya, in Anatolia.[228] Kiel states that these villages, 12 in number and which correspond to the area of Tırnovi, are inhabited by warrior Turkish nomads from Konya, and Turahan Bey, who recruited them in the fifteenth century, granted them

[224] Petmezas, "Rural Macedonia from Ottoman to Greek Rule," 374.
[225] Petmezas, "Rural Macedonia from Ottoman to Greek Rule," 375-376.
[226] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 393.
[227] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 444.
[228] Sivignon, *La Thessalie*, 99.

extensive privileges affirmed by the Sultan.[229] Considering the long-lasting institutional legacy of Turahan *vakıf*, this may explain the reason for the independence of these villages. Yet, the *kefalochoria* were definitely not exclusively Muslim villages. For instance, five Christian neighbourhoods of Yenice village (located near Yenişehr-i Fener) assigned certain *kocabaşı*s to deliver their tax-payments (namely, *tekalif-i örfiye*, *şakka* and *salyane*), which was stated in their collective petition dated 1782 (h.1196).[230]

Alp Yücel Kaya refers to the figures provided by Ion Ionescu, who stated that in the Tırhala district for the mid-nineteenth century, in contrast to 500 çiftliks, there were 187 kefalochoria villages.[231] As Socrates Petmezas argues, what makes these small villages (kefalochoria) "independent" was their contrast to the çiftliks. He defines çiftliks as the "peasant farms of the enslaved plains" usually controlled by the Muslim notables, producing main crops such as wheat or raw materials such as cotton, whose agrarian surplus was exploited under fiscal constraints.[232] Sivignon shares this idea of the contrast between çiftliks and "free villages", and states that although decreased in favour of free villages, there were 127 çiftliks in the western part of Thessaly and 100 in the eastern part in 1917.[233] The reason for the secure position (enabling the survival of independent peasant families) of the mountainous regions of eastern Thessaly was that these villages belonged to Ottoman imperial vakıfs.[234] Moreover, small villages on the slopes of east Thessaly developed self-organised rural cotton-textile industries during the late eighteenth and early

[229] Kiel, "Tırnova," 118.
[230] National Library of Greece, Department of Manuscripts and Facsimile, Box no. Θ1, Dossier no. B1, Image no Θ154.
[231] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 337.
[232] "des villages paysans de la plaine asservie." Translation is mine. Petmezas, "Recherches sur l'Economie et les Finances des villages du Pélion," 758.
[233] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 393.
[234] Petmezas, "Patterns of Protoindustrialization in the Ottoman Empire," 583.

nineteenth century.[235] Especially Ambelakia was famous for cotton-textile production; as observed in the 1810s, a great part of the cotton produced in Thessaly was brought there for manufacturing.[236] Although Eastern Thessaly lost its significance as a textile manufacturer in the nineteenth century, its commercial links were preserved due to its proximity to the ports of Golos and Thessaloniki. Hence, the trading experience of its independent small villages may have adopted a new form in the nineteenth century, which was the intermediary role for exporting crops produced in the plains.

2.5 Human movements and sedentarisation: transhumant Vlachs

The relationship between Thessalian geography and its human movements can be explained in detail by the case of transhumant Vlach communities and the attempts to sedentarise them. Vlachs (or Aromenians) were one of the oldest communities of Thessaly, who comprised different groups: Orthodox Vlachs under Greek influence, Greek-speaking shepherds called Sarakatsanes ("Sarıkaçan", as referred to in Ottoman sources); Koutsovlachs in the summer villages of Pindus; Arvanitovlachs of Albanian origin; Koupatsarei in the summer villages of Grevena; and Karagounides who settled in the lowlands of Western Thessaly (see Appendix B, Figure B3).[237] Cvijic states that "Thessaly was called the great Wallachia from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, and the Aromenians constituted the principal population there", but they were gradually Hellenised through a process continuing in the 1910s.[238] Then, there were only 154 Vlach settlements with 150,000 or 160,000 people scattered around the southern slopes of Pindus and the central and southern parts of

[235] Petmezas, "Patterns of Protoindustrialization in the Ottoman Empire," 584; Stamatoyannopoulos, "Societe Rurale et Industrie Textile," 5; Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean,* 140.
[236] Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia,* 9.
[237] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 387.
[238] Cvijić, *La péninsule balkanique,* 135. Translation is mine.

Epirus and Thessaly.[239] The travel account of Alan John Bayard Wace and Maurice Scott Thompson between 1910 and 1912 at Epirus and Thessaly is the most comprehensive source on the Vlachs. Wace and Thompson's pioneering book *The nomads of the Balkans, an account of the life and customs among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus* takes Vlachs as the main subject of the study. The authors joined the seasonal journeys of Vlachs within Thessaly for three consecutive years and provided a very detailed portrait of their living and working conditions. They were regularly migrating twice a year.

Their migration patterns should be referred to as "transhumance" instead of "nomadism". [240] In anthropological terms, nomads use lands and resources not demanded by other economic systems.[241] Transhumance, on the other hand, "makes a clear connection between (1) permanent villages, (2) arable agriculture, and (3) the seasonal movements of livestock."[242] Vlachs' seasonal and regular migration and their integration into the çiftlik economy place them in the category of transhumance. In the 1810s, Leake defines the Vlachs of Thessaly as "carriers and shepherds", in order to explain how they were originally referred to, that is, "αγωγιάταις and βοσκοί, or in the Turko-Greek dialect of Thessaly, κερατζήδες [kiracı] and τζουμπάνηδες [çoban]." [243]

During summer, Vlachs lived along the wooden slopes of Northern Pindus, between Epirus and southwestern Macedonia (Appendix B, Figure B4). In September, they started moving down to the plains of Thessaly and Macedonia with

[239] Cvijić, 162. For a detailed account of him on pastoral migrations, see Cvijić, 177-184.
[240] Wace and Thompson call Vlachs "nomads". Tom Winnifrith, a prominent scholar researching on Vlachs, disagrees with them and claims that they were transhumant shepherds. Winnifrith defines their lifestyle as "regular transhumance". See Tom Winnifrith, the review of "A.J.B. Wace and M.S. Thompson, Nomads of the Balkans - The Vlachs", British School at Athens Studies, Vol. 17, (2009), p. 67.
[241] Jones, "Transhumance re-examined," 357.
[242] Jones, "Transhumance re-examined," 358.
[243] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 425-426.

their flocks and herds.[244] The main villages or towns in the plains where Vlach families stayed during winter were Yanya, Delvine, Berat, Grevene, Hrupishta, Shatishta, Kozani, Alasonya, Kalambaka, Tırhala, Kardiça, Yenişehr-i Fener and Tırnovi; and also Kiliseli (mod. Tsaritsani) or the villages of the Potamia district near Alasonya such as Vlakhoyianni; and villages near Larissa such as Tatar or Makrikhori.[245] Only a few families stayed at their villages in the mountains during winter; they were the guards of the village and mill-owners looking after their business.[246] Mountains were almost deserted during the winter. [247] Vlach families returned from the plains to the mountains on St. George's Day (May 6) at the earliest; most of the families preferred the time of the great fair of St. Akhilios (May 29 to June 5).[248]

In some less observed cases, Vlachs changed their summer pastures permanently. For example, a large number of people from Perivoli (a village on the slope of Pindus) started a new summer village of their own when the number of sheep owned by the village increased to 1,877 and the summer pasture remained insufficient for them.[249]

Transhumant Vlachs established a symbiotic relationship with the çiftliks of lowland Thessaly. These animal-breeding communities resided in çiftliks as their winter shelters. Their animals were safe there, and the Vlachs grazed them by renting the winter pastures of çiftliks. Moreover, during their winter stay, they were occupied with handicrafts and commerce. High-quality cotton, wool, silk and goat leather were

[244] Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 48.
[245] Wace and Thompson, 46.
[246] Wace and Thompson, 46.
[247] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 425-426.
[248] Wace and Thompson, 11, 48.
[249] Wace and Thompson 176.

their main products.[250] They were also occupied with transporting goods by caravan and with trade.[251] This final role was vital for trading çiftlik products; Vlachs carried agrarian products from inland to the ports.

There are different estimates on the Vlach population in the Balkans. An Ottoman document dated 1881 states that the number of Vlachs in Yanya (in kazas of Yanya, Grebene and Koniçe) was around 10,000 people. The document attempts to correct the population estimation of a previous census, which recorded 20,296 Vlachs by an alleged mistake of counting many Greek people as Vlachs.[252] During the 1910s, Wace and Thompson claim that their total number (including the whole region from Albania to Romania) was not less than one million.[253] By the end of the 19th century, the total population of Macedonia was 2-2.5 million people, of whom 100,000 were Vlachs.[254]

2.5.1 Sedentarisation of Vlachs

Vlachs were the subject of interest from the Ottoman authorities during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries only through their function of carriage and transportation. They established a connection between Thessaly's food and animal supply, and the demand for provisioning of the capital city of Istanbul and the armies. In the official documents of the 1790s and 1810s, they were simply defined as muleteer (mekkari), with respect to their role in carriage and transportation.[255] Vlach muleteers were observed to work "a team of about six mules and a horse."[256]

[250] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 279-287.
[251] Lascu, "Balkan Vlachs - Autonomies and Modernity," 193.
[252] BOA. HR. SYS. 128/27.
[253] Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 10.
[254] Adanır, *Makedonya Sorunu*, 7.
[255] For instance, BOA. C. BLD. 110/5490; BOA. C. AS. 1019/44649.
[256] Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 13.

This distance between the state authorities and Vlachs may be explained by the control of semi-autonomous landlords in Thessaly. Wace and Thompson note that Vlach districts had been under the protection of a "Valide Sultan" during this period.[257] This anonymous "Valide Sultan" holding Thessaly also emerges in the narratives of Evliya Çelebi in the seventeenth century, noting that Alasonya was among the *has* land of Valide Sultan since the sixteenth century.[258] This protection kept Vlachs free from "extortions of each local pasha in turn."[259] However, the struggle between absentee and local landlords ended with the victory of the latter by the end of the eighteenth century; Ali Paşa became in charge (This is discussed in detail in Chapter 3). Thus, the Vlachs lost their former privileges under Ali Paşa and were subjected to heavier taxation.[260] In the village of Kalarites, for instance, the annual fees tripled and extra fees were levied.[261] It is also important to underline that Ali Paşa owed his rise partially to the presence of the transhumant Vlachs: The local notables of this era were granted official governmental posts in return for, among other reasons, their promise of the settlement of the nomads.[262]

Ali Paşa's rule in Thessaly and Epirus significantly determined the living and working conditions of Vlachs during this period. Guarding the mountain passes was a duty that Ali Paşa formerly held during his early career, and it had a strong effect on his rising power.[263] In this way, Ali Paşa and his men continually attempted to

[257] Wace and Thompson, 185-186; 195; 208.
[258] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 83.
[259] Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 185-186.
[260] Wace and Thompson, 187.
[261] "The annual fees from Kalarites were gradually increased from 14,000 up to 45,000 piastres, and for permission to have church bells a sum of 15,000 was exacted." (Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 209.)
[262] Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire*, 83.
[263] "Guardian of the mountain passes" ("*Derbendler başbuğu/nazırı*") was the post first held by Ali Paşa, and then his son Veli Paşa. This position was critical for the early phase of Ali Paşa's power, keeping him "at the centre of that cycle of violence and insecurity" (Dimitropoulos, "Aspects of the Working of the Fiscal Machinery," 70). Wace and Thompson define the origin of guarding the passes with the "armatoli" system, meaning "a kind of Christian militia maintained by the Turkish government to guard the roads and keep order" which also became the name of judicial units as well;

plunder Samarina, the major centre of Vlachs.[264] As he became the "supreme" in Epirus, Southern Albania, Thessaly and southwestern Macedonia, the great majority of the Vlachs fell within his sphere.[265] Ali Paşa was infamous for attacking liberties of the people of Samarina, by "reducing villages of peasant proprietors to the status of chiftliks and so obtaining all the produce of the village".[266] In one case, Furka, a Vlach village with more than 3,000 people, lost many inhabitants because they fled after Ali Paşa held it as a çiftlik. The Ottoman authorities intervened when they feared a total depopulation and thus forbade emigration.[267] Interestingly, however, some Vlachs also became çiftlik-owners as Ali Paşa granted them a çiftlik, and issued rescripts of possession for them.[268]

After Ali Paşa's reign ended in the 1820s, the power vacuum in Thessaly made conditions worse for Vlachs.[269] The insecurity at mountain passes made their journeys more difficult. Moreover, the Greek revolution of 1821 "laid all wealthy Christian villages open to suspicion and plunder"; it coexisted with the invention of the power-loom in Western Europe which injured the Vlach wool trade.[270]

It was only during the famous Income (*Temettuat*) surveys of 1845 that the transhumant status of Vlachs became a question. In a document dated 1845, it was asked by the local authority whether their population and income shall be registered

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and they note that these guards were brigands themselves. "Frightened by the Greek revolution, the Turkish government decided to eliminate the armatoli... It paved way to Ali Paşa and his men to become the new guards of the region." (See Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 23-27). For the rise of Ali Paşa through the mountain guardianship, see also Anastasopoulos, "Albanians in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Balkans," 37-47; Anscombe, "Albanians and 'Mountain Bandits'," 87-113; Sezer Feyzioğlu, "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa'nın Derbentler Başbuğluğu," 155-164; Esmer, "Economies of Violence, Banditry and Governance," 163-199; Stathis, "From Klephts and *Armatoloi* to Revolutionaries," 167-179; Vlachopoulou, "Like the Mafia?," 123-135.

[264] Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 147.

[265] Wace and Thompson, 150.

[266] Wace and Thompson, 151.

[267] Wace and Thompson, 205.

[268] Wace and Thompson, 152.

[269] For instance, in Zaghori, the number of recorded cases of large scale brigandage was only 6 during the 18th century, which became 21 between 1820s-1878.

[270] Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 187.

or not.[271] The same local authority describes the Vlachs as a large community holding sheep and horse. They were regularly migrating to summer and winter pastures of the region and hence not registered in population records; paying tithe, pasture dues and a small amount of tax to their local rulers.[272] The local authority implicitly objects including Vlachs in the new tax regime for three reasons: 1. The settled communities need Vlachs for transporting the grains produced in Imperial Çiftliks and elsewhere.[273] 2. The total of the dues and taxes Vlachs already paying were higher than the taxes of the settled communities.[274] 3. They might flee to Greek side if they were oppressed.[275] Still, he had to ask for the official order of the centre. The central decision approved the local opinion; Vlachs were ordered to be kept exempt from the new income registers for the moment, but the issue was postponed.[276] This document reveals a critical but hidden role of Vlachs for the çiftlik economy: They were transporting the grains within and from Thessaly. Given that the region was divided by a number of mountain ranges, and brigands had become a major problem, the safe and regular flow of the products was vital for Thessaly çiftliks. In the absence of many other alternatives, transhumant Vlachs were a good solution for this issue, which delayed their sedentasization.

[271] BOA. A. DVN. MHM. 2/29.
[272] "*kıta-i mezkurenin ekser mahalinde yayla ve kışlaya gidip gelmekde olduklarından defter-i nüfusda mukayyed olmadıklarına ve cizye-i şeriyeleri ve resm-i yaylak ve kışlakları ve cüzi el mikdar vergileri bulundukları mahallerde alınmakda olduğuna*"
[273] "*çiftlikat-i hümayun ve mahal-i sairesinde zahairin naklinden dolayı ekser ahali reaya-i mersueye muhtac olduklarına*"
[274] "*vergileri her ne kadar cüzi ise de resm-i yaylak ve kışlakları ile birleşdirildiği halde ahali-i meskune vergilerinden ziyade görüldüğüne*"
[275] "*reaya-i mersumenin tevahhüşünü muceb muamele vukuu takdirinde Yunan tarafına geçmeleri memul idüğüne*"
[276] BOA. A. DVN. MHM. 2/29.

In 1850s, however, they were officially decided to be settled.[277] A document dated 1857 reveals in detail their migration patterns, the official discourse behind sedentarisation, and the application of settlement:

> During summers, Vlachs are living in Samarina, Avdela and Perivoli villages of Koniçe and Grebene in *Sancak* of Yanya. These communities are leaving their villages during winter with their families, in order to graze their animals and move towards the winter pastures in villages and *çiftlik*s of Tırhala. Among them, there are people aiding thieves, and they are brigands themselves. In order to prevent these illegal acts, the Vlach families are decided to be prohibited from transhumance. Only a necessary number of shepherds is allowed to bring the sheep to the winter pastures. These families will be permanently settled to proper places, their population will be recorded, and proper amount of taxes and due for exemption from military service will be collected.

Although the official argument was Vlachs were aiding the brigands, Wace and Thompson reveal that they were victims of the brigandage during the 1850s by extortion of money, usurpation of animals and valuable goods and having their houses burnt during the retreat of brigands.[278] Plundering the çiftliks, interpreted by the authors as a way for brigands to hurt Muslim landowners, actually hurt their Christian settlers.[279] Nevertheless, the decision in 1857 of settlement did not immediately change the long-established migration pattern of Vlachs. A document dated 1859 reveals that many Vlachs did not obey the travel ban and some hundred families moved from Yanya to Tırhala for winter.[280]

Another step for sedentarisation came in 1860, stating that only a few shepherds were bringing animals to the winter pastures of Tırhala, leaving their families and rest of the community behind.[281]However, the Vlachs of Yanya claimed with a petition that physical conditions deemed it impossible to stay there in winter, and they wanted to continue their practice of moving to Tırhala for the winter and

[277] BOA. A}MKT. UM. 273/96.
[278] Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 155, 188.
[279] Wace and Thompson, 156.
[280] BOA. C. ZB. 47/2329.
[281] BOA. A}MKT. MVL. 115/96.

returning to Yanya (as they name it "*meva-i kadim*", ancient homeland) for the summer. Their request was refused, and the decision taken in 1857, letting shepherds with their flocks to the winter pastures, is repeated. The rest of the Vlach community would be permanently settled. Discourse of security was behind this decision:[282]

> Vlachs are not settled anywhere, they do not have a homeland, and are not under taxation. They are in a state of tribe and nomadism because they were migrating in summer and winter. Moreover, most of them aided the bandits and acted as brigands during the Greek issue. Their head was held and the community was bound with population census and "kefalet-i müteselsile". The new practice of keeping the families in Yanya pastures and sending shepherds and animals to Tırhala is decided upon the consent of the community. Plus, many families are permanently settled to villages of Yanya, Tırhala and Manastır. Any decision reverting the travel ban of the families has the risk of motivating the newly settled ones to leave their villages and return to their nomad status, and this would violate security.

These repeated decisions of settlement were not easily applied. In 1860, it even created a dispute between the local governors of Yanya and Tırhala. [283] During October 1860, the latter wrote to the former four times, telling him to follow the procedure of preventing migration of Vlachs to the winter pastures of Tırhala. Meanwhile, a collective petition of Vlach families claims that they were not informed by the Yanya governor about the travel ban until half of their population was on their way for one month and the rest had recently started migration.[284] Finally, the governor of Tırhala wrote to Sadaret (Court) for a solution. He stated that although Tırhala was following the orders issued in the previous year on the travel ban for Vlachs, Yanya officers remained ineffective and Vlachs reached Tırhala. He also claimed that accepting them at Tırhala would violate the orders, but refusing them would harm this crowded community of 8,000-10,000 people, because of the harsh winter conditions. He underlined the Vlach claim that they had not been

[282] BOA. A}MKT. MVL. 115/96.
[283] BOA. MVL. 921/45.
[284] BOA. MVL. 921/45.

informed by Yanya governors beforehand. This document does not include the reply from the court, but it is not difficult to guess it through contemporary ones. The usual reply was, as happened in 1861, letting them through one time because of the harsh weather conditions, but taking all measures to prevent their passage in the following year.[285]

The frontier dividing Thessaly and Epirus between the Ottoman State and Greece worked against the pastoral movements of Vlachs, since the summer pastures were left in the Turkish area and the winter pastures in the Greek area.[286] After the cession of Thessaly to Greece in 1881, a significant number of Vlachs settled permanently in towns.[287] The traditional route to Thessaly from the west (up to the valley of the Pinios river, leading over the Zighos to Metsovo and Yanya) had fallen into disuse.[288] Frontier changes affected the Vlachs' journeys negatively; they had to choose longer yet more secure routes.[289] Enduring long passport controls became a new routine for the Vlach journeys.[290]After the 1870s, many of them had to abandon sheep rearing because of the emergence of the customs barrier and the insecurity created by brigands.[291] By the early twentieth century, the main economic activities of transhumant Vlachs became muleteering, timber trade, wool and cheese trade.[292] Furthermore, many of them transformed from carriers and muleteers to commission agents and independent merchants.[293]

After Thessaly was annexed to Greece in 1881, the eyalet of Yanya (including the Sancaks of Yanya, Ergiri, Preveze and Berat) remained within the

[285] BOA. A}MKT. UM. 446/12.
[286] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 394.
[287] Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 16, 176.
[288] Wace and Thompson, 17.
[289] Wace and Thompson, 11.
[290] Wace and Thompson, 18.
[291] Wace and Thompson, 76.
[292] Wace and Thompson, 71-72, 74, 80, 201.
[293] Lawless, "The Economy and Landscapes of Thessaly," 520.

Ottoman territories for some decades. Hence, the sedentarisation of Vlachs, whose summer residence was at the Yanya mountains, still remained an issue to be resolved by the Ottoman authorities. A decision of the Council of State (*Şura-i Devlet*) dated 1893 can be considered as the supreme and final call about the sedentarisation of Vlachs in Yanya.[294] Şura-i Devlet decided against the sedentarisation of Vlachs; it ordered the *vilayet* of Yanya to preserve their status quo of seasonal transhumance. This decision underlines the economic benefits of them as a transhumant community, that they played a major role in the meat supply ("*tavaif-i merkumenin havaic-i lehmiyeye tesirat-i külliyesi*"). It is also claimed that the agriculture of Yanya did not need the Vlachs to improve, and they did not have such "nature and ability" ("*hilkat ve istidad"*). The possible cost of sedentarisation is also underlined as a financial burden for the state. This decision also challenged hitherto emphasised security concerns about the migration of Vlachs. It is stated that residing in insecure places would be against their occupation and interest; thus, one should not expect them to ally with brigands near the Greek border.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter makes an analytical description of the physical and human geography of Thessaly. Landscape is portrayed as a vivid feature of the economic relations and land regime. It is mainly argued that, first, the variations within the Thessalian geography had a profound effect on different institutional settings of its eastern and western parts; and second, these variations created an economy composed of mutual interdependences of agriculture, stockbreeding and trade.

[294] BOA. MV. 74/21.

Eastern Thessaly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was characterised by agricultural production with traditional methods and population scarcity on the plains, a limited amount of stockbreeding, rising but later fading cotton-textile manufacturing, yet, a commercial expertise composed of merchants of independent villages and the port of Golos opening to the Mediterranean network. Western Thessaly, due to better irrigation, humid soil, higher rains and a smaller area of fallow land, was more favourable for agriculture compared to the east. Moreover, transhumant Vlachs wintering there provided further advantages as a developed stockbreeding, human supply for the scarcely populated areas and a network of transportation and carriage reaching the Aegean coast.

The Thessalian rural economy was an amalgam of agriculture in the lowlands, stockbreeding between the highlands and lowlands, and trade connecting these areas to each other and to the port. The Ottoman state, having the question of the Balkans as a major issue of the nineteenth century, attempted to find the balance between making this system work while implementing its political authority over the region. These aims were usually contradictory, and sometimes created further conflicts, as in the case of the sedentarisation of Vlachs.

CHAPTER 3

THE AGE OF *VAKIF*S, *MALİKANE*S AND NOTABLES (c. 1780-1820)

Land regime in Thessaly, during the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth centuries, can be defined as the age of vakıfs, malikanes and notables. Vakıf was an old-established institution in Thessaly; imperial vakıfs controlled the land at least from the seventeenth century onwards. In the eighteenth century, they started to apply tax farming as a means of effective tax collection, which turned into a land regime as it became lifelong. These lifelong tax-farms, i.e., malikane-mukataas, created a significant transformation in Thessaly: Vakıf villages with the immunities from provincial rulers gradually shifted towards the property-like possessions of the absentee malikane holders. In other words, they constituted the basis of the çiftliks of the region. The rise of the çiftliks had to wait until the rise of the local notables. As they acquired administrative and economic control of the region, the early forms of çiftliks that emerged through the vakıf-malikane regime evolved into the private estates of the landlords. Tax farming was a key for the provincial notables to hold the economic control. Nevertheless, when their power expanded to the degree that it threatened the imperial rule, they entered into a bitter rivalry, resulting in them losing power and their landed estates.

This transformation is explained in this chapter with a micro-analysis of the landed estates in the town of Alasonya in Thessaly. The first part of the chapter is devoted to the institutional analysis of the competition of Esma Sultan with Tepedelenli Ali Paşa. The latter did claim his superiority vis-à-vis Esma Sultan over Alasonya çiftliks in the 1810s for one decade, until he was discharged, his property was confiscated and he was executed. Esma Sultan was among the central elite. She was the sister of the ruling sultan and held prominent landed estates and revenue in

different parts of the empire. She is defined as an absentee landlord in this research. Ali Paşa was a local notable of a different kind. He resided in Yanya, but his scope of authority was not limited to this city. In addition to his title as official governor of the region, he already established significant political and economic control in Epirus and western Thessaly at the end of the eighteenth century. In a sense, he was an absentee notable for Thessaly. Yet, his methods of acquiring landed estates and tax revenue were significantly different from the central elite, who are defined in this study as the "absentee notables." Ali Paşa, as it will be discussed in detail in this chapter, used his local influence and authority, contrary to the dynastic connections that the absentee notables had. Hence, he is defined here as a local landlord.

The second part of the chapter explains the process of Ali Paşa's confiscation, and utilises the confiscation records to make an in-depth analysis of the çiftlik economy in Alasonya. Çiftlik, as an economic unit, is described in these records with respect to its size, population and agrarian production. Land types, agrarian production, sharecropping agreements, temporary tenants and labourers, and taxation regimes are discussed in this study in detail in order to reveal a portrait of Thessaly çiftliks under the regime of absentee and local notables.

3.1 Estates of Esma Sultan and Ali Paşa in Alasonya (c.1780-1825)[295]

Landholding institutions in Thessaly constituted the ground for the competition between absentee and local landholders from c. 1780 to 1820. Esma Sultan was an important landholder of this period, with the estates of malikane-mukataa type that were concentrated at Alasonya and were also in other Thessalian districts as Yenişehr-i Fener, Golos and Ergalaşti. Esma Sultan (1778-1848) was from the

[295] Another version of this part is previously published. See Öncel, "Land, Tax and Power in the Ottoman Provinces*: The Malikane-Mukataa* of Esma Sultan in Alasonya (c.1780-1825)," 54-74. I am deeply grateful to Antonis Anastasopoulos for his help in making the related research.

Ottoman dynastic family, she was the daughter of Sultan Abdülhamid I, cousin of Selim III, and also the sister of the following two sultans: Mustafa IV and Mahmud II. Hence, she was a typical example of the central elite. She held the estates among the property of İstanbul Bahçekapusu Valide Sultan Camii Evkafı. This vakıf was among the Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn vakıfs.[296] In some cases, Esma Sultan was the sole malikane-holder of these vakıf estates in Alasonya. Yet, there were also other cases in which the estates were farmed out to a group of entrepreneurs including Esma Sultan. They were referred to as joint (müşterek) malikanes.[297] What characterised the landholding pattern of this era is the competition between Esma Sultan and Tepedelenli Ali Paşa. The latter raised the attempt to expand his influence towards eastern Thessaly, whereas Esma Sultan was the major landholder there. Hence, the first two decades of the nineteenth century were marked by their rivalry, which introduced new features to the çiftlik-making process in Thessaly.

3.1.1 Historical Background

The eighteenth century was a period of far-reaching transformation for the fiscal and administrative rule of the Ottoman Empire. Tax farming (iltizam) was providing its holders with the privilege of being free from the interventions of the local administration (i.e., serbestiyet) and had become more effective by the seventeenth century.[298] Lifelong tax farming (malikane-mukataa), which was implemented first in 1695 and aimed at attracting reliable agrarian tax farmers by promising immunities

[296]It is indicated in many documents including BOA. C. ML. 173/7310; BOA. AE. SSLM. III. 348/20015; BOA. C. ML. 575/23594; BOA. C. SM. 90/4502.
[297] The details of these joint leases (as the names of the partners and the amount of the shares) are referred in a number of documents as in BOA. C. DH. 211/10529; BOA. TS. MA.d. 644; BOA. C. SM. 90/4502.
[298] Ergenç, "Osmanlı'da 'Serbest Dirlik' Uygulamasının Boyutları," 208–10. *Mukataa*, the term originally denoting farming out a tax revenue, later came to mean a tax unit subject to tax farming. This term is used interchangeably with *iltizam*. See, Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde *Mukataa* Kavramı," 57.

from the local authorities, was a turning point in this process. Malikane holders had what amounted to property rights, which can be considered among the main reasons behind the emergence of large estates known later as çiftliks.[299] Moreover, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, tax farming also became a common practice for vakıfs, with the main aim of increasing the agrarian tax revenue.[300] Tax farming was applied especially by the vakıfs founded by the imperial family members or high-ranking vezirs (usually known as Haremeyn vakıfs).[301]

Transformation of the Ottoman land regime through the vakıfs and the malikanes can be an explanation, among others, for the origins of the landed estates, or çiftliks, in the Balkans. Institutional reasons behind the formation of the çiftliks have been widely discussed in the literature; yet the role of the vakıfs or vakıf-malikanes has remained understudied so far.[302] In this part, vakıfs and malikanes are discussed with respect to their effects on çiftlik formation in the Thessaly region of the Balkans. A number of local and absentee elite had an access to these land holding and revenue extraction institutions. The conflict of interest between these elites constitutes an important part of this institutional framework. Their vertical and horizontal networks – which consisted of their relations to the provincial rulers, imperial authorities, local intermediaries – and mechanisms of the cooperation and competition among them will be analysed.

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[299] Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde *Malikane* Sistemi,"106–116; İnalcık, "Military and fiscal transformation of the Ottoman Empire, 1600–1700," 329.
[300] Güran, *Ekonomik ve Mali Yönleriyle Vakıflar,* 19–22.
[301] This practice was officially conducted by *Haremeyn mukataacılığı*, a sub-division of the *Haremeyn Evkaf Nezareti* established in the sixteenth century. Güler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Haremeyn Vakıfları,* 14, 206, 218.
[302] Bruce McGowan, although with a strong emphasis on commercialisation, underlines the transformation *timar* system, long-term leases on *mukataa*s and seizure of common pastures. Gilles Veinstein argues for the transformation of *timar*s transformed into a more secure form of tenure becoming private property de jure or de facto. Lawless explains the process with land granted to *sipahi*s, and then reinforced by the rule of local notables. See, McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe,* 69; Veinstein, "On the *Çiftlik* Debate," 44; Lawless, "The Economy and Landscapes of Thessaly," 509–515.

3.1.2 Revenue collection and land tenure institutions in the late eighteenth-century Thessaly

In the late-eighteenth-century Thessaly, control of a mukataa was undertaken by a number of institutions represented by several different actors. In the case of Esma Sultan's mukataas, two groups of people were involved. On the one hand, there was the office of mukataa – the organisational structure maintaining the business of tax farming.[303] Its main officers were the *kethüda* and *voyvoda*, both of whom were appointed by Esma Sultan. On the other hand, there were the official and unofficial rulers of Alasonya and Tırhala, who had certain degrees of decisive power over the mukataas. The official rulers such as *vali*, *derbendler başbuğu*[304], *mutasarrıf*, *kadı* and *kocabaşı* implemented their control on the mukataa directly through their offices, and occasionally through their shares (or sub-contracts) of the mukataa. The unofficial local rulers, i.e., the ayan, and their entourage also showed up frequently in the competition for revenue-sharing. Yet, in the context of late-eighteenth-century Thessaly, the unofficial post of ayan usually intertwined with the official ones, which made the competition for mukataas even more complicated.

In this context, the unit of mukataa corresponded to the unit of kaza. This means that the fiscal unit of mukataa was overlapping with the judicial unit of kaza. This overlap was a reason for the interaction between the mukataa and provincial governance. As the provincial rulers were involved in tax-collection in mukataa, the mukataa officers were also dealing with judicial and administrative affairs of the villages within their domains. These two groups of actors represented examples of

[303] Here, my intention of choosing the term "office" is similar to Salzmann's description of the *malikane* contracts as a "firm" in administrative terms. See Salzmann, "An Ancien Regime Revisited," 403.

[304] Derbendler başbuğu/nazırı was the post first held by Ali Paşa, and then his son Veli Paşa. This position was critical for the early phase of Ali Paşa's empowering, keeping him "at the centre of that cycle of violence and insecurity" (Dimitropoulos, "Aspects of the Working of the Fiscal Machinery," 70).

both cooperation and conflict. This cooperation might be involuntary in some cases, especially on the part of kadı, for when he remained alone in the province as an authority of supervision and lacked the power of sanction, he had to integrate with the de facto rulers of the province.[305]

Two main actors responsible for the administration of these mukataas were the kethüda in the centre and the voyvoda in the province. The office of kethüda was in Istanbul. In the period of fifty years examined for this study, the kethüda changed at least four times. The kethüda was responsible for all Esma Sultan's mukataas, which were not only at Tırhala, but also in various other places such as Biga, Uşak and Crete. The voyvoda was the chief official responsible for a single mukataa. There were separate voyvodas for each mukataa. The main duty of a voyvoda was tax collection on behalf of the tax farmer and the local officials, although the following examples reveal that he became the de facto authority in his domain.[306] The kethüda of Esma Sultan was also responsible to the superintendent (*nazır*) of the *Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn Evkafı* (Imperial Foundations). Correspondences between the kethüda and Imperial Foundations during the 1780s demonstrate the features of these two institutions for this period. Both of these institutions retained their autonomy against other judicial authorities in their spheres to a certain extent. The office of mukataa had a more direct relation to the Imperial Foundations, without immediate consent or intervention of other imperial authorities. The Imperial Foundations was the decision-maker (or, actually, mediator) for the affairs of the mukataas; other fiscal, judicial and administrative offices in Istanbul did not enter into this domain.

[305] Ergenç, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Taşra Yönetiminin Mali Nitelikleri," 382.
[306] The *voyvoda*'s expanding power may be interpreted as a characteristic of Ottoman eighteenth-century administration. An example from the Anatolian town of Malatya shows that *malikane* holders of villages were obliged to pay certain dues to *voyvoda*; and even non-*malikane* villages would be under the fiscal and administrative rule of the *voyvoda* of the nearby *malikane*. See, Ergenç, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Taşra Yönetiminin Mali Nitelikleri," 372.

Moreover, the local judicial authority, kadı, was in a sense subordinate to the Imperial Foundations; he was supposed to apply the decisions he received from this institution.

For instance, in 1787, the kethüda of Esma Sultan was Yusuf Ağa, who also had the title of "*ser bevabin-i dergah-ı ali*", or *kapıcıbaşı*.[307] One of his letters was transmitted to the Sultan via İdris Ağa, who was *dar ül şerife ağası* and *Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn Evkafı nazırı.* The subject of this declaration was the peasants' demand for changing the allocation method of the poll tax (*cizye*). The peasants were objecting to the comparison (*mukayese*) method of tax collection, details of which were not given. After an investigation, it was agreed to allocate their taxes by the established method of apportioning tax per person (*şurut-i meriyesi üzere al el res tevzi*). The decision was sent to the local administrators of Alasonya: the kadı, voyvoda and iş erleri. This case shows that, in the fiscal administration of a late-eighteenth-century mukataa, the kethüda (as the executive head of mukataa) made the request to the Imperial Foundations, the general directorate for all imperial vakıf estates, and the decision of the Imperial Foundations was executed via provincial judicial authorities.

3.1.2.1 One *Mukataa*, Different Land Tenures: *Vakıf, Has* and *Çiftlik*

The period of the 1790s-1800s is also worth examining for its land tenure regime. Alasonya provides a significant example for this inquiry. What is striking about Esma Sultan's estates in Alasonya is the coexistence of different land tenures. There were various arrangements such as vakıf, has and çiftlik institutions on estates of Esma Sultan. Also, it is possible to see that earlier timars coexisted with new ones such as malikanes.

[307] BOA. C. ML. 173/7310.

Table 3. Villages of Alasonya in a Book of Expenses of 1793

Villages of the imperial sovereign ("*Karye-i kuraha-i has*")		Evkaf villages with shares of the imperial sovereign (?) ("*Karye-i kuraha-i evkaf bi-hisse has tevzii*")		Villages with *çiftlik* shares ("*Karye-i hisse-i çiftlikat*")	
original name	modern name	original name	modern name	original name	modern name
Kiliseli	Tsaritsari	Selos	Pythio	Çernilo	Agioneri
Livadi	Livadi	Kokinopilos	Kokkinopilos	Vuvala	Azoros
Ormanlı	Skopia	Kurucaoba(?)		Delinista	Gerania
Pazarlı	Lofos	Efteri(?)		Malesi	Petroto
Ligudi	Likoudi			Drianovo	Drimos
Goni	Goni			Moçin	Flambouro
Magula	Magoula			Kunduryodsa	Kondariotissa
Sikia	Sykia			Klisura	Klisoura
Badamatlı (?)				Duhilitsa	Dolichi
Umur besi				Karakollar	Olimbiada
Bortor (?)				Pınarbaşı	Kefalovriso
Mahalle-i Zeynel				Gorler (?)	
Mahalle-i Orte				Lithor	Litochoro
Çiftlik kasaba				Vodine (?)	
Kasid varoşu					

Late-eighteenth century land tenure patterns in Alasonya can be traced from an excerpt of a *masraf defteri* (book of expenses) dated 1793 (See Appendix B, Figure B7 for a sample page).[308] This source provides village names with the land category to which they belonged. The date of this source corresponds to the early years of Esma Sultan's control over these lands. Hence, it may be interpreted as a transitory phase between earlier land regimes and malikanes. Table 3 shows the list of the Alasonya villages with the category to which their land belonged according to this book of expenses (see Appendix B, Figure B5 for their location). This source classifies Alasonya villages in three categories according to their land tenure regimes:

[308] BOA. C. DH. 41/2044. Modern-day names, when detected, were referred to in parentheses as "(mod.)". Any alternate reading of the name that has a modern-day equivalent is marked with a question mark. The sources used for modern-day names are Güvenç, *Kuzey Yunanistan Yer Adları Atlası* 64-73; and *Geonames*, (2016), retrieved from www.geonames.org.

i. Villages of the imperial sovereign (*Karye-i kuraha-i has*): The first category of villages given in the *masraf defteri, karye-i kuraha-i has* most probably refers to the villages granted to the members of the imperial family as a "has" dirlik, which was a category of the timar system. These villages can be thought as the "free", non-çiftlik villages.[309] This type of small peasant villages was common in Alasonya district and known as "kefalochoria."[310] 11 villages (karye), 2 neighbourhoods (mahalle), one town (kasaba) and one non-Muslim neighbourhood (varoş) are listed in this category.[311]

ii. *Evkaf* villages with shares of the imperial sovereign (?) (*Karye-i kuraha-i evkaf bi-hisse has tevzii*): The second category of villages makes the question complicated. It may simply refer to the imperial vakıf villages, if one considers the term "has" here as the term referring to the sovereign, but not a land type in the miri system. However, it may also correspond to a relationship between has villages and vakıf villages. Four villages (karye) are listed in this category.

iii. Villages with *çiftlik* shares (*Karye-i hisse-i çiftlikat*): The third category of the table , "karye-i hisse-i çiftlikat" refers to the villages with shares of çiftlik. Fourteen villages are listed in this category.

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Here, in order to explain better how the terms "has" and "çiftlik" were used in the context of 1790s, other archival examples referring to these terms will be presented:

The term "Has" in the 1790s: In order to explain "has" and its relationship to the mukataa system, a village from the above-mentioned table will be used as an

[309] İnalcık claims that peasant is free and independent in *timar* villages; yet "peasant labour was as much under government control as land." There are certain restrictions and obligations for reaya at *timar* villages. See, İnalcık, "Village, Peasant and Empire." 143.
[310] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 337.
[311] Varoş refers to the fiscal administrative institution in non-Muslim neighbourhoods in the Balkans. For further information, see Ivanova, "Varoş: The Elites of the Reaya," 201-246.

example. The village named Kiliseli, in the first column of this table, is categorised there as a village of the imperial sovereign (karye-i kuraha-i has). Kiliseli (mod. Tsaritsari) is one of the important villages of Alasonya and the one with the closest proximity to the town centre of Alasonya. Kiliseli village is detected in three other documents that enabled the tracing of three different moments in the life of this village:

In the first case, dated 1794, the reference is to the havass mukataat of the village of Kiliseli, near the town of Alasonya in the district of Tırhala, which was under Esma Sultan's responsibility and among the (property of the) vakıf of the Valide Sultan Mosque near Bahçekapusu in Istanbul. [312] Here, the term havass (خواص) (pl. of has) may have one of these two meanings: "people of distinction (in this case, sovereign) or private domains of the sovereign (i.e., the type of dirlik belonging to imperial family members).[313] If we follow the first meaning, it means that Kiliseli village was among the imperial mukataa of Esma Sultan, or among the imperial vakıf of valide sultan. Yet, following the second meaning of has would create an exceptional situation. It refers to the existence of vakıf and miri land systems simultaneously for the same village. Despite seeming exceptional, this second meaning could be the case. It could be taken as an indication of the blurring of the legal status of land belonging to the imperial family. The boundaries between state, vakıf and the imperial family may have been blurred in such case.

The second case in which Kiliseli is referred to is dated 1789 and concerns a number of peasant households that migrated from the timar village of Kokinopus to Kiliseli, the village of Esma Sultan's mukataa.[314] Their former sipahi was still asking for çiftbozan and ispenç taxes, which were obligations of timarli peasants. The

[312] BOA. C. ADL. 14/873.
[313] Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, 869.
[314] BOA. C. DH. 211/10529.

request of peasants not to pay these taxes was accepted because they were no longer living in a timarli village.

The third case is dated 1796.[315] According to the letter written by the kethüda (representative) of Esma Sultan, four villages in Alasonya (Vanos, Karaşe, Kiliseli and Karadere) were included in her mukataa. However, some former zeamet and timar holders from nearby kazas were claiming rights on these villages and persecuting the village residents. Unable to answer their claims, the kethüda, asked for the the *defterhane,* the land registers of the villages, particularly asking for the shares of different types of land tenures.

The example of Kiliseli village shows that during the 1790s, there was a conflict between (former) timar holders and mukataa holders. A number of villages including Kiliseli may have been remnants or still part of the timar system during this period. It may also be an indication of the timar holders, if they could, resisted against being deprived of their timars.

The term "Çiftlik" in 1790s: In addition to the use of the term in the above-mentioned book of expenses, the term "çiftlik" is used only once during the 1780s or 1790s among the documents analysed here regarding Esma Sultan's malikanes. In this document, reference is to the çiftlik of Kokinopus, in the vakıf of Gazi Sultan Mahmud Han, which was leased to Esma Sultan as a mukataa.[316] The physical description of the çiftlik, i.e., its size, population or the amount and type of agrarian production, is not given in this document. Thus, it is hard to deduce whether it was called a "çiftlik" because of these factors of agricultural production. The çiftlikisation process evolved in the 1790s without necessarily using the term "çiftlik". Çiftliks that were formed through the malikane system were rather called

[315] BOA. C. SM. 21/1078.
[316] BOA. C. ML. 173/7310.

"mukataa." However, the term "çiftlik" would be used extensively after the 1810s, as it is discussed later in this chapter.

3.1.2.2 Indirect means of landholding competition

The period of the 1790s-1800s was when the competition of landholding between Esma Sultan and Ali Paşa was conducted by more indirect means. The former retained its control over the mukataas, and the latter was not as powerful in eastern Thessaly as he was in the western part. As the vali of Tırhala, he was the chief governor of the whole region, yet, as a landholder, his control was very limited in the eastern part where Esma Sultan was effective. Nevertheless, searching for a means to expand his power, he was forcing the limits of his authority as the vali in the domain of revenue collection. Due to his title of vali, Esma Sultan's mukataa was obliged to pay certain taxes to Ali Paşa. Nevertheless, Ali Paşa was not permitted to directly collect the tax, but had to receive it from the mukataa's voyvodas. This was the starting point of their controversy.

In 1804, Esma Sultan mukataa's kethüda-cum-kapıcıbaşı was Ömer Ağa.[317] His letter passed on a warning to the sultan about the collaboration between certain peasants of Alasonya and Tepedelenli Ali Paşa. According to the kethüda's claims, these peasants of the Alasonya mukataa had certain liberties (serbestiyyet)[318]: 1. Peasants of this mukataa were "*muaf ve müsellem reaya*." 2. They were obliged to pay only the annual *hazariye* tax to the *vali* of Tırhala and dues (*aidat*) to the *derbendat nazırı*. 3. Their disputes and affairs should be examined by the kadı and the voyvoda ("*vaki olan dava ve umurları kaza-i mezburda marifet-i şer ve*

[317] BOA. C. SM. 49/2468. We also encounter him in the same position in a document dated 1798 (h.1212).
[318] See, Ergenç, "XVIII: Yüzyılda Osmanlı Taşra Yönetiminin Mali Nitelikleri,"374-376 (translation is mine).

voyvodaları marifetiyle görülmek"). 4. They shall not go to Tırhala or Yanya for such affairs (*Tırhala ve Yanya taraflarından reaya-i merkumeden birisi ihzar olunmamak*).

The content of these serbestiyyet is worth analysing. Serbestiyyet is a significant term for the eighteenth-century political economy. Ergenç defines the term for eighteenth-century Anatolia as "being free from the interventions of other ehl-i örf officers" or "malikane holder's direct responsibility to the centre without any subordination to eyalet or sancak, and holding the right to örf under the supervision of kadı for his mukataa." This definition has clear similarities with what was happening in Alasonya. The first serbestiyyet listed in this document was being "muaf ve müsellem reaya." This denotes their exemption from örfi taxes (raiyet rüsumu) and avarız because they were tenants of an imperial-vakıf, and revenue of imperial-vakıf lands were exempted from örfi taxes and avarız. [319] Second, the obligatory payment of hazariye to the vali (Ali Paşa) comes from the rule imposed by the central authority. Hazariye (imdad-ı hazariye, or imdadiye) was the levy collected from the reaya as a reimbursement for the loans the wealthy lent to the central government. [320] The third point underlines the voyvoda's jurisdiction over the mukataa under kadı's supervision, as a perfect example for Ergenç's above-mentioned definition. The fourth point prohibits the subordination of mukataa to the authorities of sancak or eyalet (in this case, Ali Paşa and Veli Paşa), again as stated by Ergenç.

Nevertheless, these serbestiyyet were violated when "certain corrupted ones" from the village (*bazı eşirra ve müzevver makuleleri*) visited the mutasarrıf of Yanya

[319] Revenue of Haremeyn *vakıf*-lands were exempt from *örfî* taxes and *avarız*. See, Güler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Haremeyn Vakıfları,* 225.
[320] İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation," 323.

and Tırhala (i.e., Ali Paşa) and asked him to send some mübaşirs to Alasonya.[321] Mübaşir was an officer representing Ali Paşa's extension of authority from legal to extra-legal and illegal domains. He was usually appointed by a governor, or by the central government, for tax-collection, and was also entitled to collect a fee called "mübaşiriye" for his expenses; but illegally, he insisted on demanding other payments in kind or cash from the people. In this case, mübaşir's illegal activity was beyond collecting extra taxes. These mübaşirs, for a reason not clear from the document, came and arrested some kocabaşıs of Alasonya villages and detained them for three to five months.

Upon being informed, the sultan ordered a decree to the vali of Tırhala Ali Paşa, and Derbendat Nazırı Veli Paşa; it was delicate enough to recognise their authority, but strong enough to remind them of its limits. He underlines that they cannot directly collect hazariye and derbendat aidatı; it was the duty of the voyvoda (yet, the voyvoda's duty is limited with collection. He has to transfer this revenue to Ali and Veli Paşas, since they had the titles of Vali and Derbendat Nazırı). He warned them not to send any mübaşirs and not to persecute the kocabaşıs or any other peasants. The sultan's decree underlines that violation of these rules was against the serbestiyyet of the villages and against the orders of the Sultan.[322] There was also a warning given to the kocabaşıs to prevent any potential alliance between them and Ali Paşa: kocabaşıs would be punished if they – either openly or secretly – went [to meet Ali Paşa].[323] Kocabaşıs were a "group of notables whose aspirations

[321] İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation," 319.
[322] "*Siz ki vezir-i müşar ve derbendat nazırı paşa-i mumaileyhisiz badezin hilaf-ı ferman ve mugayir-i şurut serbesiyet-i mukataa-i merkumeye bila muceb mübaşirler irsali ve kocabaşılarının bila ferman ihzarı misillü vaz ve hareketi tecviziniz gayet ül gaye tehaşi ve mücanebet olunmak fermanım olmağın.*"
[323] "*kocabaşılardan dahi bir maslahat için hafi ve celi gider olursa led el tahkik mahakim tedib ve terbiye olmak üzere...*"

and attitude were quite similar to those of the ayan." [324] Thus, it was clear that Ottoman rulers perceived such an alliance between kocabaşı and the notable of the region, Ali Paşa, as a serious threat. Regardless, however, of the sultan's decree, the conflicts regarding Ali Paşa's intervention to Esma Sultan's mukataas escalated.

3.1.3 After the 1810s: escalation of the landholding competition and the upsurge of the *çiftlik*s

After 1810 onwards, the dynamics of landholding started to change in the mukataas of Esma Sultan. First, the timar system gradually faded out; the complaints of timar holders were not as frequent as they had been in the previous three decades. Their rights to land and revenue had already been degraded and even disappeared. The timar regime was replaced by property-like estates, that is, the çiftliks, whose owners had more permanent and extended rights to land. This was the time for the rise of the landed estates, or çiftliks. Secondly and more importantly, it was the most powerful epoch of the Tepedelenli Ali Paşa, who was also the governor in the region. At the peak of his career in 1812 Ali Paşa governed southern Albania, the Morea and much of mainland Greece.[325] Becoming the ruler of the region was closely intertwined with the amount of wealth possessed. In late-eighteenth-century Thessaly, the source of wealth was nothing but land. Agricultural surplus and land rents constituted the core of this land-related wealth. Hence, çiftliks were a major source of wealth for Ali Paşa. He and his family had more than 900 çiftliks, with a total annual revenue of

[324] Anastasopoulos, "The Mixed Elite of a Balkan Town," 260.
[325] Anscombe, "Continuities in Ottoman Centre-Periphery Relations, 1787-1915," 237. For first-hand observations during the peak of Ali Paşa's career, see Brøndsted, *Interviews With Ali Pacha of Joanina in the Autumn of 1812;* Pouqueville, *Travels in Epirus, Albania, Macedonia, and Thessaly.*

more than 2 million guruş.[326] Around 119 of these çiftliks were at the Sancak of Tırhala.[327]

Ali Paşa, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, acquired the strongest way possible to extend his control to eastern Thessaly: He had become the sub-contractor (mültezim) of Esma Sultan's malikane. This was a common practice: A malikane holder could sub-lease his/her mukataa to another tax farmer, which created a chain of tax farmers on a revenue source.

Soon, tax farming became a major pillar of his power.[328] In terms of controlling land-related revenue, it brought him further possibilities of power than his title of vali. With the power of his legal tithe as mültezim, in extra-legal, and maybe in illegal terms, Ali Paşa and his entourage converted these vakıf-mukataas into their own çiftliks. To put it differently, they controlled vakıf land as if it was their private holding. With no doubt, this transformation was undesirable for the office of Esma Sultan's mukataa. Ali Paşa's rise meant their loss of control over the lands. On the side of the peasants, documents of the Ottoman archive reflect this as an undesirable change as well. Nevertheless, their voice was usually found in petitions attached to the letters of Esma Sultan's officers, which brings a question to the reality.

In the 1810s, village of Sakaves in Yenişehr-i Fener, which was among Esma Sultan's malikane-mukataas, was sub-leased to Ali Paşa, who was then the vali of Yanya. In 1813, the people of the village of Sakaves, who were all Greek, wrote a collective petition.[329] The peasants of Sakaves were complaining about the abuses

[326] Sezer, "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Oğullarının *Çiftlik* ve Gelirlerine İlişkin," 339. For a research on the *çiftlik*-making process of Ali Paşa and his family, see Muço, *Yanya Valisi Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Emlakı*.
[327] Sezer, "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Oğullarının *Çiftlik* ve Gelirlerine İlişkin," 340.
[328] Dimitropoulos, "Aspects of the Working of the Fiscal Machinery," 63-65.
[329] BOA. C. ML. 449/18155.

from Ali Paşa's men. The striking point is that the target of their complaints was three fellow villagers who were called "*müfsid*" (troublemakers). The villagers' complaints occurred because these three men were about to make a deal with Ali Paşa's men in order to convert this village into a "çiftlik", and try to convince the people by boasting about it ("*köyümüzü çiftlik edecekler deyu tefahür ederken"*). The rest of the villagers rejected this deal, stressing that they were the people of their sultan and would not become captives of the Albanians ("*Cümle reayalar dahi bizler Sultan efendimiz reayasıyız Arnavudlara esir olmayız deyu kabul etmeyip*…"). They requested that the sultan remove these "müfsid" from the village, and to return to their former system of lump-sum tax collection, or, "*maktu idare*"[330]. The kethüda of Esma Sultan used this petition (by attaching it to his letter and by making references to it) to support his claim that Ali Paşa's men were abusing these people, that they should be removed and that the former system (collection of taxes as a lump-sum by the voyvoda, i.e., the tax farm supervisor) should be restored.

In this document, the attitude of the peasantry requires further elaboration in two aspects. The first one is their objection to the abolition of a lump-sum tax collection system with the rule of Ali Paşa. The document does not specify the tax collection system that Ali Paşa wanted to introduce instead of the lump sum system. Still, it is clear that the lump-sum system was probably not very desirable by the peasants, since it created an extra tax burden for them, which is the profit of the tax-collector. Instead of the peasants, it was probably the malikane-holders who raised an outrageous challenge to the abolishment of the lump-sum system. This was due to the fact that it was a source of profit for them. The second point is the agreement of

[330] Dimitropoulos defines *maktu idare* as follows: "the rights to collect all the taxes from a village or district were concentrated in the hands of a single powerful man and that the taxes were paid by the community as a lump sum." (Dimitropoulos, "Aspects of the Working of the Fiscal Machinery," 64. Also see İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation," 333-334.

three fellow peasants with Ali Paşa. Their identities and motives are not defined in the document. The deal may well be a means of çiftlikisation, for which Ali Paşa was very famous in the region. Still, it could also be a strategy used by Esma Sultan's office to eliminate Ali Paşa.

Another case regarding Esma Sultan mukataas and çiftliks was dated 1820. This was the year when the Ottoman rule was attempting to totally eliminate Ali Paşa.[331] Alasonya still maintained its status as a malikane of Esma Sultan, under the broader legal entity of Haremeyn mukataas. This time, the whole mukataa of Alasonya was sub-leased to Veli Paşa. He was the former mutasarrıf of the liva of Tırhala and the son of Ali Paşa. The account book dated 1820 reveals the details of this contract (see Appendix B, Figure B8 for a sample page). [332]

Veli Paşa, after having secured the right of tax farming, converted some of these villages into çiftliks, and appointed subaşıs (local çiftlik managers) to each of them. The kethüda of Esma Sultan, named Mehmed Said, claimed that this tax farming arrangement resulted in the abuse of people by the men of Veli Paşa, and also reduced the revenue of the mukataa. He also claimed that these villages did not use to be çiftliks, but that Veli Paşa's men had forced peasants into this illegal conversion. ("*salif ez zikr karyelerde mumaileyhin çiftlik tabir olunur şeyleri olmayıp fakat kura-i merkume ahalisini sizlerin kaffe-i tekalifinizi musaf(?) ederim diyerek iğfal ve yer ve takrib yerlerinden sened ahz ederek hilaf-ı kanun kura-i mezkureyi çiftlik itibarıyla zabt etmiş oldukları...*"). Therefore, the kethüda asked for the abolition of the çiftliks and the subaşıs, and the return of the voyvoda. In the end, his claim about the taxation was accepted; instead of the subaşı, the voyvoda again became the collector of the tithe ("*kadim üzere aşar-ı şeriyeleri Tırhala sancağı*

[331] Anscombe, "Continuities in Ottoman Centre-Periphery Relations," 241.
[332] BOA. C. ML. 575/23594.

mutasarrıfı tarafından mensub voyvodaya aynen eda"), and the expenses were to be allocated to each village based on its ability to pay ("*mürettebat-ı miriye ve masarif-i kaza kadimi üzere her bir karyenin hal ve tahammülüne göre tevzi ve taksim ile tadil olunmak*").

This document from 1820 also provides the list of the villages as they were acquired by Ali Paşa and Veli Paşa (see Appendix B, Figure B6 for their location). According to Table 4, the first category corresponds to the estates of Veli Paşa, but not in çiftlik form; rather, they were "mukataa". Unlike the two following categories, the term "çiftlik" was not specified in this one.

The second category means "personal and joint çiftliks of Veli Paşa within this mukataa, which has been paying their dues and taxes to sahib-i arz." This joint possessor of Veli Paşa (for the village Kunduryodsa) was none other than his father Ali Paşa.

The last category in Table 4 is "the çiftliks of Ali Paşa within this mukataa." Four of these çiftlik-villages belonged, partially or totally, to other people. This may correspond to a land transaction or a seizure.

The çiftlikisation process in the region can be explained by a comparison of two tables provided in this chapter. Table 3 has shown the land tenure status of the 1790s and Table 4 shows this for 1820. A number of villages that were among the miri or vakıf estates (Umur, Magula, Kurucaoba, Kokinopilos and Selos) and another group of villages that were partially çiftliks (Çernilo, Kunduryodsa, Delinista and Moçin) during the 1790s, became çiftliks of the Ali Paşa family and their entourage in 1820. In this context, subsequent kethüdas of Esma Sultan constantly asked for the sultan's help to restore their authority over the mukataa.

Table 4. Villages of Alasonya within the Mukataa of Esma Sultan, Sub-leased to Ali Paşa and Veli Paşa, and Converted to Çiftliks, 1820[333]

Personal mukataa villages of Veli Paşa ("*Müstakil Veli Paşa'nın uhdesinde olan mukataa-i mezbure karyeleri*")		
original name		modern name
İska		İtea
Peritori		Perataria
Magula		Magoula
Beratlı Müslüman		
Umur		
Kontiçi (?)		
Personal and joint çiftliks of Veli Paşa within this mukataa, which have been paying their dues and taxes to sahib-i arz ("*Mukataa-i mezbure dahilinde olup tekalifi kaza-i mezbure ve aşar ve rüsumatını sahib-i arzı olanlara veregelen karyeler olup mumaileyh Veli Paşa'nın müstakil ve müşterek çiftlik ittihaz eyledikleri*")		
original name	modern name	remarks in the document
Çernilo	Agioneri	Personal ("*müstakil*")
Kunduryodsa	Kondariotissa	Equal shares of Veli Paşa and Ali Paşa ("*Karye-i mezburenin nısfı Veli Paşa'nın ve nısf-ı aheri Ali Paşa'nın olmağla şerh verildi*")
Kokinopilos	Kokkinopilos	Personal ("*müstakil*")
Kurucaoba (?)		Personal ("*müstakil*")
Çiftliks of Ali Paşa within this mukataa ("*Tepedelenli Ali Paşa'nın çiftlik ittihaz etdiği mukataa-i mezbure karyelerinin mikdarı*")		
original name	modern name	remarks in the document
Selos	Pythio	
Miçuni	Flambouro	
Kelikuru	Svoronos	Occupied by Atnaş, man of Ali Paşa ("*Ali Paşa'nın çiftlik nazırı kocabaşı Atnaş zımmi zabt eylemiş olduğu*")
Lefelodoz		Likewise ("*Bu dahi*")
Petra		Equal shares of Ali Paşa and Salih Bey of Katrin ("*Karye-i mezkurenin nısfı Ali Paşa'nın ve nısf-ı aheri Katrinli Salih Bey'in olmağla şerh verildi*")
Karanye		Occupied by İbrahim Saraç, man of Ali Paşa ("*Karye-i mezkureyi Ali Paşa'nın bölükbaşısı İbrahim Saraç zabt eylemiş olduğu*")
Delinista		

All these cases challenge what has been argued so far about the dynamics of the period from certain points. Sub-contracting a malikane to another tax farmer at the local level is a well-established practice. However, it must have been clear to Esma

[333] BOA. C. ML. 575/23594. Modern-day names, when detected, were referred to in parentheses as "(mod.)". Any alternate reading of the name that has a modern-day equivalent is marked with a question mark. The source used for modern-day names is Güvenç, *Kuzey Yunanistan Yer Adları Atlası,* 64-73; and *Geonames*, (2016), retrieved from www.geonames.org.

Sultan or her agents that such tax arrangements could quite likely lead to çiftlikisation and thus alienation of the land from the lawful owner of its revenue. Furthermore, the time of the event was also significant: 1820 was the year when the sultan campaigned against Ali Paşa and his family. Yet they still managed to have control of a significant number of çiftliks related to imperial property. This shows that the strength of Esma Sultan, despite her imperial connections and her legal title as a malikane-holder, was limited vis-à-vis Ali Paşa in this case. Her office was either not able to prevent his becoming a sub-contractor, or, at one point, had to accept him as a sub-contractor, and maybe as an ally due to his local authority and wealth. In a similar vein, the imperial authority also officially accepted him as a sub-contractor of a malikane while it was in an open struggle with him, which could mean that the dynamics of the struggle did not totally exclude fiscal cooperation in this context.

After Ali Paşa was discharged in 1820, his tax-farm contracts were also cancelled.[334] The malikane of Esma Sultan was still in effect with the search for new sub-contractors. In 1822, Esma Sultan's three mukataas, Alasonya, Golos and Ergalaşti were farmed out to Ali Namık Paşa, the mutasarrıf of Tırhala. [335] Still, the practice of sub-leasing the mukataa to the provincial governor continued.

Ali Namık Paşa sub-contracted the mukataa to Hacı Bekir Ağa, who passed away before completing instalments. Hence, the mukataa-holders had to look for a new sub-contractor. İshak Ağa, who was probably the same İshak Ağa with the former voyvoda of Alasonya ("*müşarünileyh hazretleri ittibaatından İshak Ağa*") seemed an appropriate candidate. However, despite many efforts, he rejected this offer. Since there was no one else demanding this tax farm, the direct tax-collection

[334] Confiscation of Ali Paşa's property is discussed in detail in the next part of this chapter.
[335] BOA. HAT. 670/32745; BOA. HAT. 538/26477.

method (emaneten idare) was applied. Emaneten idare usually requires the appointment of an officer from the centre. However, in this case, emaneten idare was delegated to İshak Ağa.[336] İshak Ağa's insistence of becoming an emin instead of a tax farmer can be explained in different ways. He may have had the idea that becoming a third-degree tax farmer would not be as profitable as becoming the emin. Taking less risk could be another motivation. As an emin, he was now an employee rather than an entrepreneur. He did not run the business risk of collecting taxes as a tax farmer.

Later, during 1826, the mukataa of Alasonya had a new sub-contractor. That was Ebubekir Paşa, who was also the mutasarrıf of the Sancak of Karahisar-i Sahib (mod. Afyonkarahisar), and he sub-contracted this mukataa to a certain Memiş Efendi, known as a tax farmer.[337]

This was the last available document on Esma Sultan's mukataa of Alasonya. Upon a central decision, malikane sales were limited in 1826, and totally abolished in the 1840s.[338] Until then, the institutional cooperation and conflict between the office of the absentee landlord and the local one, and the relationship of the state with these landlords took different forms. From the 1790s to the 1820s, the competition between Esma Sultan and Ali Paşa ended without a real winner. The Ottoman land regime, supporting the sub-contracting of the malikanes, kept the two parties in interdependence. By the 1820s, the regime evolved in a new direction without radical changes. In the context of ongoing fiscal and political difficulties, malikanes or local intermediaries could not be discharged. New sub-contractors and tax-collectors were

[336] "*elhaleti hazıhi 38 senesinin vakt-i iltizamı takrib etmekde ise de mahalinde iltizamen kabul eder kimesne bulunmadığından başka merkum İshak ağa dahi sene-i merkumeyi iltizamen deruhde ve kabul etmediğine binaen nihayet 38 senesinin merkum İshak ağaya emaneten ihalesi muvafık-ı irade-i seniye buyrulur*"
[337] BOA. C. SM. 94/4715.
[338] Genç, "*Malikane*," 517.

still among the local rulers, but they were not the wealthy or strong notables anymore.

3.2 Confiscation of Ali Paşa's Property in Thessaly

Tepedelenli Ali Paşa lost his power and property in the years 1820-1822. First, his political and administrative titles were removed. In 1820, he was discharged from the office of "derbentler nazırlığı", and upon keeping his military power on mountains, which meant a rebellion against the state, all of his titles were removed and he received capital punishment.[339] The wealth of Ali Paşa and his sons was confiscated in 1820. People among Ali Paşa's entourage would also be threatened with confiscation unless they would declare their obedience to the Ottoman state.[340] In 1822, Ali Paşa was caught and executed.

The first year of the confiscation was initiated by the Darphane-i Amire. This institution would identify the content of their wealth, determine the çiftliks possessed by them and appoint officers named "Çiftlikat-i Hümayun Nazırı" to these çiftliks, and reorganise the revenue sources either by "emaneten idare" or tax farming.[341]

The confiscation process provides valuable information about the institutional framework of the Thessalian lands right before and during the 1820s. Central state authorities accessed details of the land, labour, production and taxation regime of Thessalian çiftliks with the confiscation. They recorded the agrarian revenue, taxes, cash incomes and expenditure of many çiftliks. Hence, this part addresses the confiscation books in order to reveal, first, the relation between imperial and provincial fiscal institutions, and second, the internal organisation of provincial

[339] Uzun, "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Mal Varlığı," 1044-1046.
[340] Uzun, 1047.
[341] Uzun, 1058.

landholding organisations. Specifically, Thessaly çiftliks of the 1810s are examined. Types of lands, taxes and terms of sharecropping are deduced from these records.

Confiscation records of Ali Paşa's property were beyond a single account book. The Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) prepared more than fifty different account books from 1820 to 1826. Four books are detected for this study. One reason for the presence of different volumes is that some records included only one kaza and combined with others in later books. A more important reason for preparing new records was that some former ones were deemed unreliable.

Table 5 shows the location, number and holder of confiscated çiftliks in Thessaly upon the aforementioned four confiscation records.

Table 5. Kazas, Numbers and Holders of Confiscated Çiftliks of Ali Paşa and His Entourage

Town (kaza)	nr of çiftliks	holder of çiftliks
1820 (BOA. D.BŞM.MHF.d. 13300)		
Alasonya	7	Ali Paşa/via kocabaşı and kethüda Dimitri
Alasonya	7	Veli Paşa
Alasonya	1	Ali Paşa's supporter Çebot İbrahim
Alasonya	1	Ali Paşa's supporter Tahir Abbas
1821 (BOA. MAD.d. 9761)		
Alasonya	1	Ali Paşa's supporter Tahir Abbas
Alasonya	1	Ali Paşa's supporter Çebot İbrahim and Tahir Abbas
Alasonya	14	Ali Paşa/via kocabaşı and kethüda Dimitri
Çatalca	9	Ali Paşa
Çatalca	4	Veli Paşa
Domnik	6	Ali Paşa/via imam İbrahim and kocabaşı Zoyimi
Domnik	1	Veli Paşa
Tırhala	27	Ali Paşa/kethüda Kostandi
Tırhala	17	Ali Paşa/kethüda Taşo
Tırhala	11	Ali Paşa/kethüda Zaraklı Atnaş
Tırhala	10	Veli Paşa/kethüda Hristo
1822 (BOA. MAD.d. 7675)		
Yenişehr-i Fener	45	Ali Paşa
Yenişehr-i Fener	67	Veli Paşa
Yenişehr-i Fener	7	Muhtar Paşa
1826 (BOA. MAD.d. 9767)		
Alasonya	13	Emlâk-ı Hümayun/nazır Mustafa Şakir
Çatalca	14	Emlâk-ı Hümayun/nazır Hasan Ağa
Tırhala	64	Emlâk-ı Hümayun/nazır Saadettin bey ve Nureddin ağa
Yenişehr-i Fener	76	Emlâk-ı Hümayun/nazır Hasan Ağa

The earliest available confiscation record is the book of Alasonya dated 1820.[342] This book had 11 pages, listing the name, location and former holder of the çiftlik (Ali Paşa or someone among his entourage), alongside their agrarian information (see Appendix B, Figure B9 for a sample page).[343] Sixteen çiftliks were listed, seven of which were held by Ali Paşa (via the control of kocabaşı and kethüda Dimitri), seven by Ali Paşa, and two by some supporters of Ali Paşa called Çebot İbrahim and Tahir Abbas.

The content of the 1820 Alasonya book was repeated in another book in 1821, which included some other parts of Thessaly, Macedonia and Epirus.[344] This book has 163 pages in total, presenting nearly 450 çiftliks, and similar to the book of 1820, presents the name, location and former holder of the çiftlik (Ali Paşa or someone among his entourage), in addition to the agrarian information on these çiftliks (see Appendix B, Figure B10 for a sample page). Ali Paşa's revenue presented in this book were one-third of the agrarian revenue; cash fee ("maktu aidat") and house rent from "aylakçı" peasants; tax-farm or rental revenue of meadow, mill and shop of çiftliks, cash rents from vineyard property held by peasants and a fee named "ağalık varidatı".[345] The record of 1821 presents 101 çiftliks and villages from Thessaly: 16 in Alasonya (held by Ali Paşa, Veli Paşa and some supporters), 13 in Çatalca (9 by Ali Paşa and 4 by Veli Paşa), 7 in Domnik (6 by Ali Paşa via imam İbrahim and kocabaşı Zoyimi, 1 by Veli Paşa), 65 in Tırhala (55 by Ali Paşa, through 3 separate kethüdas, and 10 by Veli Paşa, through his

[342] BOA. D. BŞM. MHF.d 13300.
[343] This account book is analysed in detail below.
[344] BOA. MAD.d 9761.
[345] Uzun, "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Mal Varlığı," 1061.

kethüda) (see Appendix A, Table A1 for the list of çiftliks and villages).[346] Their total area was around 155,000 dönüm, with 2,150 sharecropper and 830 labourer households.[347] Nevertheless, this book was not a full list of Ali Paşa's confiscated Thessaly çiftliks; it lacks çiftliks at Yenişehr-i Fener.

Confiscated çiftliks at Yenişehr-i Fener (119 çiftliks) were listed in a separate account book in 1822 (see Appendix B, Figure B11 for a sample page).[348] Different from the previous books, this one enlists only the names of çiftliks and their holders, in addition to the number of çift for each çiftlik.[349] Forty-five of these çiftliks were held by Ali Paşa, 67 by Veli Paşa and 7 by Muhtar Paşa (see Appendix A, Table A2 for the list of çiftliks).

A confiscation record dated 1826 reveals that some previous records were unreliable because many çiftliks were concealed ("mektum"), hence the present record was prepared by Salih Paşa,the mutasarrıf of Tırhala, and the Imperial Treasury superintendent (nazır) of the respective districts. [350] The record of 1826, which had 271 pages, listed around 500 çiftliks in Thessaly, Epirus and Macedonia (see Appendix B, Figure B12 for a sample page).[351] A total of 167 of them were in Thessaly: 64 çiftliks in Tırhala, 76 in Yenişehr-i Fener, 13 in Alasonya and 14 in Çatalca (see Appendix A, Table A3 for the list of the çiftliks). The 1826 list covers most of the content of the 1821 list, plus, it presents 76 çiftliks from Yenişehr-i Fener (although missing a few from Çatalca and Alasonya, and completely missing 7

[346] BOA. MAD.d 9761. Ahmet Uzun refers to the content of this account book with a slight difference: He lists 13 *çiftlik*s in Alasonya, 14 in Çatalca, 7 in Domnik, 62 in Tırhala. He does not provide the names of the *çiftlik*s. See Uzun, "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Mal Varlığı," 1062.
[347] Uzun, 1062.
[348] BOA. MAD.d 7675.
[349] Hamiyet Sezer refers to this account book yet with a mistake: She claims this as the *çiftlik* list of Tırhala and its vicinity. Nevertheless, the book is exclusively on *çiftlik*s of Yenişehr-i Fener. Sezer does not provide a discussion on what "çift" refers to. This discussion is provided below in this study. Sezer, "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Oğullarının *Çiftlik* ve Gelirleri," 340.
[350] BOA. MAD.d 9767.
[351] BOA. MAD.d. 9767. For a brief discussion on the *çiftlik*s of Epirus and Macedonia, see Uzun "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Mal Varlığı," 1066-1067.

çiftliks from Domnik, which were present in the list of 1821). The previously prepared list of Yenişehr-i Fener in 1822 does not fully match with the list of 1826: The former lists 119 çiftliks, whereas the latter had 76, and only 29 çiftliks were common in both lists. The account book of 1826 presents a major change: Previous account books named a certain person from Ali Paşa's entourage as a (former) çiftlik holder. The book of 1826 does not refer to these names anymore, but instead refers to the name of the superintendent (nazır) of the Imperial Domains to whom çiftliks were entrusted. Alasonya çiftliks were entrusted to Mustafa Şakir, Çatalca and Yenişehr-i Fener çiftliks were entrusted to Hasan Ağa and Tırhala çiftliks were entrusted to Saadettin Bey and Nureddin Ağa. Uzun summarises the terms of sharecropping according to this book as follows: Peasants got two-thirds and Paşa got one-third of the revenue. The revenue was shared either before or after local intermediaries ("sipahi") got their dues, depending on the agreement of each çiftlik.[352] Yet, a detailed study of Ali Paşa's çiftliks provided below shows that the terms of sharecropping were different.

3.2.1 A case study: Ali Paşa's confiscated çiftliks in Alasonya

The account book of 1820, as explained above, lists the confiscated property in the kaza of Alasonya. [353] This book is classified under *Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Muhallefat Halifeliği Kalemi Defterleri* in the Ottoman archives. Başmuhasebe was functioning as the court of accounts in the early modern period.[354] Muhallefat Halifeliği, which was in charge of preparing these account books, was dealing with

[352] Uzun, 1067.
[353] BOA. D. BŞM. MHF.d 13300: "*Tırhala sancağı mutasarrıfı ve derbendat nazırı ve devletlü Mahmud paşa hazretlerinin … rey ve nezareti ve marifet-i şeri ve mübaşeret ve muharreratı marifetleriyle ba-memun-ı hatt-ı hümayun sadır olan kavanin-i ali mucebince Tepedelenli merfu-el-vezare Ali Paşa ve evlad ve ahfad ve tarafdarlığında ısrar eden müteallikatının Alasonya kazasından canib-i miri için zabt ve tahrir olunan emlak ve çiftlikat ve mukataat ve mahsulatı defteridir*."
[354] *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi*, 146.

the estate (tereke) left by a person at death without heirs or the confiscated estates (müsadere).[355] This account book is in the category of confiscated estates, as clearly stated in its introduction: "The book stating the property, çiftlik, tax farm and revenue that were confiscated and registered by the state, which belonged to Tepedelenli Ali Paşa's dependents, who insisted on being his relatives and supporters."[356]

This account book has 11 pages. It takes "çiftlik" as the main unit of analysis and lists 16 çiftliks under the name of one of these four landlords: Kocabaşı and kethüda Dimitri representing Ali Paşa, Ali Paşa's son Veli Paşa, Ali Paşa's follower Yanyalı Çebot İbrahim and Ali Paşa's follower Tahir Abbas. The institutional framework of the era had created multiple dimensions of property and revenue-holding methods. Ali Paşa's wealth was not simply composed of a list of immovable property and cash. He had had different agreements with peasants from each çiftlik he possessed. Rents in kind and cash, buildings, seeds, livestock, ploughs and trees were the main points of negotiation between Paşa and the temporary or permanent residents of çiftliks. Thus, the process of confiscation required a careful examination of what he had possessed. Upon this inquiry, the following properties and revenue sources were listed: amount of agrarian production, amount of product in the warehouses, number of houses and shops, rental revenue, tax revenue, tools, loans, livestock and trees. In addition to the revenue, the confiscation inquiry presented the number of peasant households, status of peasants (permanent or temporary), and area of arable land. It was necessary because the demographic and physical characteristics

[355] *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi*, 149.
[356] BOA. D. BŞM. MHF.d 13300: "*Tırhala Sancağı Mutasarrıfı ve Derbendat Nazırı Mahmud Paşa eliyle Tepedelenli Ali Paşa evlat, ahfad ve tarafdarlığında israr eden müteallikatının Alasonya kazasından canib-i miri için zabt ve tahrir olunan emlak, çiftlikat, mukataat ve mahsulatı mübeyyin defter*."

of çiftliks were required to be known by the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) for the redistribution of Thessaly.

A typical entry from the account book, showing the Kokinopilo çiftlik, is shown below in Table 6. The first line presents the terms of agreement between landlord and sharecroppers: "Plough team, [a pair of] oxen and seed are peasant's property. The Paşa receives one-third of the revenue." Then, the number of peasants is given according to the labour-agreement status they had. There were four types of households living in these çiftliks: *çiftçi* (sharecroppers)*, aylakçı* (labourers), *tüccar* (merchants) and *perakende* (temporary residents).[357] Sharecropper (çiftçi) families did not pay house rents. They held one plough per each family. It is stated in the document that a pair of oxen and a plough was the property of the peasants.[358] "Aylakçı" were probably labourers. They paid house rents in some çiftliks, and did not pay in others. They did not possess ploughs. Perakende were probably temporary residents as transhumant Vlachs (perakende is discussed in more detail below). The village had 30 sharecropper and 270 merchant families. Neither perakende nor aylakçı were present in Kokinopilo. Nevertheless, it was the only settlement among 16 çiftliks examined in Alasonya with merchant families. It is not coincidental; Kokkinopilo is the one that is closest to Mount Olympus. The mountain villages of eastern Thessaly were known for proto-industrial cotton manufacturing during the eighteenth century.[359] This may have provided considerable commercial expertise in these villages.

[357] For each *çiftlik*, the total number of peasant households was specified under the title "residing peasants" ("sakin olan reayası"). The document does not specify whether the numbers are the number of individual peasants, or the number of households. I assume that it is the latter, because the number of reaya is equal to number of houses.
[358] BOA. D. BŞM. MHF.d 13300: "*Edevat-ı çift ve öküz ve tohum reayanın kendi malıdır*."
[359] Stamatoyannopoulos, "Societe Rurale et Industrie Textile," 584; Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean*, 140.

Table 6. Entry of Kokinopilo çiftlik[360]

Çiftlik-i Kokinopilo (Çiftlik of Kokinopilo)		
Edevat-ı çift ve öküz ve tohum reayanın kendi mallarıdır. Mahsulatdan Paşa tarafından sülüs hisse alınır. (Plough team, [a pair of] oxen and seeds are peasants' property. Paşa receives one-third of the revenue).		
sakin olan reayası (resident peasants)	*Çiftçi* (sharecropper)	30
	Aylakçı (labourer)	
	Tüccar (merchant)	270
	Perakende (Temporary residents)	
çiftçilerin sakin oldukları hane ma-samanlıkları (*bab*) (houses with haylofts resided by the sharecroppers) (room)		300
çiftçilerin elyevm imal eyledikleri saban (plough produced by the sharecroppers)		30
tahminen tarla (*dönüm*) (estimated field) (*dönüm*)		1500
235 senesi mahsulatı (*kile*) Revenue of year 1235 (*kile*)	*Hınta* (wheat)	85+45 (*subaşı yemekliği* [*subaşı's food*]) =130
	Şair (barley)	111
	Çavdar (rye)	300
	Yulaf (oat)	44
seneteyn-i sabık mahsulünden der-anbar zahairi (*kile*) (previous two years' grain in warehouse) (*kile*)	*mısır buğdayı* (maize)	950

The following line shows the number of houses with haylofts (300) and the number of ploughs produced by sharecroppers (30). Sharecroppers (and in the case of Kokkinopilo, the merchants) probably possessed their houses, or, at least, stayed in these houses without paying rent. This was due to the fact that, first, there was no reference that they were paying house rent, and second, their houses were not included in the shares of the landlords with çiftliks of joint ownership.[361] Exemption

[360] BOA. D. BŞM. MHF.d 13300.

[361] In the *çiftlik* of Petra, it was noted that Ali Paşa possessed half of the field and revenue since he had a half share of the *çiftlik*. However, houses were not mentioned among the possessions halved.

of house rents can be considered as an aspect of the landlord-peasant relations. This benefit was a means to bind the sharecroppers to the soil.

The rest of the entry is about the agrarian land and revenue: The estimated area of cultivated field was 1,500 dönüms. The amount of revenue for the present year of 1819-1820 was 130 kile of wheat, 111 kile barley, 300 kile rye and 44 kile oat. The amount of grain in warehouses for the previous two years was 950 kile of maize (below is a discussion about land and agriculture).

In Alasonya, Ali Paşa and his entourage fully or partly controlled 16 çiftliks. Ali Paşa controlled 7 of them by kocabaşı and kethüda Dimitri. They were named Magula, Kunduryodsa, Delinista, Miçuni, Petra, Selos and Yanote. Ali Paşa had a half share of the çiftlik Petra and the other half was held by Katrinli Salih Bey. For this çiftlik, the confiscation record states only Ali Paşa's share among the confiscated property. Veli Paşa also had 7 çiftliks in Alasonya: Umur, Peritori, Kontiçi, Kurucaoba, Kokinopilo, Sikia and Vondos. Ali Paşa's follower ("taraftar") Çebot İbrahim had the çiftlik of Pınarbaşı, in addition to some land at the centre of Alasonya. Another follower, Tahir Abbas had a share from the çiftlik of Çernilo.

Table 7 shows the number and type of peasant households, peasant houses and their ploughs in the confiscated 16 çiftliks (see Appendix A, Table A4 for an extended version). There were 681 households in total. These çiftliks were not equal units in terms of population. For instance, in contrast to the Petra çiftlik with only 3 households, Kokinopilo had 260 households. In total, there were 285 sharecropper families, 116 labourer families, 230 merchant families and 50 perakende families. Sharecropper families consisted of the majority in most of these çiftliks. Labourer families lived in 8 çiftliks, and they outnumbered sharecroppers in Peritori and

Kurucaoba çiftliks. Kurucaoba was the only çiftlik with perakendes; 50 perakende families lived there. As mentioned above, only Kokinopilo had merchant families.

Table 7. Peasant Households, Houses and Ploughs (1819-20)

	Number of peasant households				Number of peasant houses (bab)		Plough
	sharecropper	labourer	merchant	perakende	Sharecropper	Labourer	
Çiftliks of Ali Paşa							
Magula	27	21			27	21	27
Kunduryodsa	30	3			30	3	30
Delinista	17				17		17
Miçuni	20				20		20
Petra	3				3		3
Selos	36	19			36	19	36
Yanote	27	7			27	7	27
Çiftliks of Veli Paşa							
Umur	14	13			14	13	14
Peritori	10	16			10	29	10
Kontiçi	13				13		13
Kurucaoba	7	23		50	30		7
Kokinopilo	30		270		300		30
Sikia	30				30		30
Vondos	14	14			14	16	14
Çiftliks and lands of Çebot İbrahim							
Pınarbaşı	4				3		1
Share of a çiftlik of Tahir Abbas							
Çernilo	6				6		6

Unlike the sharecroppers, labourers paid rent for houses, at least in 3 out of 8 çiftliks. House rents in Selos, Yanote, Peritori çiftliks were respectively 7, 4, and 10 guruş for an unmentioned period (period for rent was specified for shops as a year). Collection of house rents from the labourers may show that their agreement with the landlord was not based on bondage to the soil.

It is interesting that although 50 perakende families were registered in Kurucaoba, there were no houses attributed to them. This may reveal something about their residence patterns: They were either not permanently residing in the çiftliks, or not residing there at all. Since they migrated with their tents, we can assume that they were living in tents during their stay in çiftliks.

The "perakende" people could be transhumants living in the çiftliks seasonally. Transhumant Vlachs of Thessaly usually migrated to the çiftliks during the winter season, and there are many archival records referring to Vlachs as "perakende".[362] They resided in çiftliks as a shelter for themselves and their flocks. Moreover, during their winter stay, they were occupied with handicrafts and commerce. High-quality cotton, wool, silk and goat leather were their important products.[363] They might have combined their manufacturing skills with commercial experience in the region or given their skills in transportation; they traded their products themselves. Through the end of the century, as their seasonal migration was blocked, they adopted trading of animal products as a main occupation. Nevertheless, the meaning of the term "perakende" has shifted in the early twentieth-century-Thessaly into çiftlik households other than sharecroppers, regardless of being temporary, and who were either labourers or small traders.[364]

The çiftlik of Petra presents a very significant detail regarding the discussion of bondage to soil. This çiftlik is listed under Ali Paşa's property, with the note that Ali Paşa jointly possessed it with Salih Bey of Katrin with equal shares. The number of "çiftçi" households was written as 1.5, with the note that "3-1.5=1.5". Thus, the partners jointly "possessed" the peasant households as well. In another words, sharecropper peasants were counted among the çiftlik property to be shared between the partners. This expression, in addition to de-humanising the peasants, shows that they were bonded to the soil and to their landlords. Bondage to soil was a long-lasting phenomenon of Tırhala, and it was reinforced further in the mid-nineteenth century by legal and administrative acts.[365] This case shows that bondage of Petra

[362] AK. PVS. EVR. 4063; AK. PVS. EVR. 2184.
[363] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 279-287.
[364] Petmezas, "Bridging the Gap," 375.
[365] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 368.

sharecroppers of the 1820s was not only to the soil, but also extended to the landlord himself.[366] This situation has changed in 1850s Tırhala; peasants were bonded to the soil but not to the çiftlik-holder.[367]

Last but not least, the term "çift" is important with respect to households and houses. In this book, a çift consisted of one plough and one house including a hayloft. [368] Çift was also used as the name of a fixed unit. In one çiftlik (Delinista), 6 çifts were noted as empty because they were abandoned ("*mürur olup battal çift*"). Hence, çift may correspond to the potential number of sharecropper families and/or the plot of land allocated to them. Socrates Petmezas establishes the link between "çift" and the plot of sharecropper's land: He shows that a sharecropper's tenure would consist of 8-12 hectares of land in Serres, which corresponds to the average size of *çift* stated in early Ottoman *kanunname*s.[369]

3.2.1.1 Land and production

Landed property, as a major source of Ali Paşa's wealth, constituted an important part of the confiscation records. Landed property of the 1810s was a combined category of land and land rents: In the cases where Ali Paşa possessed the land, the land itself was confiscated. In other cases where Ali Paşa possessed the land rent, then the source of rent was confiscated, but the land remained with its owner. These records differentiated between Ali Paşa's property and landed property held by other people in the respective çiftliks.

[366] For a discussion of unfree labour during semi-feudalism or pre-capitalism, see Brass, *Labour Regime Change in the Twenty-First Century*, 75-103.
[367] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 345. For the transformation from bondage to the landlord to bondage to the soil in late-medeival France, see Bloch, *French Rural History*, 86, 104-108.
[368] The definition of "*çift*" has changed later. Ion Ionescu notes that in 1854-55 in Tırhala, "a *çift* consisted of two ploughs, two families, and eight oxen". Cited in Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 344.
[369] Petmezas, "Bridging the Gap," 374.

Main types of land confiscated from Ali Paşa and his entourage in Alasonya were cultivable fields and vineyards. Table 8 shows the amount of confiscated cultivable lands and vineyards at each çiftlik (see Appendix A, Table A5 for an extended version).

Table 8. Confiscated Agrarian Lands in Alasonya (1819-20)

	Cultivable fields (dönüm)	Vineyard (dönüm)
Çiftliks of Ali Paşa		
Magula	2,700	
Kunduryodsa	2,500	
Delinista	1,840	24
Miçuni	1,300	
Petra	100	
Selos	2,500	15
Yanote	3,000	15
Çiftliks of Veli Paşa		
Umur	1,100	6
Peritori	2,240	32
Kontiçi	1,930	6
Kurucaoba	450	150 (ruined)
Kokinopilo	1,500	
Sikia	1,860	60
Vondos	1,000	
Çiftliks and lands of Çebot İbrahim		
Property and çiftlik at central Alasonya	150	12
Field and çift at central Alasonya		
Pınarbaşı	320	
Share of a çiftlik of Tahir Abbas		
Çernilo	250	

The size of the cultivable fields varied between 1,000 to 2,000 dönüms per each çiftlik, which was the usual size in Thessaly.[370] The average area of Ali Paşa's confiscated çiftliks in Thessaly was 1,600 dönüm.[371] Cultivable fields usually belonged to the çiftlik-holder Paşa. There were exceptions as well: 700 of the 2,700 dönüms of cultivable field in Magule was the "real property" (mülk-i sahih) of Paşa.

[370] BOA. D. BŞM. MHF.d 13300. Among the exceptions, the *çiftlik* of Kurucaoba had 450 *dönüm*s of arable fields, because it was "a stony place allowing small area for cultivation"
[371] Uzun, "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Mal Varlığı," 1062-1063

The rest belonged to some other people who were paid in cash by the Paşa.[372] This case was applied in Peritori and Kontiçi as well; respectively, 480 and 500 dönüms of field were the real property of Paşa, he paid for the rest. Petra, as explained before, was a çiftlik that Ali Paşa had half of its shares; thus, he possessed 50 of 100 dönüms of fields.

Vineyards reflected different property relations. They belonged either to the landlord Paşa or to the sharecroppers. Yet, in both cases, the landlord received cash rent from the vineyards. There were 9 çiftliks with vineyards, but, one of them was ruined.[373] In the 5 çiftliks, the vineyards belonged to the çiftlik-holder Paşa. He received cash payment from products ("*ürün bedeli*" or "*maktu*") in Selos, Yanote and Peritori vineyards, and received a land rent ("*icar*") in cash from Kontici and Sikia vineyards. In two çiftliks, Delinista and Umur, it is stated that peasants possessed the vineyards. However, the sharecroppers made an annual cash payment (maktu) calculated per dönüms to the landlord.[374] Delinista sharecroppers paid 120 guruş annually for the vineyard of 24 dönüms. Umur sharecroppers paid 156 guruş annually for the vineyard of 26 dönüms.

Similar to the vineyards, trees were subject to different property relations. Trees were counted only in one çiftlik, named Çernilo. A total of 250 mulberry trees were noted with the fee of 250 guruş, without further explanation. It probably meant that trees in Çernilo were the property of the landlord, and the peasants paid a tax per tree to the landlords. It also means that trees in other villages were not the landlord's property.

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[372] BOA. D. BŞM. MHF.d 13300 "*İşbu 2700 dönüm tarlanın 700 dönümü Paşanın mülk-i sahihi ve bakisi aher beş nefer kimesnenin olmağla senede kaç dönüm tarla zira olunur ise dönüm başına ikişer guruş ücret verileceği ihbar olunmağla şerh verildi*."

[373] The vineyard of 150 *dönüm*s in Kurucaoba *çiftlik* was ruined ("*harab*").

[374] BOA. D. BŞM. MHF.d 13300 "*mülkü reayanın olan bağlardan maktu namıyla senevi aldığı bağ*". Discussion on "*maktu*" payments is below.

Animals were also possessed in different ways. As previously stated, each sharecropper household had a pair of oxen in their possession. They were not confiscated, not only because they were not Paşa's property, but also to continue the agricultural production in the region. Nevertheless, there were a number of livestock listed within the confiscated goods. These livestock were 20 black cattle cows, 4 calves, 2 donkeys, 8 oxen. They were thus counted as the possession of the landlords.

***

Agrarian production from cultivable lands is another important theme of the confiscation books. The books show both the amount of annual production for the fiscal year 1819-1820, and also the amount in the warehouse from the two previous years. The reasons for including crops in confiscation records are to understand the productive capacity of land, to keep the warehouse amounts and to follow the debts of peasants to the landlord ("seeds of wheat loaned to the peasants, due to be collected in the following harvest season" [375]). With the confiscation, the debts of the peasantry to the landlords were cancelled and crops in the warehouse were sent to the army of Yanya. The latter move shows that crops in the warehouse had belonged to the Paşa but not to the peasantry.

Table 9. Annual Average Agrarian Production per Çiftlik (1819-20)[376]

wheat		barley		rye		maize		oats		millet		cotton	
kile	%	kile	%	kile	%	kile	%	kile	%	kile	%	kile	%
206	50	58	14	73	18	60	15	8.8	2	0.6	0.2	1.7	0.5

Table 9 shows the annual average agrarian production per çiftlik in the year 1819-1820, alongside each crop's share in the total production (see Appendix A, Table A5

[375] BOA. D. BŞM. MHF.d 13300 "*vakt-i harmanda alınmak üzere verilen ödünç zahair*"
[376] Only 16 çiftliks specified with their names are included in this calculation; çiftliks possessed by Çebot İbrahim in central Alasonya are excluded because their number is not indicated.

for production at each çiftlik). According to this, half of the crop production was wheat; it was 206 kile per çiftlik. Wheat was followed by 73 kile of rye per çiftlik (18% of total production). The following were maize (60 kile, 15% of total production), barley (58 kile, 14% of total production), oats (8.8 kile, 2% of total production), cotton (1.7 kile, 0.1% of total production) and millet (0.6 kile, less than 0.1% of total production). The dominance of wheat production matches with what can be named as the "provisioning power" of Ali Paşa. Ottoman provisioning policy, i.e., feeding the capital city İstanbul and the armies, was still applied in the early 19th century. As a local intermediary, Ali Paşa was responsible for providing wheat to the armies. He utilised this as a means of negotiation with the centre. In the negotiation of provisioning, he was as powerful as the amount of wheat he possessed.[377] The dominance of grain cultivation fulfilled more than one need: It fed the peasant families and local çiftlik managers, but, more importantly for the landlord, it was sold in the market. In this pre-capitalist context, the market could be contextualised both as the buyers in and around the region, and as the army and capital provisioning of which were necessary. There were probably markets where grain was sold within Thessaly, as well as its surrounding regions.[378]

3.2.1.2 Taxation

The confiscation records also reveal the terms of sharecropping during Ali Paşa's period. Sharecroppers of the Alasonya *çiftlik*s shared the revenue with the landlord Paşa. Paşa's share was fixed to one-third of the production ("*mahsulattan paşa tarafından sülüs hisse alınır*"). However, the net amount left to the sharecroppers

[377] BOA. HAT. 616/30363; BOA. HAT. 401/21051; BOA. HAT. 614/30197.
[378] For a detailed analysis on the characteristics of the Ottoman grain provisioning and their relationship to the local notables in this era, see Ağır, "*The Evolution of Grain Policy Beyond Europe*." For the military provisioning capacity of the local notables, see Şakul, "The Evolution of Ottoman Military Logistical Systems."

was never the remaining amount of two-thirds of the production. The subaşı existed as an extractor of their share. After Paşa had his share as one-third of the production, the sharecropper had to pay rent in kind to the subaşı.

In order to explain the rent collected by the subaşı, one should first understand his function in the çiftliks. Alp Yücel Kaya explains the subaşı's control in Thessalian çiftliks in detail for the period of the mid-nineteenth century. He refers to reports by agronomist Ion Ionescu, who worked as a çiftlik manager in Tırhala in the 1850s.[379] Ionescu defines subaşı as a deruhdeci (contractor) or a mültezim (tax farmer), who was not simply an intermediary between the çiftlik-holder and peasants, who bound the latter to him with debt-contracts.[380]

In Alasonya çiftliks, as the confiscation records reveal, the subaşı could have one or both of the dues with the names "subaşılık" and "subaşı yemekliği" from wheat or barley. The subaşı's rents in kind, unlike Paşa's share, were not fixed to a ratio. They were in different amounts for each çiftlik (Table 10). Subaşılık was collected only from wheat, and it was collected in different amounts from different çiftliks: An average sharecropper household in Vondos would pay 1.5 kile, as one in Delinista would pay 8 kile of wheat as subaşılık. Subaşı yemekliği, however, was fixed to an amount: It was 1.5 kile of wheat and/or barley per sharecropper household in each çiftlik. It should be underlined that the subaşı's rents were collected only from sharecropper households. Other çiftlik residents (as labourers, merchants or perakende) did not pay them. In Thessaly çiftliks of the 1850s, Ionescu states that the subaşı's rents were fixed to a certain amount per household. Subaşılık was "1 kara kile of wheat from his annual share" and yemeklik was "1 or 2 kile of

[379] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 336.
[380] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 346.

wheat".[381] Hence, the amount of yemeklik remained almost similar from the late 1810s Ali Paşa çiftliks to the 1850s çiftliks with new landlords.

Table 10. Amount of Subaşı's Annual Rents Collected per Sharecropper Household (Kile)[382]

	subaşılık (wheat)	subaşı yemekliği (wheat)	subaşı yemekliği (barley)
Magula		1.5	
Kunduryodsa	6	1.5	1.5
Delinista	8	1.5	1.5
Miçuni		1.5	
Petra			
Selos	3	1.5	1.5
Yanote		1.5	
Umur	8	1.5	1.5
Peritori	8	1.5	
Kontiçi		1.5	
Kurucaoba			
Kokinopilo		1.5	
Sikia	8	1.5	1.5
Vondos	1.5		

This comparison brings a very important result about the land regime in Thessaly: Despite the profound change in Thessaly from the 1810s to the 1850s, the subaşı preserved his status and his rents. Moreover, it points to a very long-term continuity in the land regime in the Balkans. These fixed rents per plot of land (*çift* or *baştina*), which were collected by the local landlord, were probably remnants of the ancient practices in the region. İnalcık refers to such fixed payments in Serbia and Bulgaria dating back to the 10th century, which continued under the name of "gospodarlık" (collected contrary to the Ottoman laws in addition to regular *öşür*) until the mid-nineteenth century, when it led to the revolt of Vidin in 1850.[383]

The subaşı's rent was, on average, 31% of total production of a çiftlik. It could be as little as 11% as in Vondos, or as much as 54% of it in Delinista. In Petra

[381] Cited in "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 347.
[382] *Çiftlik*s of Pınarbaşı and Çernilo are excluded from this calculation because the household number information was not fully provided for them in the source.
[383] İnalcık, "Stefan Duşan'dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna XV. Asırda Rumeli'de Hıristiyan Sipahiler ve Menşeleri," 242.

and Kurucaoba, there was not any revenue extracted by the subaşı, which may denote that the subaşı did not exist in these villages. This may be related to the fact that they were the most scarcely populated çiftliks among all: These two çiftliks had 3 and 7 sharecropper households, respectively. The cases in which the subaşı had such high shares from the revenue could be explained with his role as credit-provider to the çiftlik population.[384] Peasants who failed to pay their debts to the subaşı in cash may have been forced to leave a significant part of the agrarian products to him.

Table 11 shows the shares of the peasant, the subaşı and Paşa from wheat for each Alasonya çiftlik. An average çiftlik, considering 14 of them here, would produce 228 kile of wheat, of which 76 kile would be paid to the landlord Paşa and 66 kile to the subaşı. On average, the sharecropper's share was limited to 36% of the production. They paid 33% of their total production to the landlord Paşa, and 31% to the subaşı.

Leake, during his visit in the 1810s, presents a different picture for the çiftliks near Yenişehr-i Fener:[385] He claims that sharecroppers had half of the crop and supplied the seed, whereas the oxen belonged to the landlord. He states that this would normally be enough for a peasant household, nevertheless, "kharaj" (probably meaning poll tax) and "some impositions to which the Greek alone are liable" deemed it impossible for them to subsist on it and push them migrate to Karaosmanoğlu çiftliks in western Anatolia. Leake's depiction, in addition to the possibility of being inaccurate, may reflect differences in Alasonya and Yenişehr-i Fener çiftliks. Even within the same town of Alasonya, çiftliks had different agreements with the same landlord; hence, it would not be surprising to have totally different agreements in another town.

[384] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 346.
[385] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 441.

Table 11. Terms of Sharecropping for Wheat in Alasonya Çiftliks (1819-20)[386]

	Landlord Paşa		Sharecropper		Subaşı		total production	
	kile	%	kile	%	kile	%	kile	%
An average çiftlik	76	33	66	36	86	31	228	100
Magula	64	33	87	46	40.5	21	191	100
Kunduryodsa	147	33	68	15	225	51	440	100
Delinista	100	33	38.5	13	161.5	54	300	100
Miçuni	60	33	90	50	30	17	180	100
Petra	4	33	9	69	0	0	13	100
Selos	74	33	35.5	16	112.5	51	222	100
Yanote	41	33	42.5	34	40.5	33	124	100
Umur	82	33	32	13	133	54	247	100
Peritori	121	33	146	40	95	26	362	100
Kontiçi	15	33	12.5	27	18.5	40	46	100
Kurucaoba	17	33	33	66	0	0	50	100
Kokinopilo	43	33	42	32	45	35	130	100
Sikia	232	33	179	26	285	41	695	100
Vondos	67	33	113	56	21	11	200	100

In addition to the çiftliks, villages from which the Ali Paşa family collected rents were partially the subject of the confiscation. Veli Paşa had the tax-farm of the tithe of 6 villages (karye) in Alasonya. Crops he was entitled to collect as the tithe were being kept in the warehouse at the time of confiscation. [387] Hence, these crops were also confiscated. Their total amount was 751 kile wheat, 241 kile rye, 173 kile barley and 90 kile maize. This case may denote the difference between a çiftlik and a village (karye): Çiftlik was the landed property, land, revenue and even tenants under the control of a landholder. A village was relatively more independent than a çiftlik; the subject of expropriation was limited to its revenue which were rented out to an intermediary. These villages could be what were called "kefalochoria", simple

[386] Çiftliks of Pınarbaşı and Çernilo are excluded from this analysis because they have partial information on these respects.
[387] *1234 senesine mahsuben Veli Paşa'nın iltizamen uhdesinde olan Alasonya Mukataası aşarından kura-i mezkure reayaları aşarlarından der-anbar olan zahairin mikdarları*

villages of the small peasant holdings. Kefalochoria of the Alasonya district were located around Mount Olympos.[388]

The confiscated wealth of Ali Paşa and his entourage also included cash revenue, which came from land rents and immovable property rents. Ali Paşa's total annual cash revenue from these çiftliks were 1,044 guruş; Veli Paşa's were 5,522 *guruş*; Çebot İbrahim's were 616.5 *guruş* and Tahir Abbas' were 200 *guruş*. The total annual cash rent paid by a *çiftlik* was 439 *guruş* on average.

Table 12 lists the cash revenue of the landlords for each çiftlik. Rents and dues from land were the main cash revenue. Winter pasture rent (*koyun kışlası*) was collected from 9 çiftliks, the majority of which were among Veli Paşa's çiftliks. Peasants paid dues from the vineyards to their landlords under the names of *bağ kirası/icarı* and *maktu bağ.* Bağ kirası or icarı was probably the land rent, whereas maktu bağ was the rent from the product. A total of 1,662 guruş of vineyard dues were collected from 8 çiftliks. Another form of vineyard due was the "vineyard tax" (*resm-i bağ*), which was collected from the peasants of a çiftlik who rented the vineyards of another çiftlik (Kokinopilo peasants paid 2,000 guruş of resm-i bağ for cultivating the vineyards in Selos çiftlik). Rooms, houses and shops were also sources of rental revenue. There were 13 rooms in Kiliseli village near Alasonya, whose rental revenue was 124 guruş and used to be collected by Veli Paşa. There were 50 perakende households in Kurucaoba çiftlik, and they were paying 800 guruş for annual rent.[389] One grocery shop and one bakery were rented out in the centre of Alasonya for 123 guruş.

[388] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 341.
[389] "*zikr olunan 50 bab haneden mütemekkin olan reayadan icar misillü senevi aldığı*"

Table 12. Cash Revenue of the Landlord (Guruş) (1819-20)

	Winter pasture rent	Vineyard tax	Vineyard rent	Room rent	House rent	Shop rent	total
Çiftliks of Ali Paşa							
Magula							
Kunduryodsa	150						150
Delinista			120				120
Miçuni							
Petra	50						50
Selos			300				300
Yanote			300				300
Ali Paşa's rental rooms in Kiliseli village				124			124
Çiftliks of Veli Paşa							
Umur	130		156				286
Peritori	400		224				624
Kontiçi	250		42				292
Kurucaoba	700				800		1,500
Kokinopilo		2,000					2,000
Sikia	400		420				820
Vondos							
Çiftliks and lands of Çebot İbrahim							
Property and çiftlik in central Alasonya			100			123	223
Pınarbaşı	393.5						393.5
Share of a çiftlik of Tahir Abbas							
Çernilo	200						200

Potential cash revenue of the landlords of confiscated çiftliks were also targeted. Confiscation records usually included debts yet to be collected by the confiscated individuals. In this case, Çebot İbrahim gave 3,792 guruş as an advance to tenants of Sikia and Karanye çiftliks. Houses and shops without tenants were also listed. Immovable property as houses and shops were counted among confiscated property. Thirty-six houses were counted in this category, 20 of which were ruined. Interestingly, 8 houses were listed in this category of houses without tenants, which were inhabited by the subaşıs of the respective 8 çiftliks. There were 4 shops in 3

çiftliks, three of them were "enclosed and warehouse-type shops"[390] (see Appendix A, Table A6).

***

Another way of analysing the data of taxation is the calculation of total rents in kind and cash paid by an average household. Since each çiftlik had a different amount of production and were subjected to different rent-collection agreements, the figures varied. Table 13 presents this estimation for an average sharecropper household at each çiftlik.[391] This table shows that sharecroppers were under a significant burden. The average amount of payment in kind per household was 65% of wheat (8 kile per household) and 50% of barley (1.5 kile per household). This was the amount paid to the landlord Paşa and the subaşı. This amount, as in Delinista and Umur çiftliks, was as high as 87% of the wheat production. The amount of cash rents paid by sharecroppers cannot be certainly deduced because it was not stated whether only sharecoppers or all village residents paid rents as pasture rents. For the sake of consistency, it is assumed that vineyard rent was paid exclusively by sharecroppers and it was the only cash rent paid by them. With this assumption, the average annual vineyard rent paid by a sharecropper household was 10.5 guruş.

The debt bondage of the sharecroppers to the landlords was not limited to the rent payment. Seeds constituted an important type of debt. Seeds belonged to the landlord, which he loaned to the sharecroppers before cultivation to be paid back to him after the next harvest. House rent was another dimension. Sharecroppers did not pay rent, which might be another form of bondage, not in the form of debt, but as a

[390] "*cevanib-i erbaası duvarlı anbar misillü mağaza*"

[391] Only the sharecropper households are counted because labourers, merchants and perakende were not included in the sharecropping system. For the sake of consistency, payment in cash is also calculated only for sharecroppers. In order to do this, cash payments of sharecroppers (i.e., vineyard tax and rent) were included and cash payments of other groups (pasture rent, house rent) were excluded. Since we do not know the total cash income of the sharecroppers, their ratio is not presented in the table.

favourable condition making them stay. Labourers and perakendes were also in debt relation to the landlord. They had to pay house rents and land rents. Especially Vlachs wintering in these çiftliks had to pay pasture rents in order to graze their animals.

Table 13. Average Annual Rents in Kind and Cash per Sharecropper Household in Each Çiftlik (1819-20)

	wheat		barley		Vineyard rent
	kile	%	kile	%	guruş
Çiftliks of Ali Paşa					
Magula	3,9	54	0,6	33	
Kunduryodsa	12,4	84	2,4	91	
Delinista	15,4	87	3,0	67	7,1
Miçuni	4,5	50	0,8	33	
Petra	1,3	33	0,3	33	
Selos	5,2	84	2,3	96	8,3
Yanote	3,0	66	0,9	33	11
Çiftliks of Veli Paşa					
Umur	15,4	87	2,5	82	11,1
Peritori	21,6	59	0,4	33	22,4
Kontiçi	1,4	73	0,2	33	3,2
Kurucaoba	2,4	33	0,1	33	
Kokinopilo	2,9	68	1,2	33	66,7
Sikia	17,2	74	2,8	72	14
Vondos	6,3	44	4,8	33	

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the transformation of the Ottoman land and tax regime during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by focusing on the kaza of Alasonya. The chapter has two parts, each of which addresses different aspects of the land question of this period with different sources and methodologies.

The first part of this chapter focuses on malikane-mukataas of Esma Sultan in Alasonya during c.1780-1825. It is based on the official correspondence between the centre and the province, and also petitions from the province to the imperial centre. It makes micro-analyses of a number of fiscal, administrative and economic institutions in order to reach conclusions on the macro level of the land regime.

Malikane-mukataa is examined in two dimensions. First, malikane is analysed here with respect to its institutional organisation in the centre and particularly in the province. Studies on malikanes usually focus on their fiscal organisation or the identity of the malikane holders. This research, on the other hand, conceptualises the malikane holder Esma Sultan, as an absentee landlord, who was not visible in the province. Nevertheless, her office was effectively represented by the voyvoda and kethüda. These officers sometimes had to share this authority with other interest-holders. At the level of kaza, the kadı was in principle the head, but he was not an influential figure anymore. The voyvoda of the mukataa of Alasonya had virtually replaced him in several judicial and administrative issues. At the provincial level, the counterpart of the provincial governor (vali or mutasarrıf) of Tırhala can be considered as the kethüda of the malikane. Although the kethüda did not reside in Tırhala and was also occupied with mukataas of Esma Sultan elsewhere, he was the one addressing the sultan regarding problems related to the provincial governor. The fact that such controversies were usually judged in favour of Esma Sultan's mukataa before the 1810s was not only because of the state's ambition to limit the power of Ali Paşa, but also because the boundaries between the state and the imperial family were blurred. Here, the diminishing authority of the imperial vakıfs vis-à-vis the malikane system is also visible: The vakıf of Bahçekapusu Valide Sultan, which was the lawful owner of Esma Sultan's mukataa, was never addressed in the case of controversies.

The second dimension of malikane is taking it as a landholding form, and the effects of malikane on rural landholding are discussed. It is argued that malikane was not only a tax-collection method, but also it provided its holder with judicial and administrative authority in the provinces. Collecting the agrarian taxes for a life-time

gave the holders a decisive power over agrarian production. In this sense, malikane became a means of revenue-sharing and land-holding in the rural scene. It constituted a form of property-like domain, or, although not necessarily called in this period with this term, a çiftlik. It shows that land tenures with different names as vakıf, timar and çiftlik overlapped in the same malikane-mukataa. The late eighteenth century witnessed traces of the timar system, and sipahis of the timars demanded their prebendial rights on land, revenue and people from the mukataa-holders. However, their fading image was already replaced in the 1810s by the claims of private land-holders. The early nineteenth century was marked by the rise of the çiftliks. The large-scale application of malikane, combined with the dominance of Ali Paşa (as the provincial ruler, local elite and landholder at the same time) established the groundwork for the legacy of çiftliks in Alasonya.

The struggle between Esma Sultan's office and Ali Paşa can be interpreted as a political and economic conflict between absentee and local landlords. In the earlier period of his power, Ali Paşa was confined to oppressing the peasants and kocabaşıs of the mukataa through violence and fear. These attempts were condemned and prevented through official channels. Yet, at the peak of his power, he pursued the legal route of land-grabbing: acquiring the sub-lease of the malikanes of Esma Sultan. In this way, neither of the rivals could establish absolute dominancy over the estates. However, this might have been perceived by the state as a solution for this dangerous competition. The Ottoman land system of the early nineteenth century kept an absentee landlord and a local one in a symbiotic relationship despite the encounters between them.

Last but not least, this chain of tax farming shows that a significant number of institutions and people appropriated the revenue yielded by the labour of Alasonya

peasants. At the top, there was *Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn Evkafı*, having a share for expenses of the Haremeyn region. Next, there was the *Bahçekapusu Valide Sultan Camii Evkafı*. Following this, there was the office of the malikane of Esma Sultan. Esma Sultan's personal expenses and payments for the malikane officers were met by the mukataa revenue. A certain share from the revenue was also taken by the Ottoman state, mainly in the form of grain for provisioning of the army. Different sub-contractors of the mukataa were also having their shares from the revenue. Local governors were levying taxes and dues as hazariye, derbendat aidatı. This picture shows that the peasants of Alasonya were under a great tax burden. Unfortunately, their voice is almost never heard from the documents of the state archives. The few instances (as collective petitions) are usually attached to demands of one of the above-mentioned interest holders; thus, their reliability as an independent voice remains in doubt.

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The second part of this chapter focuses on the confiscation of Ali Paşa's property in Thessaly. Upon describing the imperial institutions in charge of confiscation, a historiographical discussion of the sources listing the confiscated property is provided. It is claimed that confiscation was a long and difficult process for the imperial authorities; they needed the assistance of the former Paşa's then officers to prepare a full and reliable list of the properties, which was probably never fully accomplished. Four confiscation books have been found and their contents are explained. In order to be able to focus the details, and to have continuity with the previous part discussing Esma Sultan's Alasonya malikanes, the confiscation record of Alasonya çiftliks is chosen for a case study.

Confiscation of the wealth of Ali Paşa and his entourage is important for the Thessalian land question because it reveals the land and labour relations right before 1820, that is, the year of confiscation. It provides the possibility to make an in-depth study of the çiftliks of this period.

Ali Paşa, his son Veli Paşa and their two supporters held 16 large çiftliks in Alasonya, with cultivable fields from 1,000 to 2,000 dönüms. Wheat was the main crop, with an annual production of 206 kile per çiftlik, which could be explained with Ali Paşa's role in the provisioning policy of the Ottoman state. Still, the agrarian production was not very high because Alasonya was not the most favourable part of Thessaly for agriculture. It was located in eastern Thessaly, which was less irrigated and had a higher ratio of fallow than the western part.[392] Moreover, it did not have very large plains unlike Yenişehr-i Fener or Tırhala.

Cultivation of the çiftliks was mostly based on sharecropper families' labour. Sharecropper peasants were bonded to the soil and to the landlord. In addition to sharecroppers, there were also labourer, perakende and in one village merchant households who had different agreements with the landlords. Their bondage was not as fixed as that of the sharecroppers. This was probably desirable for perakendes, who are claimed to be the transhumant Vlachs in this context, since their economy was based on a temporary settlement at çiftliks, only for winters. Merchants, similarly, had to be mobile in order to be able to travel for commercial purposes. Nevertheless, labourers, who had to pay for house rents, were probably in a less secure position than the sharecroppers. They could not become sharecroppers, either, because they did not have a pair of oxen and a plough team (the prerequisite for being a sharecropper), or, there were no vacant plots (çift) for them.

[392] Sivignon, "The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly," 390.

The landlord Paşa received a significant amount of revenue in kind and cash from these çiftliks: one-third of the crops, rental revenue from winter pastures, fees from vineyards, cash dues and house rents from labourers and advances. The subaşı, who was in charge in most of these çiftliks, received 10% to 55% of the total production. It is possible to claim that the sharecroppers were under a heavy burden of taxation in this period. As a major pretext to eliminate Ali Paşa, the Ottoman regime emphasised that he created economic oppression on the Thessalian peasantry. The period following his confiscation is worth examining in order to reveal the degree of change.

CHAPTER 4

THE AGE OF IMPERIAL DOMAINS (*EMLÂK-I HÜMAYUN*) (c. 1820-1860)

Landholding in Thessaly entered a new era after 1820. It was a transition from Ali Paşa's period to the new landlords of the region. Following its confiscation, Ali Paşa's landed property was redistributed to new actors by the Imperial Domains (*Emlâk-ı Hümayun*). The redistribution had two phases. First, from 1820 to 1823-25, land and other revenue sources were entrusted to superintendents of the Imperial Domains. Superintendents were usually high-ranking officers (as palace chamberlain) from Istanbul. They managed çiftliks with the help of local intermediaries as the kocabaşı and the subaşı, who were figures kept intact while Ali Paşa was eliminated. Some of the superintendents did not leave Istanbul while the Imperial Domains' çiftliks were entrusted to them. In a sense, they acted as absentee landlords of the Thessaly çiftliks.

The second phase of redistribution of Thessaly çiftliks was the land sales of the Imperial Domains. This institution sold the çiftliks confiscated from Ali Paşa with the method of tax farming from c.1825 until the abolishment of this method in the 1840s. Although tax farming legally meant the allocation of a certain revenue source for a limited period to the highest bidders, the landholding legacy in Thessaly made tax farmers de facto çiftlik owners (see Chapter 3). The Imperial Domains continued this legacy; new tax farmers practically became landlords of Thessalian çiftliks. Following the period of tax-farming contracts, land transactions during the 1840s were named as "sale" (*füruht*). It was mainly because tax farming was abolished in this decade. Thus, the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) sold its çiftliks in Thessaly to the new landlords.

In both methods, landed revenue sources of Thessaly were transferred to new entrepreneurs, who usually belonged to the similar classes. Furthermore, there was a similarity between the landlords of post-1820 with the ones of the late-eighteenth century. The new entrepreneurs who bought the çiftliks of the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) were also absentee landlords, as the landlords of the late-eighteenth century. Absentee landlords of the new era had administrative, military or noble titles. Landlords of the late 1820s -1830s, who bought the Imperial Domains' çiftliks in Thessaly, were among the mid-rank title holders. Their çiftliks were limited in number and size. They were modest landlords compared to the following decade.The 1830s and 1840s were marked by the revival of absenteeism. During these decades, landlords from higher ranks of the imperial bureaucracy and military, in addition to members of the dynastic family, acquired larger tax-farms. For instance, the governor of the province and sister of the ruling sultan became significant landholders of Thessaly. Hence, the political and economic control of rural Thessaly was again held by the class of strong absentee landholders who had official posts and dynastic relations.

The Imperial Domains did not overwhelmingly change the labour relations in its çiftliks. Sharecropping prevailed as the basis of agrarian production in Thessaly, yet the terms of sharecropping became subjected to new struggles. Control of the subaşı in çiftliks was a cause of distress for the sharecroppers at least since the period of Ali Paşa. The subaşı collected a significant amount of dues and taxes from the peasants' revenue. The introduction of the control of the Imperial Domains did not ameliorate the conditions of the sharecroppers, because its aim was not to reform the working conditions, but to find new owners for the çiftliks. The phase of superintendents had to be bound to the support of the subaşı and kocabaşı. This was

due to the fact that these local intermediaries were the only çiftlik managers left from the period of Ali Paşa with the knowledge of organisation of production and labour agreements in the çiftlik. The superintendent, an officer from Istanbul without any prior knowledge about the çiftliks entrusted to him, had to rely on these local managers. Later, during the çiftlik sales, labour agreements in the çiftliks remained untouched. The new çiftlik owners, usually absentees without direct connection to their çiftliks, relied on the subaşı and kocabaşı as well. Hence, the era of the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) preserved the status of these local intermediaries.

Rural distress, stemming from the severe conditions in which sharecroppers lived, evolved into uprisings in Yanya and Tırhala in 1854-55.[393] The steps taken by the Ottoman authorities in order to examine the problems and settle the rural disorder, such as sending inspectors and establishing local commissions, resulted in the declaration of the Bylaw of Tırhala in 1860.[394] Although the bylaw abolished subaşılık, it codified the restrictions on sharecroppers and reformulated the property in favour of single claims of the çiftlik-holders.

This chapter presents the transitional era of landholding in Thessaly in four parts. The first part discusses a case study from the era of superintendents during the first half of the 1820s. The case of Mesud Ağa, who was appointed as the superintendent of 62 Thessaly çiftliks between 1820 and 1822, is examined in several aspects. On the macro level, the characteristics of the regime of the Imperial Domains on Thessaly are scrutinised. Duties and obligations of superintendents are explained, the superintendent's relations with local çiftlik managers are focused on, and the reasons leading to Mesud Ağa's dismissal are questioned. On the micro level, through the detailed account books prepared for those 62 çiftliks, the çiftlik economy

[393] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 350-352; Kiel, "Tesalya," 525.
[394] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 353-360.

of Thessaly is examined. Characteristics of the account book are explained in order to discuss the book-keeping methods in the context of recently confiscated çiftliks. Agricultural production, terms of labour and the taxation regime are explained with qualitative and quantitative analyses. Sharecropping relations and the enduring role of the subaşı are examined in the Imperial Domains' çiftliks. Furthermore, since the account books differentiated between lowland and highland çiftliks, regional variations within Thessalian countryside are highlighted.

The second part is about the çiftlik sales of the Imperial Domains, a process that followed the era of superintendents, and lasted around two or three decades. Since the çiftlik sales of each decade had different characteristics, the sales of the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s were explained separately. The çiftlik sales in the 1820s are discussed via a case study. This case is followed through an account book from the *Cevdet Saray* classification of the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives. This source shows the accounts of 55 çiftliks in eastern Thessaly, while they were entrusted to two successive superintendents and, in the following year (1824-25), when they were farmed out to tax farmers. Hence, this source is very critical because it depicts the transition from superintendents to tax-farmers. These çiftliks were farmed out to three entrepreneurs in 1824-1825, who were mid-rank imperial officers, one of whom is identified as a "Hassa silahşörü", holding other tax-farms in the region. This case study explains the institutional characteristics of this period. The patterns of distribution of new tax farms and the identity of the new tax farmers help us to understand the expectation of the Imperial Domains from the çiftlik sales. Moreover, this case also provides a ground to discuss the çiftlik economy in Thessaly in this critical epoch. What was transferred from superintendents to tax farmers depicts to

what degree these two group of actors "possessed" the çiftliks. Continuity of the subaşı and peasant indebtedness emergee as two important themes.

The çiftlik sales of the 1830s marks a new phase in landholding in Thessaly, which is the revival of absenteeism in the 1830s. Higher absentee notables controlled larger leases to become the çiftlik-holders of the 1830s. Two case studies exemplify this period: The first one, dated 1832, is Mustafa Nuri Paşa, the mutasarrıf of Tırhala, as a tax farmer of the Thessaly çiftliks. This case study is based on an account book from the *Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Kalemi* classification of the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, and focuses on the fiscal details of his contract. It depicts the changing patterns of tax farming: Mutasarrıf Mustafa Nuri Paşa, as the highest local governor, received a considerable number of tax farms in Thessaly. His tax-farm included not only çiftliks, but also "has" lands (imperial domains) and customs (gümrük) as well. The second case is about the group of higher notables who acquired the tax farms in 1839. It is based on an account book listing property transfers of vacant revenue sources, classified in the *Divan-i Hümayun Tahvil Kalemi* category of the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives under *Kamil Kepeci* classification. This case underlines the return of dynasty members (including Esma Sultan) and members of high bureaucracy, military and judicial rulers, as the absentee landlords of Thessaly.

Land sales of the 1840s intertwined with the era of land surveys. Thus, while the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) was prepared to complete its mission of land sales, this decade has the examples of lists and recordings about population, land and landholders of Thessaly. These surveys point to the multi-layered land regime of the region, as çiftlik, karye (village) and timar (fief) still existed together. The Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) was, however, not the sole institution

that controlled Thessalian lands in the 1840s. This was mainly because, the Imperial Domains dealt with Ali Paşa's confiscated property. Since some of independent villages (under the timar regime) had remained outside the control of Ali Paşa, the Imperial Domains did not possess them as well. An account book from Cevdet Timar classification lists 56 timars and the name of their holders in the sancak of Tırhala.

The third part of this chapter moves beyond the case studies of land transfer and agrarian production in Thessaly. It focuses on one of the most important legal documents about the agrarian relations in the region, namely, the Bylaw (Layiha) of Tırhala. Following a brief description of the process leading towards the preparation of the bylaw, it presents the main themes of the bylaw. It focuses on the abolition of subaşılık by discussing related articles. Local tenants recognised as an alternative to the subaşılık are explained. The bylaw's statements about the subaşılık regime are compared with the findings of this study about the subaşıs' of Thessaly çiftliks from 1800 to the 1840s. This part also compares the sharecropping modalities defined in the bylaw with the related material discussed in this chapter. Finally, the fiscal and social obligations imposed with the bylaw on different classes of peasantry (sharecroppers, labourers, perakende and transhumant shepherds) are discussed. It is argued that the bylaw did not provide a considerable amelioration of the working conditions of the peasantry. On the contrary, it limited animal husbandry, imposed several cash fees and taxes, and bound them to the soil. Furthermore, it helped çiftlik owners acquire common lands of the çiftlik. Thus, it consolidated the property rights of the çiftlik owners at the expense of peasantry.

Finally, the conclusion of this chapter discusses the continuities and changes in land and labour relations of Thessaly from the 1820s to 1850s. It focuses on local çiftlik managers and absentee landlords, traces the changes in the agrarian revenue

and crop types and underlines the practices of taxation with an emphasis to the sharecropping regime in the çiftliks.

4.1 Landlord by assignment: the Imperial Domains' superintendent Mesud Ağa

After being confiscated, Ali Paşa's property in Thessaly was rapidly redistributed. The property was collected under the framework of the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) and was allocated to new actors under different institutional titles. In many districts, "emaneten idare", or direct taxation was applied until 1238/1822-23, undertaken by çiftlik nazırs (superintendents).[395] Following the early practice of direct taxation via superintendents during 1820-1822, the "maktu" method, i.e., the lump-sum tax collection, was decided to be applied on Thessaly.[396] However, the lump-sum method was not installed. Direct taxation via superintendents continued during 1823-1824.[397]

In this phase, property was not leased out to new tax farmers, but controlled by the Imperial Domains via its superintendents. Tax farming could have been preferred also for this early phase, with the expectation of increasing the production and tax revenue. However, in the early years of the redistribution, it could not be applied because the çiftlik revenues could not be fully identified. Hence, the Imperial Domains controlled its çiftliks via superintendents for a few years while the confiscation records were being completed.

The control of the Imperial Domains over Thessaly çiftliks via superintendents can be revealed from an account book dated 1823 (see Appendix B,

[395] Uzun, "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Mal Varlığı," 1069.
[396] Uzun, "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Mal Varlığı," 1070. Dimitropoulos defines *maktu idare* as follows: "the rights to collect all the taxes from a village or district were concentrated in the hands of a single powerful man and that the taxes were paid by the community as a lump sum", Dimitropoulos, "Aspects of the Working of the Fiscal Machinery,"64. See also İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation," 333-334.
[397] Uzun, "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Mal Varlığı," 1070.

Figure B13 for a sample page).[398] It is the account of the Imperial Domains' çiftliks in Tırhala. This account book is located in the *Kamil Kepeci* classifications of the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives. *Kamil Kepeci* classification mostly includes the account books of the fiscal administration, and the books usually have a subtitle referring to the name of the fiscal office from which they came.[399] However, the account book revealed here only has the subtitle "*müteferrik*", meaning miscellaneous. The book has 818 pages, divided into several sub-sections. Only the first section (section no 50) is related to this research and hence studied. This section has 15 pages.

This account book shows that 62 çiftliks at the sancak of Tırhala, which at the time covered most of Thessaly was entrusted to emlak nazırı (property superintendent) and the kapucubaşı (chamberlain) Mesud Ağa in 1820. It was not stated whether Mesud Ağa lived in Tırhala or Istanbul. However, the chain of events leading to his discharge and related declarations support the idea that he probably did not live in Tırhala and was an absentee landlord. He was discharged from this post due to incompetency and replaced by another Imperial Domains superintendent Salih Efendi in 1822-1823.[400] The incompetency was explained with the inadequacy of the book he kept in 1820-1821 and absence of the book in 1821-1822. Later, new superintendents were firmly required to reside in the çiftliks.[401] These could prove the claim that Mesud Ağa violated this requirement of residing in the çiftliks but instead lived somewhere else.

A familiar figure was mentioned in the introductory text of this account book: Ali Paşa. It was stated that Ali Paşa's yazıcı Kosti, with a kocabaşı named Atnaş,

[398] BOA. KK.d 7461.
[399] *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi*, 263.
[400] Uzun, "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Mal Varlığı," 1069.
[401] Uzun, 1070.

translated the book from Greek to Turkish. Kocabaşı Atnaş was also the one who kept the original book in Greek. The yazıcı Kosti was Ali Paşa's book-keeper, who had a key role for enlisting the confiscated property subject to redistribution. Relying on the translation of account books and questioning the former officers (and close relatives) of Ali Paşa was usually applied by the Ottoman authorities in order to detect the property to be confiscated.[402] In this case, the property of Tepedelenli Ali Paşa was detected with the help of his former officers as yazıcı and kocabaşı.

The contribution of Ali Paşa's former officers to the new land regime under the Imperial Domains was not limited to book-keeping. Mesud Ağa controlled çiftliks through a chain of actors as subaşı, kocabaşı, sekban and kahya, who were the remnants of the Ali Paşa period. In other words, the Imperial Domains' land regime after confiscation did not indicate a profound change. On the contrary, the sharecropping-based land regime continued. The continuation of the presence of the subaşı would deem any major chance impossible. As discussed in Chapter 3, the subaşı's share was as much as, or in some çiftliks even higher than Ali Paşa's share from the crop revenue.

The subaşı's presence was stated in many çiftliks with reference to the share he got from the revenue in the account book of the Imperial Domains examined here. In addition to the subaşı, kocabaşıs, one of whom prepared the account book examined here, collected some dues from çiftliks to be delivered to Mesud Ağa. The kocabaşı, in addition to tax-collection on behalf of Mesud Ağa, probably had other political and fiscal functions in the çiftliks. However, these functions were not mentioned in the account book. The book-keeper kocabaşı might not have recorded the rent he extracted from these çiftliks, in order not to reveal himself as an open

[402] Sezer, "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Oğullarının," 336.

target for the Imperial Domains authorities. Other workers emerged in this source were the sekban and kahya. They were defined as the men of the subaşı, with an important role in çiftlik administration that was deduced from the payments they received.

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The account book of Tırhala çiftliks under the Imperial Domains' control has two parts. In the first part, taking çiftlik as the unit of analysis, the revenue, taxes and dues of each çiftlik were presented for the fiscal years 1820-1821 and 1821-1822. Revenue are agrarian products, measured in kile and okka. Taxes and dues are rent in kind, and cash rents from land, cultivation and stockbreeding (see Appendix A, Table A7 and Table A8 for production and rents in kind).

Sixty-two çiftliks were listed in the accounts, which are classified into ova (lowland) and bayır (highland) çiftliks. There were 40 lowland and 22 highland çiftliks. Highlands usually corresponded to the mountainous parts of the region, especially villages on the slopes of Alasonya. This shows that çiftliks were not necessarily established on plains, but slopes were also chosen. The classification of lowland and highland çiftliks in this source is very important in order to distinguish the characteristics of the agrarian economy for each region. As discussed in Chapter 2, the contrast and the symbiosis between lowlands and highlands define Thessalian economic geography to a great extent. Table 14 presents the names of the lowland and highland çiftliks and, when indicated, the number of çifts of respective çiftlik in parenthesis. Some of these çiftliks were marked in the document with the number of çift. As discussed in Chapter 3, çift may denote the sharecropper's plot or the capacity of a çiftlik for sharecropper households. Yet, it is not clear in this account book as çift was stated only for some of the çiftliks, but not for others. One

possibility is that the numbers refer to the available information (the çiftliks number of çift was detected), or, maybe, these are the number of vacant çifts for the respective çiftliks.

Table 14. Imperial Domains' (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) Çiftliks of Tırhala and the Number of Çifts, When Indicated (1820-1822)[403]

lowlands		highlands
Astalosos	Oyaltı	Aknamides (15)
Avdos	Patolye (17,5)	Avtorçoke
Babe (14)	Sahraköy	Bodnice (21)
Baklalı (12)	Sekoni-İ Kebir (30)	Bodok
Bestane (10)	Semori (40)	Bolahave (4,5)
Care Ve Magule (3)	Serdiler (7)	Çatarüstü
Çeltikçi	Serdine (16)	Dalemiş (17)
Delinişte (29)	Sotire (3)	Darmesne
Divkoyaki (18)	Tehlos	Dobeniçe (10)
Donci (6)	Verbani (4)	Doksori (3)
Duhulişte	Veştet (19)	Goro (12)
Filamboli (14)	Vodine (13)	Kalcades
Hocaoğlu (2)	Voyvoda (40)	Keraşe Ve Kanak (2)
Iskalatna	Yolane (23)	Keroşesino
Kalogolne (17)	Zarak (30)	Kirnasodades (8)
Karakokle (2)	Zecbos (9)	Kokinopilo
Kovaliç (9)	Zolandiya	Kurucaoba
Ma Asgir (4,5)	Zolani (4)	Miçonye
Makarki (36)		Miriçine
Moni Kebir (6,5)		Mozavo (31)
Narlı (25)		Ostoroçe
Orman Ahmed (5,5)		Zamyaca

The second part of the account book presents the collections and expenses of the Imperial Domains' superintendent Mesud Ağa. In addition to the revenue of 1820-1821 and 1821-1822, he received revenue on account of ("mahsuben") 1818-1819 and 1819-1820, i.e., while Ali Paşa had still been the owner of the çiftliks. The reason for the revenue collection for 1818-1819 and 1819-1820 is not stated in the book. It could be based on the claim that Ali Paşa did not pay the tithe for these years. Nevertheless, one thing is evident: Ali Paşa's dismissal did not create immediate relief for tax-paying sharecroppers. On the contrary, they became liable to retroactive tax payments, for a period during which they might have already paid

[403] BOA. KK.d 7461.

their taxes. The accounting was done both in kind and in cash. Although a limited number of items were converted into their cash equivalents, the calculations of kind and cash basis usually corresponded to different items.

Table 15. Entry of Kokinopilo Çiftlik[404]

Çiftlik-i Kokinopilo (Çiftlik of Kokinopilo)								
		1236 (1820-21)				1237 (1821-22)		
		Mahsul (revenue)	Yemeklik (food share)	fazla-i anbar (storage excess)	[total]	Mahsul (revenue)	Yemeklik (food share)	[total]
hınta (wheat)	kile	99	34	7	140	45	30	75
şair (barley)	kile	56	24		80	20	15	35
çavdar (rye)	kile	42			42	24		24
kalembek (maize)	kile	106	10		116	38		38
erzen (millet)	kile					3		3
alef (oat)	kile	48			48	21		21
hamr (grape)	okka	4187			4187	4268.5		4268.5
eşcar-i dut (mulberry tree)	guruş	390				390		

Table 15 presents the entry of the Kokinipilo çiftlik, which is a typical entry from this source. This entry is comprised of the revenue in kind and cash for Kokinopilo çiftlik during the fiscal years 1236/1820-1821 and 1237/1821-1822. It shows the total agrarian production, by adding up different categories as *mahsul* (revenue), *yemeklik* (*subaşı*'s food share) and *fazla-i anbar* (storage excess). The amount indicated as the "revenue" is accepted as the share of the peasantry. However, it is not the net amount peasants had; only the subaşı's share was extracted from it, but other dues and taxes were not. "Yemeklik", also stated as "subaşı yemekliği" and /or "subaşılık" in other entries from this account book, is the name of the subaşı's due.

[404] BOA. KK.d 7461.

Storage excess was probably the amount left in the storage from the previous year, although further information is not provided in the source. Kokinopilo produced wheat, barley, rye, maize, millet and oats, measured in kile, and grapes, measured in okka. Each crop's yield was presented according to the above-mentioned categories for two fiscal years. The entry also presents the annual cash rent collected from this çiftlik, which was 390 guruş for the mulberry trees.

4.1.1 Land and production

The çiftlik registers of the Imperial Domains that are discussed here provide some indirect information on agrarian lands. The types and amount of agrarian production on çiftlik fields are presented. In addition, since it is indicated whether a çiftlik was located on the lowland or highland, the relationship between topography and cultivation can be established. However, the size of cultivable fields is not provided. Vineyards are also referred to, but only with respect to the cash rents collected through them.

The amount of agrarian production was given in the document for each çiftlik for two consecutive fiscal years, 1820-1821 and 1821-1822. This allows making a comparison between different variables as years, type of crops and location of village (lowland or highland). There is a clear difference in the amount of revenue between two years: The revenue of 1821-1822 is usually half of the revenue of 1820-1821. The reason could be a bad harvest in the second year, or a failure of book-keeping. In any case, to avoid this fluctuation between two consecutive years, taking the average of them is a solution. Table 14 shows the estimated annual average agrarian production per çiftlik. The total wheat, maize and barley production was around 90% of total agrarian production. Half of the total production was wheat, followed by

maize (30% of total production) and barley (8.5% of total production). The rest of the production, making up only 10% of total cultivation, was composed of rye, grapes, white maize, cotton, oats, sesame, millet, lentils, flax and tobacco, respectively. The annual production of an average çiftlik was around 373 kile wheat, 232 kile maize, 64.5 kile barley, 28.7 kile rye, 15.7 kile grapes, 10.7 kile white maize, 10.4 kile cotton, 8.2 kile oats, 7.2 kile sesame, 7.2 kile millet, 1 kile lentils, 0.3 kile flax and 0.01 kile tobacco (see Table 16).

Çiftliks of the lowlands and highlands did not always concentrate on the same crops due to different environmental conditions and labour agreements[405]. Wheat, maize, barley, rye and millet were produced in both the lowlands and highlands. White maize, lentils, sesame, cotton, tobacco and flax were produced only in the lowlands (tobacco production was in an insignificant amount; only 20 okka in one çiftlik). Oats and grapes were produced only in the highlands. Sesame, cotton, tobacco and flax are labour-intensive crops that need plenty of water. The streams of the region could have met the irrigation requirements. Sesame and cotton needs dry air, whereas flax needs mild air. However, all three of these crops were cultivated in the same Tırhala çiftliks in many cases. Grape cultivation is usually better on slopes, so, it is not surprising to have it in the Tırhala highlands. Oat cultivation in the highlands is also expected, not only because oats resist harsh climate conditions, but also they are used as fodder which was necessary for animal-breeding communities of the region.

In order to highlight the differences between lowland and highland çiftliks, the annual amount of production is presented for an average lowland and highland

[405] I wish to thank Zeynep Küçükceran and Ekin Mahmuzlu for their valuable comments on the relationship between crops and the environment.

çiftlik in Table 16.[406] In general, the amount of production was significantly higher in lowland çiftliks compared to highlands. The total amount of annual crop production would be 960 kile for a lowland çiftlik, whereas it was only 396 kile for a highland çiftlik. In contrast to 504 kile of wheat produced in a lowland çiftlik per year, it was only 137.2 kile for a highland çiftlik.

Table 16. Annual Average Agrarian Production for a Çiftlik, a Lowland Çiftlik and a Highland Çiftlik[407]

	Average çiftlik		Average lowland çiftlik		Average highland çiftlik	
	kile	%	kile	%	kile	%
wheat	373	49.2	504	52.5	137.2	34.6
maize	232	30.6	321.3	33.4	70.3	17.7
barley	64.5	8.5	69	7.2	56.6	14.3
rye	28.7	3.8	16.6	1.7	50.9	12.8
grapes	15.7	2.1			44.4	11.2
white maize	10.7	1.4	16.6	1.7		
cotton	10.4	1.4	16.1	1.7		
sesame	7.2	0.9	11.2	1.2		
millet	7.9	0.9	3.6	0.4	13.7	3.5
lentils	1	0.1	1.7	0.2		
oats	8.2	1.1			23.1	5.8
tobacco	0.01	0	0.03	0.002		
flax	0.3	0	0.5	0.1		
total	760	100	960	100	396	100

A comparison of the breakdown of crops is another way of analysing lowland and highland agriculture. The amount of wheat and maize produced in the lowlands was above the average. An average çiftlik's 49.2% of total production was wheat, while it was 52.5% for a lowland çiftlik. Similarly, 30.6% of total production for an average çiftlik was maize, while it was 33.4% for a lowland çiftlik. A lowland çiftlik would produce 504 kile of wheat and 321 kile of maize, while a highland çiftlik would produce only 137 kile of wheat and 70 kile of maize annually. The low level of

[406] The total amount of production was divided separately into the number of lowland çiftliks (40 in number) and highland çiftliks (22 in number) for calculating the amount of production per çiftlik.
[407] In the document, the unit of measurement for cotton, tobacco, flax and grapes weas "okka", as it was "kile" for the rest. For the sake of comparison, okka is converted into kile in this table, with the ratio of 1 okka= 0.04 kile.

maize production in the highlands contradicts the generally accepted tendency of Mediterranean agriculture.[408] Dominance of the lowlands ends for barley cultivation. An average çiftlik would produce 8.5 kile barley annually, and a lowland çiftlik would produce even below the average (7.2 kile), while a highland çiftlik would produce 14.3 kile barley.

4.1.2 Taxation

Çiftlik registers of the Imperial Domains devotes a significant attention to taxation.[409] Sixty-two çiftliks presented in these registers paid a number of taxes, dues and fees collected by different methods. An average çiftlik would pay 42% of its wheat (156 kile), 32% of barley (20.6 kile) and 0.6% of maize (1.3 kile) to its subaşı, in addition to an unspecific amount of grains to Mesud Ağa. This average çiftlik would also pay 2,232 guruş of cash rent to its local intermediaries and Mesud Ağa (Table 17). This seemingly short estimation requires a long and detailed examination of the land regime in Thessaly çiftliks, which is presented below.

Table 17. Annual Rents in Kind and Cash per an Average Çiftlik

wheat		barley		maize		cash
kile	%	kile	%	kile	%	guruş
156	42	20.6	32	1.3	0.6	2232

4.1.2.1 Tax in kind

The basis of Thessalian çiftlik agriculture was sharecropping. Chapter 3 has discussed the terms of sharecropping between the landlord Paşa and peasants during the late 1810s, and included the rent in kind collected by the subaşı to this discussion.

[408] For instance, Tabak underlines that maize became a highland crop for the Mediterranean region by the nineteenth century. Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean*, 265.
[409] Rents in kind include only rents of *subaşı*. Mesud Ağa's annual rents could not be deduced. Rents in cash include payments done both to *subaşı* and to Mesud Ağa.

Nevertheless, the era of the Imperial Domains in the early 1820s had different terms. It was a transitory phase: right after confiscation and right before the distribution of land to new tax farmers. The land regime did not change; çiftliks, sharecroppers and the subaşıs were there. But where is the landlord?

Mesud Ağa, appointed as the superintendent of Thessaly çiftliks by the Imperial Domains, can also be considered as an absentee landlord. He was in charge of çiftliks without residing there. Local çiftlik managers collected certain rents in kind and cash on behalf of him. However, his status in rent-sharing was different from the landlords of the previous period. Ali Paşa's share from the agrarian revenue was clearly stated in each entry of çiftliks: "The Paşa would receive one-third of the revenue."[410] Such a statement did not exist in çiftlik accounts of the Imperial Domains examined here.

If the revenue calculation of the çiftliks did not refer to the rent in kind of superintendent Mesud Ağa, where one can find it? In order to answer this question, one should examine the accounting methods of this document in detail. In the document, revenue and expenditure were calculated in a couple of different and rather controversial ways. This account book had two sections: The first section had separate accounts of each çiftlik, showing the total amount of production and rents of the subaşı. The second section takes all çiftliks as a single economic unit, and shows the payments ("*medfuat*") to superintendent Mesud Ağa. They were calculated by taking 62 çiftliks as a single unit, taking their whole payments of three years. The term "payments" ("medfuat") may include both rents collected by Mesud Ağa, and some expenditure done by him on behalf of the çiftliks. Therefore, it becomes impossible to deduce the annual rent collected by Mesud Ağa.

[410] "*Mahsulatdan Paşa tarafından sülüs hisse alınır.*" BOA. D. BŞM. MHF.d. 13300.

The final calculations of the account book state that almost all the total revenue of three consecutive years was spent. The total wheat production of years 1235, 1236 and 1237 was 60,375 kile for 62 çiftliks. The total of this amount was spent in the following ways: expenditure (46,255 kile), sold (4,622 kile) and payment to Mesud Ağa (9,458 kile). In other words, the share of the peasant disappears at this end of the calculations. What happened to the peasants' share? It might have really disappeared; in other words, peasants were indebted to the landlords and lost their total agrarian production to them. Keeping these unclear accounts might also be a deliberate strategy pursued by book-keeping kocabaşıs. They might have sought to limit the control of central authorities by granting them limited knowledge. They might also have an unwritten agreement with other local actors for the expropriation of peasants' shares.

The Ottoman authorities, rightly after the confiscation of Ali Paşa's çiftliks, asked for an amelioration of the heavy tax burden on peasants (one-third of the production to Ali Paşa after paying tithe and other dues), which had caused their flight from çiftliks.[411] However, the new landholding regimes in Thessaly did not decrease the tax burden on the sharecroppers. On the contrary, it worsened.

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There was in practice another landlord of these çiftliks, someone who assumed the role of a local landlord in a prevailing regime of absentee landlordism: the subaşı. The subaşı maintained his status as a çiftlik director and continued the collection of a significant amount of rent. The subaşı's rents in kind were stated in detail in the account books of the Imperial Domains' çiftliks. These rents had the names "paraspor", "subaşılık" and "yemeklik". Ionescu also refers to these terms and

[411] "Ayniyyat Defterleri 610, s.77, 1236/1820-21" cited in Uzun, "Tepedelenli Ali Paşa ve Mal Varlığı," 1072.

explains them as the annual dues the subaşı collected from the sharecroppers of Thessaly in the 1850s.[412] His definitions were as follows: Paraspor was "the annual produce of ½ kara kile of wheat sown on the land that the subaşı chose", subaşılık was "1 kara kile of wheat from his annual share" and yemeklik was "1 or 2 kile of wheat".[413]

Table 18. Subaşı's Rents in Kind Collected from 40 Lowland and 22 Highland Tırhala Çiftliks during 1820-22

	paraspor		subaşılık		yemeklik	
	lowlands	highlands	lowlands	highlands	lowlands	highlands
Means of payment (crop)	wheat	Not collected	wheat	wheat	wheat barley	wheat barley maize
Degree of application	Almost all çiftliks paid in 1820-21 Almost half of the çiftliks paid in 1821-22	Not collected	All çiftliks paid in 1820-21. Almost half of the çiftliks paid in 1821-22	Two-third of çiftliks paid.	Almost all çiftliks paid in 1820-21 Almost half of the çiftliks paid 1821-22	Almost all çiftliks paid
Amount of annual payment (% of total production)	4%	0%	22%	25%	8%	10%

Chapter 3 has shown that the degree of the subaşı's expropriation was different in each çiftlik during the late 1810s. The account books of the Imperial Domains examined in this chapter provide further details about the conditions in the early 1820s. Table 18 shows the collections of the subaşı from Tırhala çiftliks during 1820-1822.[414] The subaşı's share was 34% of the annual production in lowland çiftliks and 32% of the annual production in highland çiftliks. This was almost

[412] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 347.
[413] Cited in Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 347.
[414] BOA. KK.d. 7461.

similar to the subaşı's share during the Ali Paşa period of the late 1810s, which was 31% of total production. Since the number of households is not stated in the source, it is not possible to make a comparison with Ionescu's above-mentioned figures.

There are certain differences on the application of dues depending on the year and the location of the village. Another difference was between lowland and highland villages. The subaşı's rents for 1820-1821 were considerably higher than the rents of 1821-1822. In 1820-1821, 38 of 40 lowland çiftliks paid these dues. In the following year, however, seven of them did not pay any of these dues, eight of them did not pay subaşılık and yemeklik, seven of them did not pay paraspor and one çiftlik did not pay subaşılık. The reason was probably the lower production in the second year. In the highlands, there was not a major difference between the two years. Yet, there were other significant differences about them.

Paraspor was collected only from the wheat revenue of lowland çiftliks. Almost all lowland çiftliks paid paraspor in 1820-1821, but only half of them did in 1821-1822. On average, lowland çiftliks paid 4% of their wheat revenue as paraspor. It was not collected from highland çiftliks at all. Subaşılık was another fee collected only from wheat. All lowland çiftliks paid subaşılık in 1820-1821, but half of them did not in 1821-22. On average, lowland çiftliks paid 22% of their annual wheat revenue as subaşılık. Two-thirds of highland çiftliks paid subaşılık during both years, equivalent to 25% of their annual revenue. Yemeklik was collected from wheat and barley in lowland çiftliks. Barley was probably collected for feeding the animals of the subaşı. Almost all lowland çiftliks paid it in 1820-1821, but half of them declined in 1821-1822. On average, lowland çiftliks paid 8% of their annual wheat and barley revenue as yemeklik. As a major difference, yemeklik was collected from not only

wheat and barley, but also from maize in highland çiftliks. Almost all highland çiftliks paid yemeklik in both years, with an annual amount of 10% of their revenue.

4.1.2.2 Tax in cash

Tax in cash was calculated in two separate sections in this account book. In the first section, they were calculated per çiftlik. They were probably collections of local managers as subaşı and kocabaşı. In the second section of the book, cash rents collected by the superintendent Mesud Ağa were listed.

The annual average total cash rent paid per çiftlik is estimated as 2,232 guruş. Local managers collected around 16% of it (361 guruş per çiftlik), whereas Mesud Ağa collected 84% of the cash revenue (1,871 guruş per çiftlik). Since the number of households is not provided in the source, payment per household cannot be calculated.

Cash rents collected by local managers were from land cultivation, agrarian products and services, house and shop rents, and rent for animal grazing lands. The cash rents were presented in the document separately for each çiftlik, calculated for two consecutive years of 1820-1821 and 1821-1822. Similar to the method applied for rents in kind, the average of two years is taken here in order to have a better result. Yet, data of lowland and highland çiftliks are presented separately in order to be able to discuss their differences. The annual average cash rent paid per lowland çiftlik was 910 guruş (total cash rent paid by 40 lowland çiftliks was 36,237 guruş). Annual average cash rent paid per highland çiftlik was 406 guruş (total cash rent paid by 22 highland çiftliks was 9,131 guruş). Around half of the cash rents were fees related to land cultivation. This is the reason why cash revenue of the lowlands was

twice that of the highlands, because the lowlands had larger areas that could yield higher fees from the land in total. (Table 19)

Table 19. Annual Average Cash Rents per Çiftlik, Paid to Subaşı and Kocabaşı

	land cultivation		products and services		houses and shops		animal grazing		total	
	guruş	%	guruş	%	guruş	%	guruş	%	guruş	%
lowland	441.2	48.5	167.4	18.4	156.2	17.2	145.6	16	910.3	100
highland	229.7	56.5	104.9	25.8	52.6	13.0	19.1	4.7	406.4	100

Following are the sources of cash revenues:

Land cultivation: included *icar-ı bağ* (vineyard rent), *resm-i bağ* (vineyard tax), *maktu bağ* (cash rent for vineyard), *reaya bağları* (peasants' vineyards), *resm-i bağçe* (garden tax), *icar-i bağçe* (garden rent), *maktu penbe* (cash rent for cotton [field]), *resm-i penbe koza* (cotton tax), *icar-i bostan* (orchard rent) and *resm-i bostan* (orchard tax).

Agrarian products and services: included *eşcar-i dut* (mulberry trees), *resm-i mandıra* (dairy tax), *icar-i asyab* (mill rent), *baha-i kuzu* (sheep due). Mulberry trees were the most important one among them. The revenue source was simply referred to as "*eşcar-ı dut*", meaning mulberry trees Hence, çiftlik tenants were paying rents to their landlords for their mulberry trees. The rent was fixed for all çiftliks: 4 guruş per tree. A lowland çiftlik growing mulberry had around 300 trees, and a highland çiftlik had 600 trees. (This was probably because land in the lowlands was allocated more to animal grazing and cultivation instead of trees). A dairy, *mandıra*, was probably a facility çiftlik tenants established and paid a fixed rent to the landowner – 10 guruş per each dairy. There were 40 dairies in the lowlands, and 15 in the highlands. (Account books did not include dairy products as a source of revenue. Thus, either the production was for çiftlik consumption, or the revenue from selling dairy

products belonged to the tenants). Sheep due, baha-i kuzu was another fixed rent, of 5 guruş per each sheep (The interesting point is this was levied upon only 46 sheep of lowlands. It is impossible to assume that there were only 46 sheep in the lowlands, and none in the highlands, because sheep-rearing was a main characteristic of this region. Possibly, this was not the total number of sheep, but the number of sheep exceeding the permitted number, which was a practice codified later in the Bylaw of Tırhala.)[415]

Mill rent, icar-i asyab, was collected in three çiftliks, all in the lowlands, Voyvoda, Semori and Vodine, and was not a fixed rent. Voyvoda, one of the most important çiftliks throughout the century, collected 500 guruş in 1820-1821 and 1,150 guruş in 1821-1822. In Semori, it was 800 guruş per each year. In Vodine, it was collected only once and was 180 guruş.

Rents from houses and shops: They constituted nearly 15% of the cash revenue. House rent was not fixed; itvaried between 15-25 guruş per house. House rent was not collected from all houses; some çiftliks did not collect any house rent at all, others collected only from a few houses. This may reveal the distinction between permanent and temporary settlers of çiftliks. Related research shows that permanent settlers, namely, sharecroppers, usually did not pay house rents, whereas temporary ones, who were mostly transhumant Vlachs, usually did. Thus, one may assume that these rents were probably collected from temporary tenants. Shop rent was usually specified as "grocery shop" (*bakkal*) and collected mostly in the lowlands. The existence of a grocery shop may be an indicator of the economic differences in the lowlands and the highlands; the former had higher cash revenue, thus the people were able to consume goods in grocery shops.

[415] I wish to thank Alp Yücel Kaya for this explanation.

Animal grazing: included *resm-i yaylak* (summer pasture tax), *resm-i kışlak* (winter pasture tax), *resm-i çayır* (meadow tax) and *maktu çayır* (cash rent for meadow) (see Table 20). The economic geography of Tırhala is also characterised by animal grazing. Transhumant Vlachs of northwest Thessaly migrated to Tırhala lowlands (and to the plains of Thessaly) during winter. They resided in the çiftliks usually between late September and May.[416] A comparison of the lowland and highland çiftliks' revenue from animal grazing confirms this fact: Lowland çiftliks had a considerable amount of cash tax from winter pastures and meadows, when compared to the highlands (14 of 40 lowland çiftliks were collecting rents from land allocated to animal grazing, compared to only 3 çiftliks in the highlands). In terms of the summer pasture tax, the highlands were surpassing the lowlands. This is due to the fact that pasturing in summer was a need only in the highlands. The reason behind renting pastures during summer might be questioned,because normally Vlachs return to their home villages during summer where they were rent-free. However, the excessive number of sheep in some Vlach villages forced these people to rent summer pastures in other areas.[417]

Table 20. Rents from Animal-Grazing Lands (Guruş)

	Summer pasture tax	Winter pasture tax	Meadow tax	Fixed rent for meadow	Total rents from animal-grazing land
lowlands 1820-21	390	1,630	1,526	2,419	5,965
lowlands 1821-22	40	1,750	3,892		5,682
highlands 1820-21	700	20			720
highlands 1821-22	100	20			120

[416] Wace and Thompson, *The nomads of the Balkans*, 48.
[417] Wace and Thompson, 176.

Contrary to its significance in the regional economy, rents collected in each çiftlik for animal grazing, which were stated in the first part of the account book, constituted only 16% of lowland cash income, and around 4% of that of the highlands. Moreover, the registers of only 14 çiftliks included this rent. One possible explanation might be that Vlachs were not making the payment in cash, but by their labour in return for the land they rented. During this season, they might be contributing to the agrarian activities of the çiftliks. However, there is another and more relevant explanation for this: the revenue of some other çiftliks were not enlisted in the first part of the account book. As explained previously, this account book has a second part, enlisting the cash revenue of superintendent Mesud Ağa. Part of the rent from animal-grazing land was listed in this section.

Mesud Ağa collected a considerable amount of cash revenue from Tırhala çiftliks entrusted to him. The amount was 126,224 guruş, 132,031 guruş, 89,919 guruş, respectively for the years 1235, 1236 and 1237 (Table 21).

Table 21. Cash Rents of Çiftliks' Superintendent Mesud Ağa (Guruş)

		1235	1236	1237
Collections by kocabaşı and kahya[418]	guruş	96,122	19,500	27,000
	%	76.2	14.8	30
Winter pasture rent	guruş	29,821	62,800	50,800
	%	23.6	47.6	56.5
Marketplace tax	guruş	281	281	
	%	0.2	0.2	
rent from immovable properties	guruş		1,948	3,817
	%		1.5	4.2
revenue from sold products	guruş		44,751	4,752
	%		33.9	5.3
subaşı food	guruş		2,750	2,600
	%			2.9
dairy tax and sheep due	guruş			950
	%			1,1
total	guruş	126224	132030	89,919
	%	100	100	100

[418] The content of which was not specified. In some items, the note was "*kalabtiya(?) mukataası ve mülhakatından olan gül ve boyresu(?) hasılatından*", whose meaning is unknown.

The sources of his cash revenue were as follows: tax collected on behalf of him by the kocabaşı and kahya (content of which was not specified), winter pasture rent (*kışlaklar*), marketplace tax from Baklalı *çiftlik* (*Baklalı çiftliği pazarı*), rent from immovable properties (*han, menzil,dükkan kirası*), revenue from sold products (*füruht eylediği zahair*), *subaşı* food (*yemeklik*), dairy tax and sheep due (*resm-i mandıra ve baha-i kuzu*). Mesud Ağa's revenue from the winter pastures of 12 çiftliks' tax was more than 10 times higher than the total winter pasture revenue of other 14 çiftliks counted in the previous section.

Kocabaşı, kahya and sekban are titles that require further inquiry. Throughout the account book, only one kocabaşı was mentioned: Atnaş, the kocabaşı of Zarak çiftlik. His responsibility, though, exceeds Zarak çiftlik: He was the one keeping this account book, translating the book from Greek into Turkish (with the help of Kosti, the book-keeper of Ali Paşa). Furthermore, he was a tax collector: He was responsible for collecting tax from 16 different çiftliks and delivering it to Mesud Ağa. The kahya was a tax collector, usually collecting cash taxes and delivering it to the superintendent. A certain kahya, referred to as non-Muslim Toto, was the predecessor of Kocabaşı Atnaş. Therefore, the kahya and kocabaşı were probably undertaking the same duty in different times. Sekban was another worker in the çiftliks, yet, the details were not mentioned. Both the kahya and sekban received payments in kind under the name of "yemeklik" (The amount of yemeklik that the kahya and sekban received: 309 kile of wheat, 488 kile of barley and 150 kile of maize in the year 1235. 417 kile of wheat, 230 kile of barley and 899 kile of maize in the year 1236. 156 kile of wheat, 300 kile of barley and 1,812 kile of maize in the year 1237). Each sekban also received 30 guruş per monthly salary, but the total

number of sekbans was not indicated. The salary of the kahya, if any, was not indicated.

4.2 Çiftlik sales of the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun)

The Imperial Domains started to "sell" its çiftliks in Thessaly with the method of tax farming in 1823. Ionescu notes that, in the mid-nineteenth century, the Imperial Domains had 721 çiftliks, which were sold to the entrepreneurs by tax farming.[419] The institutional basis of this process dated back to the late eighteenth century, which was when the Imperial Mint converted many çiftliks and timars into mukataas in order to lease them out.[420]

4.2.1 Çiftlik sales in the 1820s: The case of Cesim Ali Efendi and Zekeriya Bey

A case study on eastern Thessaly çiftliks will explain the dynamics of the Imperial Domains' çiftlik sales in the 1820s. A certificate (*ilmühaber*) and the account book annexed to it, located in the *Cevdet Saray* classification of the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, is the source of this case study (see Appendix B, Figure B14 for a sample page).[421] The certificate was granted to the new tax farmers of eastern Thessaly and shows the details of the contract. The account book was prepared by one of the new tax farmers, and confirmed by the treasury of the Imperial Domains on October 4, 1825 (20 Safer 1241).

The çiftliks were farmed out by the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun), and other sources confirm that this was among the property confiscated from

[419] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 343.
[420] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 343.
[421] BOA. C. SM. 27/1368.

Tepedelenli Ali Paşa.[422] After the confiscation, Imperial Domains entrusted these çiftliks to superintendents Ali Raif Bey and Mustafa Şakir Bey, respectively, for the fiscal years of 1238/1822-1823 and 1239/1823-1824. In the following fiscal year of 1824-1825, the çiftliks were tax-farmed to three people. At least 55 çiftliks were leased out in this auction. Twenty-seven çiftliks in Yenişehr-i Fener (in the kol of Mecdan, Metranka and Cemaş) were farmed out to Cesim Ali Efendi. Thirteen çiftliks in Alasonya were farmed out to Zekeriya Bey. Thirteen çiftliks in Çatalca were farmed out to Hasan Ağa, the son of Cesim Ali Efendi. Domnik and Bardacık çiftliks, whose number was not indicated, became joint tax farms of Cesim Ali Efendi and Zekeriya Bey.

Zekeriya Bey, with the title of "*Hassa silahşörü*", was also the tax farmer of other revenue sources of Thessaly, including the tithe of Yenişehr-i Fener[423] and silk market taxes (*mizan-ı harir rüsumu*) of Ergalaşti, Golos, Yenice and Alasonya.[424] Cesam Ali Efendi, with no known title, was also the holder of other tax farms.[425]

The çiftliks also had an institutional connection to the Evkaf-ı Hümayun (Imperial Pious Foundations). The certificate refers to a cash payment of 30,750 guruş to "Medine evkafı". The transfer of revenue to the Hicaz region from tax farms was usually conducted under the framework of Evkaf-ı Hümayun.[426] Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 3 of this study, most of Alasonya and Tırhala had been Evkaf-ı Hümayun properties during the late eighteenth century. This document does not explicitly put the degree of vakıf control on these çiftliks, but it is evident that the

[422] BOA. MAD.d. 9767 is a confiscation record for Ali Paşa's property, which repeats some content of BOA. C. SM. 27/1368. Further explanation is provided below during the explanation of Alasonya çiftliks.
[423] BOA. C. ML. 152/6440; BOA. C. ML. 670. 27495.
[424] BOA. C. ML. 714/29184.
[425] BOA. C. SM. 99/4981.
[426] This practice was officially conducted by "*Haremeyn mukataacılığı*", a sub-division of the "*Haremeyn Evkaf Nezareti*" established in the 16th century. Güler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Haremeyn Vakıfları,* 14, 206, 218.

institutional connection of Imperial vakıfs to Thessaly çiftliks was never totally abandoned.

This source depicts the portrait of a very important period of land redistribution in Thessaly: It was the period of the first tax farmers after Ali Paşa. Certain continuities are observed with the previous regimes: 1. Absentee landlordism prevailed in the çiftlik possession. Dating back to the malikanecis as Esma Sultan, or even before (vakıfs of Valide Sultans), absentee landlords controlled Thessaly çiftliks. This legacy was interrupted with the local elite Ali Paşa. Nevertheless, it was reinstalled with the Imperial Domains' control following the confiscation of his possessions. The Imperial Domains appointed his superintendents as çiftlik landlords, who were usually members of high-ranking imperial bureaucracy. The first tax farmers continued this rule. 2. The institutional connection with imperial foundations continued. As in the late eighteenth century, tax farmers of the mid-1820s paid certain dues to the Imperial Foundations. 3. The subaşı was still present in the çiftliks, and collected the fee of "yemeklik". 4. Sharecroppers still did not possess the seeds, but loaned them from the landlord. In addition to these continuities, there was a major change: The vast area (five kazas in eastern Thessaly) that had been previously entrusted to a single superintendent, was not leased out to a single tax farmer. Rather, each kaza was auctioned separately. The transition from single superintendent to a group of tax farmers may have had various fiscal and political reasons. It could either be the choice of the Imperial Domains and other political authorities in order to eliminate the risk of a single powerful entrepreneur, or they could simply not find an individual entrepreneur demanding the tax farm of the whole region.

4.2.1.1 Agrarian revenue of çiftliks owned by Cesim Ali Efendi and Zekeriya Bey

The account book of the Imperial Domains' (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) çiftliks owned by Cesim Ali Efendi and Zekeriya Bey takes kaza as the unit of analysis. Aggregate data was provided for a number of çiftliks in each kaza. Çiftlik-based revenue calculation did not take place. The names of the çiftliks or the number of their households were not mentioned. Agrarian production and taxation were not at the centre of the calculations. The focus was on the crops to be delivered to the new tax farmer.

The reason that the new tax farmers prepared an account book with this structure is their desire to know exactly what they would receive in terms of çiftlik revenue. The new tax farmer would be entitled to have i) grain in stocks, ii) liabilities of the peasants, iii) cash revenue. Hence, the book keeps an account of these three items in the following way:

i) grain in stocks: In order to calculate the stocks, it presents the amount of grain remaining from two former superintendents ("revenue of 1822-24" in the table). This amount is the total stock amount from 1823 and production in 1824. Then it presents the expenditure of this period ("expenditure of 1822-24" in the following tables). By expenditure, this means the outputs from the grain.These outputs were superintendents'sales from çiftlik grains ("*mir-i mumaileyhin füruht eylediği*"), and expenditures of superintendents ("*masarifatı*") on behalf of the çiftlik.

Expenditure included several items: A considerable amount, reaching around 20% of the revenue, was superintendents' sales from çiftlik grains ("*mir-i mumaileyhin füruht eylediği*"). Another one was payment for provisioning the armies in İzdin and Yenişehr-i Fener. These payments were sent to the *nüzul emini* of the respective army. Finally, there was the payment in kind called "yemeklik" to çiftlik managers as kethüda and subaşı. Payment of "yemeklik" had continued since Ali

Paşa's period. The personal expenses of the superintendent was another item in this category, but there are no details provided.

After listing the revenue and expenditure, the expenditures is subtracted from the revenue. The result was the amount held by the new tax farmer ("amount transferred to tax farmer of 1824-25" in the following tables).

ii) liabilities of the peasants: This was the debt in kind to be paid by the peasants to the landlords. From at least the period of Ali Paşa, the sharecroppers of Thessaly çiftliks borrowed seeds from the landlord, due to be paid after the harvest. The transfer of çiftliks was done after the peasants received this debt, but before they paid it back. Hence, the record of their liabilities is kept in order to collect it on the due date. It was recorded as a part of the possession of the new tax farmer ("peasants' liabilities transferred to 1824-25" in the following tables).

The total of the grain in stocks and liabilities of the peasants made the revenues in kind the new tax farmer was entitled to have ("total revenue in kind of the new tax farmer" in the following tables).

iii) cash revenue: Similar to the revenue in kind, cash revenue was calculated after the subtraction of superintendents' expenditure from the cash amount held during their period.

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This account book did not concentrate on annual agricultural production; rather, the data focused on agricultural revenue transferred from superintendent to tax farmer. Hence, it presents the total of the warehouse amount from the year 1822-1823 and annual production of year 1823-1824. Still, this total amount might provide a possibility of comparison among the crops. Wheat was the only crop produced in all of the five districts and was also the most important one in terms of the amount of

production. Yenişehr-i Fener, with its large plain, was the champion of wheat production in eastern Thessaly. Wheat was followed by barley, produced in all districts except Badracık. Rye was produced in three districts: Yenişehr-i Fener, Alasonya and Domnik. Sesame and millet were produced in Alasonya and also in smaller amounts in Domnik and Yenişehr-i Fener. Rice was produced only in Çatalca and Badracık, and the latter held a less considerable amount. White maize was produced only in Çatalca, and cotton was only in Yenişehr-i Fener.

Another way of looking at this data is to take the average amount of crop per çiftlik. [427] The revenue of 1822-1824 (warehouse amount of 1822-1823+production of 1823-1824) for an average çiftlik would be 129.3 kile wheat (28.4% of total production), 45.2 kile barley (9.9%), 23.1 kile kalembek maize (5.1%), 31.5 kile rye (6.9%), 10.9 kile millet (2.4%), 0.5 kile cotton (0.1%), 5.7 kile white maize (21.3%), 22 kile rice (4.8%) and 187.5 kile maize (41.1%).

Revenue in kind and cash subject to the transfer of the tax-farm are explained in detail below for each district:

Yenişehr-i Fener: 27 çiftliks in "*sol kol*" of Yenişehr-i Fener had been entrusted to Ali Raif Bey in 1822-1823 and to Mustafa Şakir Bey in 1823-1824. The revenue of these two years was 4,235 kile wheat, 1,348.5 kile barley, 5,654.5 kile maize, 1,224.5 kile kalembek maize, 141.5 kile rye, 23 kile sesame and millet and 29 kile cotton. Part of the agrarian production during their periods was sold (1,243 kile) and spent (5,621.5 kile).

After subtracting this expenditure from the revenue, the stock transferred to the new tax farmer, Cesim Ali Efendi, was 179.5 kile wheat, 116.5 kile barley, 4,720 kile maize, 1,224.5 kile kalembek maize and 141.5 kile rye. In addition, peasants'

[427] Çiftliks of Yenişehr-i Fener, Alasonya and Çatalca, 53 in total, are included in this calculation. Domnik and Badracık çiftliks are excluded because their number is unknown.

liabilities ("çiftlikat reayaları zimmetleri") were also transferred as an asset to the new tax farmer, which was 32,611 kile wheat, 3,439.5 kile barley, 11,707.5 kile maize, 789 kile kalembek maize and 106 kile sesame and millet. The total possessions of the new tax farmer of 1824-1825 was the total stock and liabilities: 32,790.5 kile wheat, 3,556 kile barley, 16,428.5 kile maize, 2,013.5 kile kalembek maize and141.5 kile rye.

Table 22. Yenişehr-i Fener, Revenue in Kind and Cash, Transferred from Previous Landlords to the New One in 1824-25 (Kile and Guruş)[428]

	wheat	barley	rye	millet	maize	Kalem bek maize	cotton	white maize	rice
revenue of 1822-24	4,235	1,348.5	141.5	23	5,655	1,225	29	n/a	n/a
expenditure of 1822-24	4,056	1,232	0	23	834	0	29		
Amount transferred to tax farmer of 1824-25	179.5	116.5	141.5	0	4,720	1,225	0		
Peasants' liabilities transferred to 1824-25	32,611	3,439.5	0	0	11,708	789	0		
total revenues in kind of the new tax farmer	32,791	3,556	141.5	0	16,428	2,014	0		
Cash revenues of the new tax farmer				- 9,143 guruş					

Table 22 shows that the cash income of superintendents was from 2,460 guruş from selling grains ("*zahair bahası*") and 21,654 *guruş* from renting out land ("*icarat*"). The expenditure of the previous period was 6,207 guruş for the çiftlik and 27,050 guruş for personal expenses of the previous çiftlik-owner. The new çiftlik-owner, Cesim Ali Efendi, received nothing but 9,143 guruş of claims ("matlubat") because the expenditure of the previous period was more than the income.

Alasonya: 13 çiftliks in Alasonya had been entrusted to Ali Raif Bey in 1822-1823 and to Mustafa Şakir Bey in 1823-1824. Another account book presents further

[428] BOA. C. SM. 27/1368. In the document, the unit of measurement for cotton was "*okka*", as it was "*kile*" for the rest. For the sake of comparison, *okka* is converted into *kile* in this table, with the ratio of 1 *okka*= 0.04 *kile*.

data on these çiftliks in Alasonya.[429] This book confirms that Alasonya çiftliks were entrusted to Mustafa Şakir Bey in 1239, who was the successor of Ali Raif Bey. Further, it provides the names of these 13 çiftliks, which were the ones confiscated from Tepedelenli Ali Paşa and his entourage. Another account book, examined in section 3.2.1 of this study, had provided the details of these çiftliks.[430]

Part of the agrarian production during their periods was sold (3,458 kile) and spent (4,374.5 kile). The types of expenditure in Alasonya reveal different relationships compared to Yenişehr-i Fener çiftliks: 2,925.5 kile of grains was loaned to peasants for seeds.[431] A total of 622 kile was food payment to çiftlik managers.[432] A total of 830 kile (10% of revenue) was delivered for provisioning the army in İzdin.[433]

After subtracting this expenditure from the revenue, the stock transferred to the new tax farmer, Zekeriya Bey, was only 200 kile of maize. In addition, peasants' liabilities ("çiftlikat reayaları zimmetleri") were also transferred as an asset to the new tax farmer, which was 850 kile wheat, 203.5 kile barley, 522.5 kile maize, 78.5 kile rye. The total possessions of the new tax farmer of 1824-1825 was the total stock and liabilities: 1,361 kile wheat, 503.5 kile barley, 1,424 kile maize, 929.5 kile rye and 192 kile millet.

The accounts included income and expenditure in cash. The cash income was from 13,439 guruş from selling grains ("zahair bahası") and 30,812 guruş from rental and other sources. The expenditure of the previous period was 25,434 guruş for the çiftlik and 13,717 guruş for personal expenses of the previous çiftlik-owner. The cash amount left to Zekeriya Bey was 5,104 guruş (Table 23).

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[429] BOA. MAD.d 9767.
[430] BOA. D. BŞM. MHF.d. 13300.
[431] "*Vakt-i harmanda ahz olunmak üzere çiftlikat reayalarına ber vech-i fazla verdiği*"
[432] "*Çiftlikat-i mezkure alaka kethüdalarına verilen yemeklik masarifatı*"
[433] "*İzdin ordusu nüzul emini Mustafa Bey makbuzatı*"

Table 23. Alasonya, Revenue in Kind and Cash, Transferred from Previous Landlords to the New One in 1824-25 (Kile and Guruş)[434]

	wheat	barley	rye	millet	maize	Kalem bek maize	cotton	white maize	rice
revenue of 1822-24	1,153	506	1,527	556	4,294	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
expenditure of 1822-24	1,153	506	1,527	556	4,094				
Amount transferred to tax farmer of 1824-25	0	0	0	0	200				
Peasants' liabilities transferred to 1824-25	850	203.5	78.5	0	522.5				
Total revenues in kind of the new tax-farmer	1,361	503.5	929.5	192	1,424				
Cash revenues of the new tax-farmer				5,104 guruş					

Çatalca: 13 çiftliks in Çatalca had been entrusted to Ali Raif Bey in 1822-1823 and to Mustafa Şakir Bey in 1823-1824. Part of the agrarian production during their periods was sold (425 kile) and spent (1,365.5 kile). Expenditure was the subaşı's share of 574.5 kile and 791.5 kile loaned to peasants for seeds. Unlike Yenişehr-i Fener or Alasonya, Çatalca was a region with a subaşı. As previously discussed, the subaşı was a credit-provider and a main reason behind the peasant indebtedness.[435]

After subtracting this expenditure from the revenue, the stock transferred to the new tax farmer, Zekeriya Bey, was 695 kile wheat, 321.5 kile barley, 304.5 kile white maize and 363.5 kile rice. In addition, peasants' liabilities ("çiftlikat reayaları zimmetleri") were also transferred as an asset to the new tax-farmer, which was 571 kile wheat and 220 kile barley. The total possessions of the new tax farmer of 1824-1825 was the total of stock and liabilities: 1,266 kile wheat, 541.5 kile barley, 304.5 kile white maize and 363.5 kile rice. The cash amount transferred through Çatalca

[434] BOA. C. SM. 27/1368. In the document, the unit of measurement for cotton was "*okka*", as it was "*kile*" for the rest. For the sake of comparison, *okka* is converted into *kile* in this table, with the ratio of 1 *okka*= 0.04 *kile.*

[435] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 340.

çiftliks to Hasan Ağa was 5,197.5 guruş (3,497.5 guruş from Ali Raif Bey's period and 1,700 guruş from selling grains during Şakir Bey's period) (Table 24).

Table 24. Çatalca, Revenue in Kind and Cash, Transferred from Previous Landlords to the New One in 1824-25 (Kile and Guruş) [436]

	wheat	barley	rye	millet	maize	Kalem bek maize	cotton	white maize	rice
revenue of 1822-24	1,464	541.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	305	1,165
expenditure of 1822-24	769.5	220						0	801
Amount transferred to tax farmer of 1824-25	695	321.5						305	363.5
Peasants' liabilities transferred to 1824-25	571	220						0	0
total revenue in kind of the new tax farmer	1,266	541.5						305	363.5
Cash revenue of the new tax farmer				5,197.5 guruş					

Domnik: The Domnik çiftliks, whose number was not indicated, had been entrusted to Ali Raif Bey in 1822-1823 and to Mustafa Şakir Bey in 1823-1824. All of the previous revenue had already been spent when the new landholders received the çiftliks. The expenditure had been done in the following ways: 1,340 kile of grains was kept in other towns for security concerns.[437] A total of 408 kile of grains (20% of revenue) was sent for provisioning of the army in Yenişehr-i Fener.[438] A total of 91.5 kile was spent for transfer costs.[439] 159 kile was kocabaşı's due from seed.[440] What was left in Domnik çiftliks was only the peasants' liability of 813 kile of grains: 444 kile wheat, 146 kile barley, 24.5 kile maize and 198.5 kile rye. Similar to the agrarian

[436] BOA. C. SM. 27/1368. In the document, the unit of measurement for cotton was "*okka*", as it was "*kile*" for the rest. For the sake of comparison, *okka* is converted into *kile* in this table, with the ratio of 1 *okka*= 0.04 *kile*.
[437] "*Eşkıya havfından Yenişehr-i Fener ve alasonya anbarlarına nakl etdirdiği*"
[438] "*Yenişehr-i Fener nüzul emini süleyman ağanın makbuzu"*
[439] "*zahair nakli için sarf olunan*"
[440] "*Baki-i mezbur Domnik kocabaşlarının tohumatdan zimmeti*"

revenue, the cash revenue of Domnik çiftliks during 1822-1824 (12,025.5 guruş) was totally consumed before the new tax farmers received it (Table 25).

Table 25. Domnik, Revenue in Kind and Cash, Transferred from Previous Landlords to the New One in 1824-25 (Kile and Guruş)[441]

	wheat	barley	rye	millet	maize	Kalem bek maize	cotton	white maize	rice
Revenue of 1822-24	514	301	185	54	944.5				
Expenditure of 1822-24	514	301	185	54	944.5				
Peasants' liabilities transferred to 1824-25	444	146	198.5	0	24.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Amount transferred to tax farmer of 1824-25	0	0	0	0	0				
total revenue in kind of the new tax farmer	444	146	198.5	0	24.5				
Cash revenue of the new tax farmer				0 guruş					

Badracık: Badracık çiftliks, whose number was not indicated, had been entrusted to Ali Raif Bey in 1822-1823 and to Mustafa Şakir Bey in 1823-1824. All of the previous revenue had already been spent when the new landholders received the çiftliks. The expenditure had been done in the following ways: 354 kile maize and 92 kile rice was sold, 40 kile wheat and 249 kile maize was given to peasants and the subaşı upon custom as "yemeklik", and the rest was loaned to the peasants. What was left in Badracık çiftliks was only the peasants' liability of 254 kile wheat and 330 kile of maize. The cash revenue transferred to the new landlord with Badracık çiftliks was a due of 277 guruş, because the expenditure of the previous period was higher than the income (Table 26).

[441] BOA. C. SM. 27/1368. In the document, the unit of measurement for cotton was "*okka*", as it was "*kile*" for the rest. For the sake of comparison, *okka* is converted into *kile* in this table, with the ratio of 1 *okka*= 0.04 *kile*.

Table 26. Badracık, Revenue in Kind and Cash, Transferred from Previous Landlords to the New One in 1824-25 (Kile and Guruş)[442]

	wheat	barley	rye	millet	maize	Kalem bek maize	cotton	white maize	rice
revenue of 1822-24	192	821	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	92
expenditure of 1822-24	192	821							92
Amount transferred to tax farmer of 1824-25	0	0							0
Peasants' liabilities transferred to 1824-25	254	330							0
total revenue in kind of the new tax farmer	254	330							0
Cash revenues of the new tax farmer				- 277 guruş					

4.2.2 Çiftlik sales in the 1830s: revival of absenteeism

The Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) continued to lease out Thessaly çiftliks during the 1830s. However, there was a major change compared to the tax farms of the mid-1820s: the revival of absenteeism. Two different tax farming contracts, one from 1832-1833 and another from 1839 clearly show the rise of absenteeism with respect to the title of the landlords and to the area under their control. Higher notables controlled larger leases as çiftlik-holders by the 1830s. In 1832, Mustafa Nuri Paşa, the mutasarrıf of Tırhala leased out several çiftliks of Thessaly. In 1839, a number of higher notables including dynastic family members acquired the tax farms.

4.2.2.1 Mustafa Nuri Paşa's contract

An account book from the *Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Kalemi* classification of the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives shows the details of the tax farming contract done with Mustafa Nuri Paşa, the mutasarrıf of Tırhala (see Appendix B, Figure B15 for a

[442] BOA. C. SM. 27/1368. In the document, the unit of measurement for cotton was "*okka*", as it was "*kile*" for the rest. For the sake of comparison, *okka* is converted into *kile* in this table, with the ratio of 1 *okka*= 0.04 *kile*.

sample page).[443] *Bab-ı Defteri* served as the main financial office (defterdarlık), and *Başmuhasebe Kalemi* (chief accounting office) was its most important body, which registered all of the revenue and expenses of the empire.[444] The book was written in Siyakat script and had nine pages. It presents 22 tax-farm contracts held in Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia and Anatolia with 7 tax farmers for the year 1833. Thirteen contracts were for Thessaly (Alasonya, Badracık, Çatalca, Domnik, Yenişehr-i Fener, Tırhala, Ermiye, Velestin and Katrin); 5 contracts were for Macedonia (Selanik, Drama, Gümülcine, Yenice-i Karasu and Karaferye), 3 contracts were for Epirus (Yanya, Mekşe and Ergiri Kasrı) and one for Anatolia (Edremid). The unit of analysis was the contract. The name of the district and name of the tax farmer were always specified, but the name and number of the çiftliks (if any) were not always specified. These contracts present only the aggregate fiscal data on tax-farm contracts: annual payment done for the tax-farm (*bedel-i iltizam*), dues and amounts of instalments, name of the creditor (*sarraf*), interest (*faiz*) of Emlâk-ı Hümayun, fees (*ocaklık, kalemiye, mübaşiriye, varaka, muhasebe, berat, temessük*) and çiftlik rents. Unfortunately, the document does not give further explanation on the critical terms as "*faiz-i Emlâk-ı hümayun*" (interest of the Imperial Domains) and "*icar-ı çiftlik*" (çiftlik rent).

In 1833, mutasarrıf Mustafa Nuri Paşa, as a single individual and as the highest local governor, received a considerable number of tax farms of Thessaly. His tax-farm included not only çiftliks, but also "has" lands (imperial domains) and

[443] BOA. D. BŞM.d 9991. I am deeply grateful to Elias Kolovos for teaching me how to read Siyakat script by tutoring on this document. Antonis Hadjikyriacou and Christos Kyriakopoulos also contributed to these tutorials.
[444] *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi*, 141, 146.

customs (gümrük) as well.[445] All of the contracts were financed by sarraf Batarin. Table 27 shows the tax-farm contracts of Mustafa Nuri Paşa:

Table 27. Tax-farm Contracts of Mustafa Nuri Paşa

name of the contract	tax-farm cost (bedel-i iltizam)	interest of (faiz-i) Imperial Domains	fees and dues	çiftlik rents (icarat-i çiftlikat)	sarraf
	guruş	guruş	guruş	guruş	
Yenişehr-i Fener Imperial Domains çiftliks	317,500	31,750		1,800	Batarin
Yenişehr-i Fener Imperial Domains çiftliks	187,500	187,000		500	Batarin
Yenişehr-i Fener çiftliks	10,000				Batarin
Alasonya çiftliks: Kokinopilo, Kurucaoba	30,000	29,380		620	Batarin
Domnik has	5,000	1,778	3,222		Batarin
Domnik çiftliks	5,000				Batarin
Badracık has	13,000	7,447	5,553		Batarin
Badracık çiftliks	12,000				Batarin
Tırhala Imperial Domains çiftliks	200,000				Batarin
Çatalca çiftliks	20,000				Batarin
Ermiye and Velestin çiftliks	25,000				Batarin
Customs of Yenişehr-i Fener, Tırnovi, Golos port	675,000	58,865.5	554,531		Batarin

In Yenişehr-i Fener, 4 çiftliks were farmed out with three separate contracts to the Mustafa Nuri Paşa for 317,500 guruş to be paid in four instalments. Imperial Domains receives an interest of 31,750 guruş (10% of bedel-i iltizam). Rent was 1,700 guruş for one çiftlik and 100 guruş for the other. However, there are no further details regarding rental contracts. Another çiftlik in Yenişehr-i Fener was farmed out to him for 187,500 guruş to be paid in three instalments.[446] Imperial Domains

[445] In the document of 1833, the districts of Domnik and Badracık were referred to with two land categories: "has" of Badracık was leased out separately from the "çiftliks" of Badracık. The same case applied to Domnik. "Has" was a prevalent land category subjected to tax-farms in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, yet almost disappeared in the turn of the century. In the 1830s, it surprisingly revived.
[446] BOA. D. BŞM.d. 9991.

receives an interest of 187,000 guruş (99% of bedel-i iltizam). Rent (icare-i çiftlik) was 500 guruş. The final çiftlik was farmed out to him for 10,000 guruş to be paid in three instalments. The interest of Imperial Domains, rent or fees were not mentioned.

In Alasonya, two çiftliks, Kokinopilo and Kurucaoba, were farmed out to him for 30,000 guruş to be paid in three instalments. The Imperial Domains' interest was 29,380 guruş (99% of bedel-i iltizam). Rent (icare) was 500 guruş for Kokinopilo and 120 guruş for Kurucaoba.

In Domnik, two separate revenue sources were farmed out: has and çiftlik. Has, a category of the timar system, was the land granted to members of the imperial family. The has of Domnik was farmed out for 5,000 guruş to be paid in three instalments. The Imperial Domains' interest was 1778 guruş (35% of bedel-i iltizam). Fees also apply. A çiftlik in Domnik was farmed out to him, too. He would pay 5,000 guruş in three instalments.

In Badracık, as it was in Domnik, both the has and çiftliks were farmed out to him. The has of Badracık was farmed out for 13,000 guruş to be paid in three instalments. The Imperial Domains' interest was 7,447 guruş (57% of bedel-i iltizam). Fees also applied. Çiftliks of Badracık (the number was not mentioned) were farmed out for 12,000 guruş to be paid in three instalments.

In Tırhala, one çiftlik was farmed out to him for 200,000 guruş to be paid in three instalments. In Çatalca, çiftliks were farmed out for 20,000 guruş to be paid in three instalments. In Ermiye and Velestin, çiftliks were farmed out for 25,000 guruş to be paid in three instalments.

In addition to these çiftliks, Mustafa Nuri Paşa acquired the tax-farm of the customs of Yenişehr-i Fener, Tırnovi and port of Golos. He would pay 675,000 guruş

in four instalments. The Imperial Domains received an interest of 58,865.5 guruş (8.7% of bedel-i iltizam).

4.2.2.2 Contracts of higher notables

An account book dated 1839 lists the allocation of annual tax-farm contracts of the Tırhala region for the fiscal years 1838-1839 and 1839-1840 (see Appendix B, Figure B16 for a sample page).[447] This book was classified in *Divan-i Hümayun Tahvil Kalemi* category of the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives under *Kamil Kepeci* classification. Tahvil Kalemi was the office that registered the transfer (tahvil) of a vacant (mahlul) revenue source to a new holder.[448]

The Tırhala region referred to in this document corresponds to the enitre Thessaly, including its districts of Tırhala, Yenişehr-i Fener, Çatalca, Alasonya, Agrafa, Domnik, Kırçova, Kesriye, Serfice and Ferecik. Eighty-one tax-farms were leased out from these districts under different legal categories: has, zeamet, timar, mukataa, çiftlik, hazine-i kıbtiyan, adet-i ağnam (see Appendix A, Table A9 for the list of the tax-farms in Thessaly leased out in 1838-1839 and 1839-1840). These categories denote significant shifts in the landholding terminology between the early modern period and the nineteenth century. The first shift is about mukataa: In the classical landholding system of the pre-sixteenth century, dirlik and mukataa were the two main categories of land. Dirlik (which had the name of has, zeamet or timar depending on its value) was the dominant one, which was gradually replaced by mukataa from the late seventeenth century onwards.[449] A dirlik becomes a mukataa

[447] BOA. KK.d. 660.
[448] *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi*, 59.
[449] Ergenç, "Osmanlı'da 'Serbest Dirlik' Uygulamasının Boyutları," 208–210. Mukataa, the term originally denoting farming out a tax revenue later came to mean a tax unit subject to tax farming. This term is used interchangeably with iltizam. See, Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde *Mukataa* Kavramı," 57.

when it is included into the tax-farming system in the terms of the pre-seventeenth century. This document, though, shows that these categories were not mutually exclusive anymore in the nineteenth century. The document lists dirliks (has, zeamet, timar) that were leased out in the tax farming system. According to the legal explanation above, these dirliks would became mukataa, i.e., plots leased out. However, the document refers to another list of lands as "mukataa", but does not clarify the difference between a farmed-out dirlik and a mukataa. The second shift is the inclusion of the term "çiftlik" into the classical land categories: Here, in 1839, çiftlik emerges as a category independent from both dirlik and mukataa. The third shift is the inclusion of vakıf property into the tax-farms of the central treasury: Vakıfs used to lease out their property with their own tax-farming auctions before the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, by the nineteenth century, central treasury started to lease out vakıf property as well.[450] This allocation book of 1839 includes the tax-farm of Tatarçayırlığı, possessed by Turahan Bey vakfı in Yenişehr-i Fener, which was leased out to a certain Mehmed Emin Ağa for 1,650 guruş.

Table 28 shows the types of tax-farms (the landholding categories), the total number of tax-farms for each category, the number of tax-farms held by absentee notables and the average value of a tax-farm (value of a tax-farm is its annual cost of leasing-out, i.e., bedel-i iltizam). Among the tax-farms leased out, zeamet and mukataa were the majority in numbers: 31 and 30 pieces were farmed out respectively. Three has, 12 timar and 3 çiftlik were also leased out. In addition to the landed estates, two other revenue sources, hazine-i kıbtiyan and adet-i ağnam were leased out in this auction.

[450] Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi,* 22.

Table 28. Tax-farms of Thessaly in 1839[451]

type of tax-farm	nr of tax-farms	nr of tax-farms held by absentee notables	average value of a tax-farm (guruş)
has	3	1	10,833
zeamet	31	13	3,988
timar	12	5	1,736
mukataa	30	5	6,551
çiftlik	3	3	30,500
hazine-i kıbtiyan	1	1	48,000
adet-i ağnam	1	1	59,668

The names of the tax farmers were present in the source. In 29 of the 81 cases, the title of the tax farmer is also provided. All of these titles referred to the members of higher bureaucracy (*musahib-i şehriyari, hademe-i bab-i hümayun, kesedar-i tahvil, katib-i divan-i hümayun, hademe-i mabeyn-i hümayun*), military (*binbaşı-i evvel süvari*), judicial rulers and their family (*kaymakam, nazır, mahdum-i vali*) and imperial dynasty (sisters of the sultan). Hence, at least 29 tax farmers of Thessaly were absentee landlords of higher ranks. Other tax farmers, indicated merely with the unofficial titles of *ağa, efendi* and *bey* alongside with their names, may or may not be the local elite.

The annual cost of the tax-farms varied between 104,975 guruş and 250 guruş (the average value of a tax-farm was 7,070 guruş). The total cost of tax-farms held by absentee notables was 397,305 guruş. The one leased out for the highest value (104,975 guruş) was the tax-farm of Alasonya. The tax farmer is a familiar name. Esma Sultan (sister of sultan Mahmud II) had been the malikaneci of Alasonya during the 1790s-1810s (Esma Sultan's property in Thessaly is discussed in detail in Chapter 2). She was somewhat missing in the competition of tax-farms during the restoration period after Ali Paşa, i.e., the 1820s. In 1839, she was back, again as one of the most important tax farmers of the region. Esma Sultan had two more tax-farms

[451] BOA. KK.d. 660.

in the same year; one was the adet-i ağnam (sheep tax) of Serfice, with the value of 59,668 guruş and the other was the çiftliks of İzmiç and Mehvi, with a total value of 9,500 guruş. Hence, the total tax-farm value of Esma Sultan was as great as 174,143 guruş. In addition, her younger sister Saliha Sultan acquired the second most valuable tax-farm (50,000 guruş) from the same auction. She had two çiftliks, Kasiç and Tehorlar, respectively, at Yenişehr-i Fener and Çatalca. Following her, the nazır of Midilli, İsmail Bey, acquired a major tax-farm from this list: hazine-i kıbtiyan of Alasonya with the value of 48,000 guruş.

4.2.3 Land surveys and çiftlik sales in the 1840s

Land sales of the 1840s intertwined with the era of land surveys. The declaration of Tanzimat edict in 1839 proposed the assessment of the tax according to ability to pay, which would eventually require cadastral surveys of property values and income.[452] Hence, the landed property in the countryside was listed in several account books, surveys and lists in reports. The Income Surveys (Temettuat Defterleri), which were prepared as a means of achieving this goal, were one of the important sources of 1840s. There are in total 17,540 registers for a total of 543 kazas, located in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives.[453] Most of them are dated 1844-1845. However, despite searches in different archival classifications, no Income Survey book could be found in any of the Thessaly kazas.[454] This could be explained by the possibility that Income Surveys were never kept for Thessaly kazas. However, it would be a very weak one considering they were kept for all Balkan territories. Moreover, there is concrete evidence that they were kept. A book of

[452] Shaw, "The Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Tax Reforms and Revenue System," 422.
[453] Güran, "Introduction," 6.
[454] BOA. ML.VRD.TMT.d 11787, 11788, 11789 and 11790 are classified in BOA as Income Surveys of the kaza of Tırhala. However, this information is not correct. These are the registers of the kaza of Tarhala, near Manisa.

expenses from the Ottoman Treasury (*Maliye Masarifat Defteri*, with the archival code BOA. ML. MSF.d. 7181) lists the expenses of the officers charged with preparing the Income Surveys of Tırhala.[455]

On a provincial level, land surveys had other forms. A document dated 1840 lists the breakdown of land types in the kaza of Tırhala (see Appendix B, Figure B17 for a sample page).[456] This document was prepared as a census record; it shows the census change (vukuat) for the non-Muslim population in each settlement at the kaza of Tırhala. The newcomers to the respective settlements were identified with their names, ages, physical descriptions and poll-tax status. If the newcomer was a family, as in most of the cases, the relationship between family members was stated. In very rare cases, the reason for migration and the place of origin were identified. The deceased members of the community were also described in the similar way, with a brief note stating that they passed away. If there was no census change in a settlement, the name of the respective settlement would be provided with the note "*vukuatı yoktur*" ("it does not have census change").

This record lists the settlements of the *kaza* of Tırhala, including its central town and its eight *nahiye*s.[457] The names of the *nahiye*s were Ardan, Garcan, Yolanye, Diro, Kalnoz, Kraçov, Haslar and Aspro. Settlements are classified under four land regimes: çiftliks, the Imperial Domains' (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) çiftliks, villages (karye) and monastery properties. The document does not explain the differences between these categories. The distinction between a çiftlik and an Imperial Domains' çiftlik is important. "Çiftlik" would be either the çiftliks that are not included in the domain of the Imperial Domains, or the ones that have already

[455] Atar, "Balkanlarda Temettuat Tahiri," 392.
[456] BOA. C. SM. 10/541.
[457] The urban settlements are out of the scope of this study. Hence, the neighbourhoods in the central town of Tırhala (*nefs-i Tırhala kasabası*) are excluded from the analysis.

been leased out by the Imperial Domains. "Imperial Domains çiftlik" would be the land possessed by this institution (some çiftliks were counted twice, as both a "çiftlik" and an "Imperial Domains çiftlik"). The village, as discussed in detail in Chapters Two and Three, are independent settlements of small peasantry. Monastery properties constitute another significant dimension of Thessalian lands. They were legally among the possession of Christian vakıfs. The subject of Christian vakıfs remains out of the scope of this research.[458]

In total, 62 çiftliks, 56 Imperial Domains çiftliks, 59 villages and 17 monasteries were listed in the kaza of Tırhala (The names of the çiftliks, villages and monasteries are shown in Appendix A, Table A10). Different nahiyes had different landholding patterns (Table 29). Çiftliks existed in seven nahiyes and numbered from 3 to 20 per settlement. Aspro had no çiftliks, whereas Diro had 20. The Imperial Domains' çiftliks existed in the same seven nahiyes, and numbered from 4 to 12 per settlement. Garcan had the highest number of Imperial Domains' çiftliks. Villages, whose total number exceeded that of the Imperial Domains çiftliks but close to çiftliks, were located in six nahiyes. Garcan and Yolanye had no villages. The number of villages were from 1 to 31. Finally, monasteries were listed in six nahiyes. Yolanye and Aspro had none, and the rest had one of a few. Kraçov had five monasteries, which was the highest number among all.

Focusing on the Imperial Domains, these figures show that almost half of the Tırhala çiftliks were held by the Imperial Domains. The rest of the çiftliks, as mentioned above, were probably redistributed to other landholders by the Imperial Domains.

[458] For research on monastery properties in Thessaly, see Λαΐου, *Τα οθωμανικά έγγραφα της Μονής Βαρλαάμ Μετεώρων* [Laiou, *The Ottoman documents of Varlaam Monastery of Meteora*]. For Christian *vakıf*s during Ottoman rule see Laiou, "Diverging realities of a Christian *vakıf*."

These figures also demonstrate the negative correlation between the number of çiftliks and villages. As the total number of çiftliks increases, the number of villages decreases, and vice versa (the number of çiftliks and Imperial Domains' çiftliks are taken together). Aspro had no çiftliks, and the highest number of villages. Diro had the highest number of çiftliks (28 in total), as it had only one village. Other nahiyes also follow this pattern.

Table 29. Breakdown of Different Land Types in Tırhala (1840)[459]

nahiye	nr of çiftlik	nr of Imperial Domains çiftlik	nr of village	nr of monastery
Aspro	0	0	31	0
Kalnoz	3	4	16	1
Kraçov	4	8	6	5
Yolanye	4	11	0	0
Haslar	10	6	2	2
Garcan	6	12	0	3
Ardan	15	7	3	4
Diro	20	8	1	2

Furthermore, this census book had separate sections for the perakendes, Muslim gypsies (*ehl-i İslam kıbtiyanı*) and non-Muslim gypsies (*reaya kıbtisi*) of Tırhala. The perakende, as discussed in the previous chapter, probably corresponded to transhumant Vlachs under the process of sedentarisation. Neither perakendes, nor gypsies resided in Imperial Domains çiftliks at all. Perakendes resided in the central town of Tırhala, and also in 48 çiftliks, 6 villages 7 and monasteries. Non-Muslim gypsies resided in 12 çiftliks and a village. Muslim gypsies resided only in the central town of Tırhala, but not in the countryside. This information is important in terms of understanding the settlement patterns in Thessaly. However, available sources do not provide further details. (The names of the perakende and gypsy settlements are shown in Appendix A, Table A11 and Table A12).

[459] BOA. C. SM 10/541.

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The 1840s had a particular importance for the çiftlik sales in Thessaly, because it was when the Imperial Domains came towards the end of its mission to redistribute Thessalian lands. The discussion above shows that this institution sold çiftliks by the tax farming (iltizam) method during the late 1820s and 1830s. Nevertheless, during several attempts for the abolition of tax farming in the 1840s, it continued land redistribution by naming the transaction as "sale" (füruht) instead of tax farming.[460] Between 1840 and 1847, at least 60 Thessaly çiftliks were sold by the Imperial Domains to members of high bureaucracy and military.[461] The most well-known was Mustafa Reşid Paşa, a famous minister and grand-vizier of the Tanzimat era, who held eighteen Imperial Domains' çiftliks in Tırhala during the 1850s.[462] Hence, absentee landlordism continued in Thessaly. In fact, absentee landlordism of the mid-nineteenth century was what distinguished Thessaly from many other çiftlik-holding Balkan regions.[463]

The Imperial Domains was, however, not the sole institution that controlled Thessalian lands in the 1840s. Different forms of land regimes still co-existed in the region, and some of them were outside the domains of the Imperial Domains. Land regimes as çiftlik, karye (village) and timar (fief) existed. There were also cases where these different categories existed in the same village. This shows a strong parallel with the land regime of the 1790s when çiftliks, timars and vakıfs co-existed in Thessaly.

An account book dated 1840 demonstrates the characteristics of the lands outside the control of the Imperial Domains (see Appendix B, Figure B18 for a

[460] Bayraktar, "Political Economy of *Çiftlik*s,"65.
[461] Bayraktar, 71, 78.
[462] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 340.
[463] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 335.

sample page).[464] This source lists 56 timars and the name of their holders in the sancak of Tırhala (Table 30).

Table 30. Number of Timars in the Sancak of Tırhala

name of nahiye	number of timars
Alasonya	10
Aspire Potom	4
Blatmana	1
Fener	9
Haslar	4
Kesriye	2
Kraçov	9
Radobiz	7
Saline	1
Tırhala	5
Yenişehr-i Fener	4

Some additional information was included to this source when it was necessary, such as the absence of a timar-holder and its reason, or the absence of the entry from the general registers. The lands presented in this record are classified according to the nahiye in which they were located. Ten nahiyes of Tırhala had timars: Alasonya, Aspire Potom, Blatmana, Fener, Haslar, Kesriye, Kraçov, Radobiz, Saline and Tırhala. The number of timars varied between one and fourteen among these nahiyes. Holders of timars did not have any title of higher nobility, bureaucracy or military ranks. They were probably local people. This shows a clear difference from other tax farming patterns previously discussed in this chapter. Tax farmers of Thessaly after 1825 were absentee landlords and members of higher bureaucracy. They controlled a vast area with significant economic revenue. Has and zeamet holders, to whom the plots were leased out in the 1830s, were also absentee notables. Timars, on the contrary, remained as a small domain in the hands of the local people.

[464] BOA. C. TZ. 81/4015.

4.3 The Bylaw (*Layiha*) of Tırhala

Rural distress originating from the problems in the çiftliks of Thessaly –problems mainly centred on the subaşılık regime, which was causing heavy tax burdens and rural indebtedness – evolved into a rural disorder in the form of uprisings in 1854.[465] Mehmed İsmet Paşa, sent to the region as an inspector, pointed to the main problems as subaşılık and, related to it, peasant indebtedness, and he proposed the establishment of commissions to re-organise the conditions of sharecropping.[466] After a while, such commissions, composed of representatives of çiftlik-holders, were established in 1857.[467] The Bylaw (*Layiha*) of Tırhala was negotiated in such a commission, sent by district governor Hüsnü Paşa to *Meclis-i Vala* and approved in 1860 (see Appendix B, Figure B19 for a sample page).[468]

The final bill of the Bylaw of Tırhala had 26 articles.[469] It defines the rights and obligations of the sharecroppers (Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 20, 21, 22, 26); recognised çiftlik managers and authorities visiting çiftlik, and the terms about payments done to them (Articles 3, 4, 7, 17, 19, 23); property rights about çiftlik lands as meadows, winter pastures, trees, forests, vineyards, orchards, buildings (Articles 6, 8, 12, 14, 15); and measures to be taken to expand agriculture and limit animal husbandry (Articles 9, 11, 12, 16, 18, 24, 25).[470]

The most important part of the bylaw about the agrarian relations in Thessaly is the abolition of subaşılık. With the bylaw, subaşılık was abolished, and recognised çiftlik managers were defined. A çiftlik director (*müdür*), who would be selected by the landlord with the condition of approval of the peasantry, would replace the subaşı

[465] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 350-352; Kiel, "Tesalya," 525.
[466] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 353-354.
[467] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 359.
[468] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 360.
[469] BOA. İ. MVL. 463/20920.
[470] For a very detailed analysis of the bylaw with respect to the agrarian economy of Tırhala, see Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 362-370.

as an "officer" (memur), since an officer would be necessary for the peasantry and the landlord ("*bir çiftlikde çiftçi ve mutasarrıf için bir memurun lüzumu olduğundan*") (Article 7). "Officer" emphasises the limited function of the director compared to a subaşı. The director, as an officer, would receive a cash salary that is to be paid jointly by the peasantry and the landlord, contrary to the subaşı who had received rent in kind. The director could not even collect eggs, chicken or cheese from the peasantry (Article 17). Other recognised workers are demirci (smith), proteryo, bekçi (guard), ırgad (labourer) and havale (transporter) (Articles 3 and 4). The bylaw also regulates the credit relations, since lending money at interest was one of the important backbones of the subaşılık regime. According to Article 10 of the bylaw, the landlord is responsible for providing credit to the peasants without charging any interest, in the case of the necessities about animals and tools. For other needs, landlord or creditors (with the approval of the landlord) can provide credits with the regular interest rates.

The bylaw's statements about subaşılık are in accordance with the facts explained in this study. As previously discussed, subaşılık has been the key mechanism to manage the Thessaly çiftliks owned by absentee landlords. Even in the terms when çiftliks were owned by local elites such as Ali Paşa, subaşılık remained as the main çiftlik-management and tax-collection method. The subaşı's share was as much as, or in some çiftliks even higher than Ali Paşa's share from the crop revenue (Chapter 3). The take-over of Ali Paşa's çiftliks by the Imperial Domains did not abolish the subaşılık regime; the subaşı continued to receive one-third of the revenue (Table 18). Plus, he had several other dues in kind and cash. Article 7 of the bylaw states that in some regions, the peasants received nothing from their agrarian revenue, but they paid the whole revenue under the names of "subaşılık", "ağalık" or

"kethüdalık" ("*hasılatından bir şey almayarak tamamını subaşılık ve ağalık ve kethüdalık namıyla vermekde olduklarından*"). As discussed previously, during the period of the superintendents of the Imperial Domains (1820-1824), the accounts revealed that the total agrarian revenue was either spent, sold or paid to çiftlik managers (Part 4.1.2.1). The Imperial Domains sold its çiftliks to new entrepreneurs after 1824 with the terms it received. In other words, the subaşılık regime was transferred to the era of new absentee çiftlik holders. Consequently, peasant indebtedness increased to a severe degree. New çiftlik-holders received the çiftliks with a significant amount of liabilities to be paid by the peasants (Part 4.2.1.1).

The bylaw defines two different sharecropping modalities in the region. Article 1 explains the modality for the çiftliks mainly producing winter crops such as wheat and barley. The district called Hass and Bayırlar belonged to this modality. The revenue of wheat and barley was divided into two between the peasant and the landlord, and the seeds were provided by the landlord. For rye, oat and vetch (after the seeds, the tithe and oxen food due was paid by the peasantry), the ratio was two to one, but, it was not explicitly stated which party took one-third of the revenue and which one took the rest. Article 2 refers to the second modality of sharecropping, which was for the çiftliks mainly producing summer crops such as maize, sesame, cotton, tobacco and chickpeas. The sharecropper received two-thirds of the summer crops' revenue, after subtracting his payment for the seeds and the tithe.

The bylaw did not clearly explain the geographical division by which it defined these two modalities. But since the dryer part of Thessaly is the east, and since winter crops required dryer areas, Article 1 probably referred to the eastern

plains; whereas the humidity was required by summer crops. Thus, Article 2 probably referred to the western part, which was more humid.[471]

A comparison of these two modalities with the data of agricultural production analysed in this study yields contradictory results. This study has examined 62 çiftliks in the lowlands and highlands of Tırhala during the superintendent control of the Imperial Domains in 1820-1822 (Part 4.1). Instead of çiftliks producing winter crops or summer crops, the accounts classified them as çiftliks in the lowlands and highlands. Sharecropping modalities differed also between lowlands and highlands. These çiftliks examined in Part 4.1 of this research had around 60% of their revenue from winter crops and 30% from summer crops. The figures for the highlands and lowlands roughly followed this ratio of division between winter and summer crops. Yet, separate analysis of each çiftlik may give a better result to explain the geographical description of two modalities given in the bylaw.

In any case, the ratio of sharecropping defined in the first two articles of the bylaw was better than the practice in the 1820s. The bylaw states that sharecroppers (after paying the tithe) would have the half of the revenue of wheat and barley (Article 1), whereas previously, their share was at most one-third of the revenue.

Nevertheless, fiscal and social obligations imposed on them by the bylaw prevented this act from becoming an overall amelioration for the production conditions. The bylaw defines a number of payments and taxes to be paid by the sharecroppers, which were usually in cash. It specifies the cash and kind fees to be paid by them (in some cases jointly with the landlord) to çiftlik managers and for the supportive services, such as payment to the smith, guard and labourers (Article 3), salary of the çiftlik director who replaced the subaşı (Article 7), tax payments for the

[471] I wish to thank Socrates Petmezas for this explanation.

extra number of animals and for the agrarian income (Article 8), and the cost of repairing the çiftlik director's house and warehouse (Article 22). Non-fiscal obligations aimed at pushing them to cultivate as much as possible and enforce punishments when they harm agriculture (Article 21). Related to that, there were restrictions for animal-breeding of sharecroppers. They would be charged with a fee called "otlakiye" for the number of animals exceeding their subsistence, in order to prevent the commercial use of animals that would push them away from agriculture (Articles 9, 11, 24). They would rent shops from the landlord if they would like to produce and sell animal products and other commercial items such as vinegar or molasses (Article 12). Finally, there were obligations binding them to the soil; sharecroppers born in a çiftlik were prohibited from leaving it (Article 26). Although the bylaw introduces certain rights to the sharecroppers, such as exemption from certain dues and fees they previously paid, overall, the obligations were severe enough to outweigh these rights.

The bylaw touched upon other classes of peasantry: labourers, perakende and transhumant shepherds. Labourers (ırgad) were mentioned only once, in Article 3, stating that they would be hired in the çiftliks of the first modality and their expenses would be jointly paid by the sharecroppers and the landlord. Lacking production tools, animals and houses of their own, the condition of the labourers remained similar with the late-eighteenth century. Conditions of the perakende, on the other hand, were subjected to significant changes. Perakende was a term, whose meaning shifted during the nineteenth century from transhumant communities seasonally residing in çiftliks to households other than sharecroppers. Article 18 of the bylaw defines perakende as "residents of a çiftlik who did not practice agriculture" ("*çiftlikatda çift işlemeyerek iskan edenler*"). In this context, it probably referred to

transhumants or semi-transhumants in the process of sedentarisation. The transhumants had a symbiotic relation with çiftliks; in addition to their function as transporters of çiftlik products, they rented çiftlik pastures to graze their animals. Their agreements with çiftlik-holders usually included land cultivation in varying amounts. Yet the bylaw states that they need to be directed towards cultivation, and imposes house rents and an "otlakiye" fee on them (Article 18).

Last, but not least, the bylaw consolidates the property rights of the çiftlik owners in the expense of different classes of peasantry. Common lands of the çiftlik became the property of the landlord by the rights granted to them with the bylaw. Otlak (meadow) would be reserved only for plough animals and would be used with the permission of the landlord (Article 6). The landlord also became the taxpayer of the winter pasture (kışlak) (Article 8), which would strengthen his possible claims on these areas in the future. In a similar vein, he would be the provider of the peasants' houses and barns (Article 12). The size and location of gardens and vineyards of the peasants were bound to the permission of the landlord (Article 14).

The Bylaw of Tırhala reflected the "institutionalisation of already existing local social hierarchies and the consolidation of interests of çiftlik-holders in general, and some sections of them in particular, at the expense of those of intermediaries located in the çiftliks, and property-less sharecroppers."[472] The bylaw was indeed a reform, but not a reform in terms of the amelioration of sharecroppers' working conditions. It was a reform in terms of landownership; it abolished subaşılık or any other intermediary tax-collectors in Thessaly. Landed property was reformulated by the bylaw in favour of single claims of çiftlik holders. On the side of rural labour, customary practices asserting obligations on different classes of peasantry were

[472] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 334.

codified. Therefore, they were fixated to a degree severely limiting the negotiation capacity of the peasantry. Moreover, new restrictions were imposed upon them in order to rearrange the agrarian production in çiftliks.

4.4 Conclusion

Ali Paşa's confiscated landed property was collected under the framework of the Imperial Domains. This institution was not the owner of the lands. Its goal was to find new entrepreneurs as landholders. Until finding them, it controlled the land for a brief period. This period was necessary in order to be able to fully conclude the confiscation registers until 1824. In the early phase of redistribution, a property superintendent was appointed to the çiftliks. This chapter takes the case of Superintendent Mesud Ağa as an example. He was an imperial high-ranking officer; a chamberlain (kapıcıbaşı) when he was appointed by the Imperial Domains in charge of 62 çiftliks of Thessaly in 1820. It is argued that Mesud Ağa was practically an absentee landlord: He was the highest authority in change of çiftliks, he received revenue and rent in cash and he controlled çiftliks via local çiftlik managers as subaşı and kocabaşı. These local intermediaries had been there since Ali Paşa's period, enjoying similar privileges in çiftliks both before and after his dismissal. Hence, the confiscation and the rule of the Imperial Domains' superintendents did not create immediate changes. Mesud Ağa's control lasted two years, until he was dismissed due to his incompetency and replaced by two successive superintendents during the fiscal years of 1822-1823 and 1823-1824.

Revenue registers of the çiftliks under Mesud Ağa's control present very important findings about Thessalian agriculture. The registers classify çiftliks as lowlands and highlands, hence geographical differences on land use, production and

animal breeding can be targeted. Agrarian production was significantly less in the highlands, where cultivable lands were limited. For both areas, the total amount of wheat, maize, barley and rye constituted more than 70% of production. Yet, analyses per crops present both expected and interesting results: The lowlands produced wheat and maize above the average, whereas the highlands produce barley, rye and grape above the average. There is nothing extraordinary about lowlands' wheat cultivation in large fields. Altough maize cultivation is usually associated with the highlands in Mediterranean geography, Thessaly does not follow this pattern.

Shortly after the superintendents, tax farming returned as the method of çiftlik management. Çiftliks from five districts of eastern Thessaly were tax-farmed to three local landlords for the fiscal year of 1824-1825. Early tax farmers of this period were among title-holders who could be described as lesser notables. Land was leased out in relatively smaller units to separate landlords. This could be either a deliberate measure against the emergence of great landlords, or a compulsion in the absence of demands from great landlords.

In the 1830s, absentee landlords from higher notability became tax farmers of larger plots in Thessaly. In 1832, Mustafa Nuri Paşa, the mutasarrıf of Tırhala, became a major tax farmer in Thessaly, possessing 12 tax-farms including çiftliks, has domains and customs. It was a considerable property worth 1,500,000 guruş as the total contract price. In 1839, a group of higher notables (members of higher bureaucracy, military, judiciary and the imperial dynasty) acquired approximately 30 significant tax-farms in Thessaly for 397,305 guruş in total. Esma Sultan, a Thessalian landlord back in the late-eighteenth century, re-emerges with this contract as a prominent tax farmer.

The 1840s was when the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) came towards the end of its redistribution of Thessalian landed property. A large portion of land sales happened in this decade, to the members of high bureaucracy and military. Despite tax farming being replaced by selling land, nothing has much changed in practice. Absentee landlordism continued in Thessaly. This was also the decade of major land surveys. In the absence of Income Surveys, other partial and local surveys of Thessaly are analysed to explain the surveys of the 1840s. They show that different forms of land regimes such as çiftlik, karye (village) and timar still co-existed in the region, and some of them were outside the control of the Imperial Domains.

Another dimension of the confiscation and redistribution of landed property is the production and taxation relations in Thessalian çiftliks. During Ali Paşa's period, wheat was the main crop of the çiftliks, which was a characteristic of provisioning policies. Available data confirms that the dominance of wheat continued in Thessaly during 1820-1840 under the new landholding regimes of superintendents, local tax farmers and absentee tax farmers. Detailed comparisons of agriculture and landholding are not usually possible. This is because only the account books of the period of superintendent aimed at presenting the agrarian revenue. The account books of the following period focused on stock records (Part 4.2) or do not refer to the agricultural production at all (Parts 4.3 and 4.4). Looking at the account books of Ali Paşa's confiscated çiftliks (Part 3.2.1 in Chapter 3) with the account book presented in Part 4.1 may allow a comparison: The amount of agrarian production increased 80% from 1820 to 1821.[473] However, in addition tothe problem of different data types in different sources, one figure does not necessarily mean that

[473] Annual wheat production per çiftlik was 206 kile in 1820, and it rose to 373 kile for the average of 1821 and 1822.

confiscation increased production. Nevertheless, only a few years later, the opposite trend emerges: The amount of wheat per çiftlik in 1824 decreased 65% from the amount of 1820.[474] These great fluctuations in wheat production are surprising. However, there is also the possibility that the real amount of production was not accurately declared in these sources. The accounts of 1820 and 1821 were based on information provided by kocabaşıs. They might have hid the real amount to sell wheat on the black market in 1820. In 1824, the account was prepared by the new tax farmer, who probably did not have any motivation to shrink the real numbers. However, the former tax farmer did have any motivation to shrink the amount in the warehouses and was simply extracting as much as he could during his term of one year.

Taxation constituted a vital part of the land question in Thessaly. Following the confiscation of Ali Paşa's wealth, the state authorities' promise of amelioration of the peasantry's tax burden was not kept. Sharecroppers continued to paytaxes both to new absentee landlords (nazır or tax farmer) and local çiftlik managers as subaşı and kocabaşı. During 1821 and 1822, the annual taxes of sharecroppers were 35% of the revenue to the subaşı, an unspecified amount in kind to the absentee landlord and around 3,000 guruş cash tax per çiftlik. A comparison of 1820 and 1822 is as follows: The subaşı's share remained almost similar, the absentee landlord's share prevailed (the amount of which is unknown) and cash rents increased 500%. In addition to these, peasants were also under a heavy debt burden. Consecutive tax farmers after Ali Paşa's rule transferred çiftliks to one another with the liabilities of the peasants.

[474] Annual average amount of wheat per *çiftlik*, including the production and stock in the warehouse, was 130 *kile* in 1824. It was 370 *kile* in 1820.

The Bylaw of Tırhala (1860) did not necessarily aim to contribute to the amelioration of the conditions of the peasantry, either. Although it abolished the subaşılık, which extracted one-third of their revenue, it consolidated the strength of çiftlik-owners in terms of their claims to property rights. Furthermore, it codified a number of customary practices that imposed several obligations on the peasantry.

CHAPTER 5

RE-INTRODUCTION OF *VAKIF* CONTROL (1840-1880)

The Ottoman landholding dynamics entered a new phase in the middle of the nineteenth century at both the imperial level and the provincial level in Thessaly. Codification movements and land surveys became the hallmarks of the era. The 1858 Land Code is usually identified as the most important part of this process.[475] This process has been explained in the literature as the creation of the modern concept of individual property at the conflictual domain defined by law and administrative practices during the controversies that emerged at the codification and law-enforcement process of the mid-nineteenth century.[476] Nevertheless, as this research demonstrates, the origins of the private property-like features of the landed property were not in the mid-nineteenth century, but in the late-eighteenth century. Moreover, the tension of the mid-nineteenth century was not limited to the conflict between landlords and the state.[477] Intermediaries of the landlords and a number of provincial and imperial institutions, were different sides of vertical and horizontal conflicts. Another important characteristic of the second half of the nineteenth century is the tremendous increase in the tax burden on the peasantry.[478]

Vakıfs, i.e., pious foundations, were among the most important institutions for the privatisation of land in Thessaly. During the late eighteenth and early

[475] For a detailed survey on different perspectives on the Land Code of 1858, see Aytekin, "Agrarian Relations, Property and Law."
[476] İslamoğlu, "Towards a Political Economy of Legal and Administrative Constitutions of Individual Property," 8-11.
[477] For a perspective underlining the role of mid-nineteenth century law and administrative pratices for constitution of property with a stronger emphasis on the local initiative in this process, see Toksöz, *Nomads, Migrants and Cotton in the Eastern Mediterranean*, 8-9. For a definition of "privatisation" as a shift from multiple claims on land to a single one, see Terzibaşoğlu, "Eleni Hatun'un Zeytin Bahçeleri," 122. For local resistances against property registration, see Kaya, "Politics of Property Registration."
[478] Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli*, 27.

nineteenth centuries, they controlled rural lands via tax farmer intermediaries, who became landlords in practice (see Chapter Three). After the 1820s, however, the influence of vakıfs was seemingly overshadowed by a newcomer to the region, which was the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) (see Chapter Four). Registers of land redistribution prepared by the Imperial Domains from 1825 to 1840 usually did not refer to vakıf-çiftliks. This could be either because the Imperial Domains did not intervene in vakıf lands at all, or intervened into the vakıf lands to such a great extent that the names of vakıfs were not apparent in sources. Nevertheless, it was after the 1840s when vakıfs became more visible again. There was a major change in the vakıf administration in this new era. With the aim of an increased administrative and fiscal control of the vakıfs, the Ministry of Imperial Foundations (Nezaret-i Evkaf-i Hümayun) officially became the central institution to which vakıfs were subordinated. Moreover, similar to the Imperial Domains, this ministry undertook the mission of redistribution of land (in this case, vakıf land) in Thessaly.

The legal and administrative history of the post-1840 vakıfs is usually dominated by the normative idea of the supremacy of the Ministry of Imperial Foundations. A number of historians agree that the administration of vakıfs was centralised after the Ministry of Foundations was founded in 1826. However, the proponents of this centralist view disagree about whether it was a positive or negative movement: One claim is that centralisation of vakıfs was necessary because they were involved in abuses[479] and rising local notables benefited from their autonomy.[480] Others, however, argue that centralisation of vakıfs led to their

[479] Öztürk, *Türk Yenileşme Tarihi Çerçevesinde Vakıf Müessesesi*, 32
[480] Öztürk, *Türk Yenileşme Tarihi Çerçevesinde Vakıf Müessesesi*, 3270.

destruction because the central state violated its (fiscal and administrative) autonomy[481], and (the central treasury) grasped its revenue sources.[482]

These debates, however, do not go further to analyse the actual revenue sources of the vakıfs. In other words, they do not examine the vakıf control in the countryside. For instance, we know from previous studies that there were around 230 vakıf-çiftliks in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire.[483] Yet, the studies about the vakıf-çiftliks are quite limited.[484] This attitude leads to the ignoring the fact that, in practice, the ministry did not have an absolute control over the vakıfs. As an alternative approach to the vakıfs in late-Ottoman economic history, the institutional organisation and the economic relations of the vakıf çiftliks are examined in this chapter. This is because çiftliks represent the mechanisms of how vakıfs worked at the local level. The vakıf managers' relationship to the land and to the peasantry at the çiftliks shows that the vakıfs retained a certain degree of autonomy in this period.

The first part of this chapter focuses on the vakıf control in Thessaly in the years from 1840 to 1860. Similar to the Imperial Domains' task during the previous decades, these decades were marked with land redistribution. The vakıfs of Thessaly leased their estates to their tenants in various ways. This part presents three case studies to examine this process: 1. Transfer of vakıf-malikane shares from one landlord to another in 1847. The vakıf that leased out its shares, Bahçekapusu Valide Sultan Evkafı, is an old-established landowner in Thessaly. It is the owner of Esma Sultan's estates discussed in Chapter Three. 2. A monthly land transaction record of

[481] For example, see Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations,* 72-82.
[482] İpşirli, "II. Mahmut Döneminde Vakıfların İdaresi," 57. Nazif Öztürk, "Batılılaşma Döneminde Vakıfların Çözülmesine Yol Açan Uygulamalar," 298. Earlier, Köprülü underlined the negative sides of centralisation of vakıf administration, but he also emphasized abuses of vakıf as the reason for this reform. See Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesinin Hukuki Mahiyeti ve Tarihi Tekamülü," 23.
[483] Öztürk, *Türk Yenileşme Tarihi Çerçevesinde Vakıf Müessesesi*, 124.
[484] The study on the vakıf of Evrenos' çiftliks in Thessaloniki in the late-nineteenth century is an important example. See Demetriadis, "Problems of Land-Owning and Population."

the Imperial Foundations in 1850. This record listed the details of a land transaction at the level of "sancak". 3. Sales of vakıf lands in Yenişehr-i Fener and Alasonya. Account books examined in this case list transactions of a certain vakıf at a certain place. Two account books are provided as examples. Former malikane-holder Esma Sultan appears in this case as a vakıf-holder.

The second part of this chapter focuses on a new institution of its time as a landholder in Thessaly: the vakıf of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan. Five çiftliks are examined throughout the period of this vakıf: from the allocation of the çiftliks to the vakıf in 1863 until their transfer to the Kingdom of Greece in 1882. A significant number of account books and documents at the archives of this vakıf are studied in order to highlight the institutional characteristics of vakıf-çiftliks in Thessaly.

5.1 Land transactions in *vakıf* estates (1840-1860)

Land transaction in vakıfs was not a new phenomenon for the mid-nineteenth century Thessaly. Vakıf lands of Thessaly were subject to transfers especially since the eighteenth century via the tax farming system. After 1840, land sales acquired new features following the main trends of the period. Related to the introduction of the supervision of the Ministry of Imperial Foundations, the content of the land sale contracts became much more detailed compared to the previous century. Land had to be a well-defined space for at least two main reasons, to have a higher value as a commodity and to be able to be kept under control by the authorities. For these aims, vakıf lands of Thessaly were divided into sub units, in other words, parcelised, and they were identified by the detailed information on their territory and boundaries. In this way, the land units could be introduced to the potential entrepreneurs more easily. Parcelisation was also necessary for the Imperial Foundations (Evkaf-i

Hümayun), which became the higher authority in charge of Thessalian vakıf lands after the 1840s. This institution desired to control the process of land survey and transaction in order to be able to ensure its authority on vakıfs. In addition to wider fiscal and political motivations, this increased supervision also had an immediate benefit for the Imperial Foundations, which was to collect the transaction fees it was entitled to have. Nevertheless, it should be noted that this supervision was far from being an indication of a centralised modern state. First and foremost, it was not the central treasury, but the treasury of the foundations (evkaf) that was in charge. Despite the former's attacks, the treasury of the foundations still retained its relative autonomy.

A series of documents and account books from the *Evkaf* classification of BOA will be analysed here in order to discuss the characteristics of mid-nineteenth-century vakıf control in Thessaly. The analysis is based on four case studies. The first one is about land sales within vakıf-malikanes in 1847. The second one, dated 1850, is also about land sales, and in addition to explaining its fiscal mechanism, it shows how land was formulated as a well-defined commodity. The third case is about sales of vakıf lands under different legal procedures as the escheated property, (*mahlulat*), sale (*feragat*) and inheritance (*intikalat*) in 1855.

5.1.1 Case one: transfer of vakıf-malikane shares

In 1847, a shareholder sold his shares from a malikane-mukataa of a vakıf in Alasonya. Three imperial licences (*berat*) dated 1847 present the details of these sales (see Appendix B, Figure B20 for a sample page).[485] The transaction was about the revenue of Bahçekapusu Valide Sultan Evkafı. This vakıf was not a newcomer in

[485] BOA. EV. BRT. 77/29; BOA. EV. BRT. 77/32; BOA. EV. BRT. 181/29.

the 1840s; instead, it had controlled Alasonya lands at least since the previous century. This study has referred to this vakıf once more, as a significant landholding institution and malikane-provider of Alasonya during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the origin of which might date back to the sixteenth century in the region (Chapter Three). Almost half a century later, this vakıf was still the malikane-provider in Alasonya (unlike the late eighteenth century, Esma Sultan was not the malikane-holder of Alasonya anymore). Until 1847, since an unknown year, a certain Mehmed Tevfik Bey was a malikane holder of one-fifth share of the mukataa of Alasonya. No further information was given about him, except his title Es-Seyyid, i.e., Prophet Muhammed's descendant. Other shareholders of Alasonya mukataa were not provided in these documents. Mehmed Tevfik Bey had been the possessor of this share for his lifetime ("*ber vech-i malikane mutasarrıf olduğu*") in return for 6,000 guruş down-payment (muaccele).

In 1847, on his own volition, Mehmed Tevfik Bey transferred (*ferağ ve kasr-ı yed*) his share to Mahmud, İsmail and Ahmet Beys. They were the sons of Mehmed Paşa, who was the former governor of Mousul. All three lived in İstanbul. Three similar berats were prepared for this transaction to be granted to each of these beys. However, for an unclear reason, Ahmet Bey's berat was written sixteen years after the other two. The new shareholders received their shares in similar conditions. They became the holder of a share (one-third of one-fifth) of the Alasonya mukataa in return for 2,000 guruş per person.

Payments referred to in this case require further elaboration. Mehmed Tevfik Bey had reportedly paid only 6,000 guruş as the down-payment for one-fifth of the Alasonya mukataa. Down-payment was usually the most significant portion of the payment for a tax-farm. Annual payments were usually in insignificant amounts.

Hence, down-payment can be thought of as the price of this contract. Siz thousand guruş was a very low price for one-fifth of the Alasonya mukataa. In comparison, in 1833, Mustafa Nuri Paşa had paid 30,000 guruş to have the tax-farm of two çiftliks of Alasonya (see Chapter Four).[486] One-fifth of the Alasonya mukataa would definitely be larger than two çiftliks, as the region had at least seventeen çiftliks (see Chapter Three, Table 4). Furthermore, according to the document, Mehmed Tevfik Bey did not make any profit from this transfer. He sold his shares for the price he bought them. Alasonya, a significant revenue source of Thessaly, did not require a profit-free transaction. There might be another agreement between seller and buyers that did not reflect upon the imperial berat.

This case provides interesting findings and opens new questions about malikanes of the mid-nineteenth century. Despite a break of 50 years, the legacy of absentee ownership via malikane-vakıf lands continued in Alasonya. Yet, the concept of a malikane has significantly changed. In the eighteenth century, a malikane-contract normally could not be resold by its holder. In rare cases, a malikane could be cancelled and re-sold to a new entrepreneur by the contract-provider. In the mid-nineteenth century, a malikane share became an easily transferable commodity.

5.1.2 Case two: monthly land transaction records

The Imperial Foundations (Evkaf-i Hümayun) treasury registered land transaction records on a monthly basis during the mid-nineteenth century. These records listed the details of a land sale at the level of "sancak". This was a means for this institution to control the land sales and the revenue yield from them. One example is the

[486] BOA. D. BŞM.d. 9991.

monthly land transaction record of vakıf properties in the sancak of Tırhala during March/April 1850 (Cemaziyelevvel 1266) (see Appendix B, Figure B21 for a sample page).[487]

Two vakıf properties were sold during this month in Tırhala: one from the çiftlik of Borazanlar and another from village of Derelü. Both of them were located at the kaza of Yenişehr-i Fener.

The Borazanlar çiftlik was a çiftlik among the property of Valide Sultan Evkafı. This vakıf is probably the same one as the owner of Esma Sultan's malikane in Alasonya and Yenişehr-i Fener (Chapter Three), and the owner of the mukataa-shares at Alasonya Mehmed Tevfik Bey sold in 1847 (Chapter Five, Part 5.1.1). Hence, this vakıf was not limited to Alasonya, but had retained its control of lands of Yenişehr-i Fener since at least since the late eighteenth century.

The Borazanlar çiftlik was possessed by six share-holders: Seyide, Ruyide, Lebibe, Mehmed, İbrahim and İsmail. One of the six shareholders of this çiftlik, Seyide Hatun, sold (*ferağ ve kasr-ı yed*) her shares to two other share-holders, İbrahim and İsmail, in return for 1,606 *guruş*. A transfer fee (*harc-ı ferağ*) of 53 *guruş* and 22.5 *guruş* of post (*ücret-i posta*) was paid to the Imperial Foundations for this transaction. A title deed cost (*baha-i sened-i tapu*) of 3 guruş was also probably paid.[488]

After identifying the shareholders, the document describes the çiftlik of Borazanlar in detail. This çiftlik had a total area of 237 dönüms and was divided into 35 pieces or kıtas. Each kıta was described in detail, in terms of their location, the area they cover and the surrounding boundaries. For instance, the definition of the

[487] BOA. EV.d. 32323.
[488] The entry of "baha-i sened-i tapu" was listed without any number alongside it. However, in the total sum, "baha-i sened-i tapu" was given 6 guruş. Since this cost was 3 guruş for the second item, it was probably also 3 guruş for this one but failed to be noted properly.

first kıta is as follows: "On the way to Borazanlar, surrounded by Raşid Ağa's fields at its two sides, by the field of the landholders with mentioned names [the shareholders of the Borazanlar çiftlik] on one side, and Muhtar Bey's fields on the other side. Estimated size is six dönüms." [489] The areas of these kıtas varied between two and twelve dönüms. A kıta was six dönüm on average.

Derelü village was among the property of Mihrimah Sultan Evkafı. Elhac Emin bin Yusuf, a settler of Derelü village was the possessor (mutasarrıf) of a kıta of wet (sulu) field of one dönüm in this village. He sold (ferağ ve kasr-ı yed) this field to another tenant, Hasan bin Hasan, of the village in return for 50 guruş. A transaction fee of 2.5 guruş, 22.5 guruş postal cost (ücret-i posta) and 3 guruş title deed cost (baha-i sened-i tapu) was paid to the Imperial Foundations for this transaction.

This case allows us to explain how the system of shareholding (hisse) worked on landed property. The example of the Borazanlar çiftlik shows that six share-holders possessed the whole çiftlik jointly. Their share of one-sixth did not correspond to a certain one-sixth part of the land. This is because the seller, Seyide Hatun, did not sell a certain piece of land. Hence, what they shared was not actually land, but probably its revenue. What she transferred in this transaction was her right to one-sixth of the çiftlik revenue.

Moreover, this case provides a ground to discuss the term "*kıta*". Previously, "kıta" was used as the unit of measurement per çiftlik. Usually, one çiftlik was measured as one kıta. However, this example shows that in the mid-nineteenth century, cadastral measurement changed the meaning of kıta. The term acquired the meaning of a parcel, i.e., a land plot. Although, as discussed above, it was not the

[489] "*Borazanlar yolunda, tarafeyni Raşid Ağa, diğer tarafı mutasarrıf-ı mumaileyh, taraf-ı diğeri Muhtar Bey tarlaları mahdud tahminen altı dönüm*."

parcel of land but the revenue that was sold, parcelisation was a major step towards the sale of land as a private property. Subdivision of land into parcels was also a reflection of the desire to increase the administrative and fiscal control of land.

5.1.3 Case three: sales of vakıf lands in Yenişehr-i Fener and Alasonya

Account books prepared by the Ministry of Imperial Foundations in 1855 represent another dimension of this process. Similar to the previous case, these account books list the land transactions. Different from that one, they are not on a monthly basis. They list transactions of a certain vakıf at a certain place. Two account books will be examined in this context.

The first account book, dated March 1855, lists the transactions pertaining to the lands of Cağalzade Vakfı in Yenişehr-i Fener (see Appendix B, Figure B22 for a sample page).[490] The transactions concerned five villages named Derelü, Karademirler, Keçili, Kozdere and Paramatlu.

The book has two sections: mahlulat (escheated property) and feragat (sale) (Table 31). In practice, they referred to the similar act of land sale, yet in theory, they had legal differences both from each other and from the act of sale. The former is land sale by the vakıf of the land plots whose owners died without heirs. [491] The latter is the transfer of a vakıf land between two individuals. Since the vakıf was the lawful owner of all its lands, residents could not legally own it. Thus, in legal documents, the former procedure was a vakıf leasing the land to a new tenant, and the latter was a land transfer from one tenant to another.

[490] BOA. EV.d. 15675.
[491] Kamus-ı Türki dictionary defines *mahlul* (محلول) as "*doğrudan varisi olmadığı halde vefat eden adamın vakfa veya miriye aid (mirası)*", meaning "the inheritance of a man belonging to *vakıf* or miri who died without heirs" (translation is mine). Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-ı Türki*, 1304.

Table 31. Land Transactions in Vakıfs of Yenişehr-i Fener (1855)[492]

Escheated Property (Mahlulat)							
Vakıf	Village	Payment for Tenancy	Nr of Parcels	Area (dönüm)	fee of Imperial Treasury	Former Possessor	New Possessor
Cağalzade	Derelü	450	5	12	0	Hasan Bin Yusuf	Karındaşı Abdülhamid Ahmed
Cağalzade	Derelü	200	6	7		Ahmet Bin Derviş	Karındaşı Abdülhamid Derviş
Cağalzade	Derelü	550	8	11		Selim Bin Mehmed	Karındaşı Kamer
Cağalzade	Derelü	75	5	7		İsmail Bin Hasan	Karındaşı Hüseyin Bin Hasan
Cağalzade	Derelü	900	11	23		Muhiddin Hurşid	Karındaşı Hurşid Bin Abdullah
Cağalzade	Derelü	366	6	23		Hadice Bint Abdi	Validesi Fatma Bint Abdullah
Cağalzade	Palamatlı	1300	9	20		Hasan Bin Mustafa	Emmileri Hüseyin ve Seyid ve Hamid
Cağalzade	Palamatlı	400	8	8.5		Mustafa Bin Ali	Halil Bin Hüseyin
Cağalzade	Palamatlı	100	2	1.5		Mustafa Bin Ali	Hadice Bint Ahmed
Cağalzade	Palamatlı	370	1	0.5		Mustafa Bin Ali	Ayşe Bint Kadir
Cağalzade	Palamatlı	200	2	3		Hasan Bin Mustafa	Validesi Zehra Bint Hüseyin
Cağalzade	Kozdere	90	7	10		Emin Bin Ahmed	Osman Abdi
Cağalzade	Kozdere	150	14	20		Hasan Bin Abdulbaki	Hasan ve Karındaşı Said
Cağalzade	Keçili	70	12	15		Selim Bin Said	Karındaşı Yusuf Bin Said
Cağalzade	Karademirler	50	6	6		Mustafa Bin Ali	İsmail Bin Yusuf
total		5721	102	167.5	0		
Sale (Feragat)							
Vakıf	Village	Payment for sale	Nr of Parcels	Area (dönüm)		Former Possessor	New Possessor
Cağalzade	Palamatlı	600	1	3	30	Ali bin İsmail	Hüseyin bin Ahmed
Cağalzade	Karademirler	300	20	37	15	Hüseyin bin Ahmed	Mustafa bin Mehmed
total		900	21	40	45		

The first section, mahlulat, states each transaction in separate entries. Fifteen transactions were done. Each entry has the following information about the land: The

[492]BOA. EV.d. 15675.

location (name of the village), number of kıta (parcels) transferred, boundaries of each kıta, names of the parties of transaction, reason for transaction, down-payment (bedel-i muaccelat) and transaction fees were stated. The down-payment stated in this document was not similar to the down-payment done for tax farming. There are no references to tax farming in this document at all. Rather, this down-payment was done for possessing vakıf land.[493] In fact, the meaning of the term associated with the tax-farming system was adopted from the term that was used by the vakıf system.

One hundred and two plots of land from five villages, making a total of 167.5 dönüms, were transferred under the name of "mahlulat" to their new holders. The main features of these transfers can be summarised as follows: 1. All landholders, both former and new, were from the respective village. It was not a bid for outsiders. 2. Almost all new landholders were first degree relatives of the former ones. 3. The reason for all of the transactions was that the former died without any children. It also implies that the vakıf land would have automatically passed to the children, if they had any. 4. Land holders were called "possessor" (mutasarrıf), and the procedure of transfer of land to the new landholder was "fixing upon someone" (*uhdesine karardade olunmak*).

The second part of this book was prepared under the name of ferağ or land transfer. Two transfers were done, making a total of 40 dönüm fields in two villages. Similar to the process described above, the number of parcels and area of land were stated. The name of the former and latter possessors (again referred to as mutasarrıf) and reason for the transaction is also given. One transfer was a kıta of field of three dönüms in the village of Palamatlı. The land was transferred from village tenant Ali bin İsmail of his own volition to a fellow tenant, Hüseyin bin Ahmed, for 600 guruş

[493] Kamus-ı Türki dictionary defines *muaccele* (pl. *Muaccelat*) as "*emlak-ı miriye ve vakfiyeden malum olan muamelat için peşin alınan bedel*", meaning "the down-payment for the transactions for miri or *vakıf* property" (translation is mine). Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-ı Türki*, 1371.

as the *bedel-i feragat* (payment for transfer). Another transfer was twenty kıtas of field in the size of thirty-seven dönüms in the village of Karademirler. The land was transferred from Hüseyin bin Ahmed to Mehmed bin Mehmed for 300 guruş. There seems to be something odd when two transactions are compared: The price of the former one doubles the latter, despite the former being only three dönüms and the latter thirty-seven.

Payments for the mahlulat and feragat procedures varied and were collected by different interest holders. The Ministry of Imperial Foundations (Nezaret-i Evkaf-i Hümayun) was entitled to have the "down-payment" (bedel-i muaccelat) of 5,271 guruş. Plus, it was entitled to have the fee of the Imperial Treasury (harc-ı Hazine-i Hümayun) from ferağ transactions, which was 45 guruş. However, Cağalzade Vakfı's share (1,026 guruş) and official fees as dellaliye, ihbariye, mahkeme (105 guruş) were deduced from this amount. In the end, the ministry received 4,105 guruş. "Payment for transfer" (bedel-i ferağ) was paid to the landholder who sold his land.

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The second account book, dated December 1855, lists the vakıf property in the villages of Yenişehr-i Fener and Alasonya.[494] Different from the above-mentioned one, this book enlists land transactions of four vakıfs: Cağalzade, Mustafa Paşa, Mihriban Sultan and Esma Sultan (Table 32) (For a detailed version, see Appendix A, Table A13). This account book has three sections, named after the procedure followed during the land transfer: *mahlulat* (escheated property), *feragat* (sale) and *intikal* (inheritance). As discussed above, all of these methods corresponded to land sale in practice. Mahlulat and feragat are also discussed above in detail. İntikal is the section for the lands that were inherited by the lawful owners of the landholders after

[494] BOA. EV.d. 15913.

they passed away. In legal theory, since all residents were "tenants" of vakıfs, the inheritors merely received the use-right of the land as the new tenants. However, the right to inherit tenancy is another indicator that tenancy at vakıf lands was practically land ownership. Table 33 shows the summary of these transactions (see Appendix A, Table A13 for the detailed version).

Table 32. Villages and Çiftliks Subject to Land Transactions of Four Vakıfs in Yenişehr-i Fener and Alasonya (1855)

Settlement Name	Type of Settlement	Owner of land	Name of Kaza
Bakaşlar	Karye	Cağalzade Vakfı/Köy Sakinleri	Yenişehr-i Fener
Bekşer	Karye	Esma Sultan Vakfı	Yenişehr-i Fener
Derelü	Karye	Cağalzade Vakfı/Köy Sakinleri	Yenişehr-i Fener
Derelü	Karye	Esma Sultan Vakfı	Yenişehr-i Fener
Hacı Obası	Karye	Cağalzade Vakfı/Köy Sakinleri	Yenişehr-i Fener
Koniçi	Karye	Esma Sultan Vakfı	Alasonya
Koyunyeri	Karye	Mihriban Sultan Vakfı/Velsit Kasabası Sakini	Yenişehr-i Fener
Melemenler	Karye	Cağalzade Vakfı/Köy Sakinleri	Yenişehr-i Fener
Osmanlu	Karye	Cağalzade Vakfı/Köy Sakinleri	Yenişehr-i Fener
Pala Mustafa	Karye	Cağalzade Vakfı/Köy Sakinleri	Yenişehr-i Fener
Sikia	Karye	Esma Sultan Vakfı	Alasonya
Vanari	Çiftlik	Mustafa Paşa Vakfı/Abdüllatif Paşa Biraderzadesi Ve Çiftlik-i Mezkurda Müşteriki Mustafa Ragıp	Yenişehr-i Fener
Yakbe	Karye	Cağalzade Vakfı/Köy Sakinleri	Yenişehr-i Fener

Table 33. Summary of Land Transactions in Vakıfs of Yenişehr-i Fener and Alasonya (1855)[495]

Escheated Property (Mahlulat)				
Vakıf	Down-payment	Nr of Parcels	Area (dönüm)	fee of Imperial Treasury
Cağalzade	1,996	61	93,5	
Mustafa Paşa	40,000	1	800	
Inheritance (İntikal)				
Vakıf	Payment for inheritance	Nr of Parcels	Area (dönüm)	fee of Imperial Treasury
Cağalzade	50,000	83	5000	2,500
Sale (Feragat)				
Vakıf	Payment for transfer	Nr of Parcels	Area (dönüm)	fee of Imperial Treasury
Mihriban Sultan	11,000	78	716	550
Cağalzade	5,080	33	89,5	104
Esma Sultan	n/a	115	928,5	

[495] BOA. EV.d. 15913.

The transfer of mahlul (escheated) lands to the new landholders concerned the property of vakıfs of Cağalzade and Mustafa Paşa in this case.[496] Cağalzade made eight land transactions in four villages of Yenişehr-i Fener, namely, Derelü, Yakbe, Osmanlu and Bakaşlar. Both former and new landholders were residents of the respective villages. New tenants were first-degree relatives of the formers. Total down-payment (bedel-i muaccelat) was 1,996 guruş for 93.5 dönüm (or, 61 kıta) of land.

The vakıf of Mustafa Paşa was named after the late Mustafa Paşa, who was the former director of the kaza of Yenişehr-i Fener and also the son of Abdülhamid Paşa. This vakıf had one contract in this account book, which was due to the transfer of mahlul land. This land was at Vanari çiftlik, which is quite exceptional because it is the only çiftlik rather than a village referred in this context. It was a significant transfer both in size and cost: One kıta of land covering 800 dönüms was transferred for 40,000 guruş in one contract.

People involved in this land transfer provide even more interesting details. This land corresponded to one one-sixth share of Abdüllatif Paşa from the çiftlik. Abdüllatif Paşa is identified as the former governor (kaymakam) of Karesi and, more importantly, a member of the Yanya dynasty ("Yanya *hanedanından*"), a term usually referring to the descendants of Tepedelenli Ali Paşa. The çiftlik land passed from Abdüllatif Paşa to Mustafa Ragıp, son of Ahmet Rıfat Efendi. Mustafa Ragıp was also the nephew of Abdüllatif Paşa and already the joint-holder of this çiftlik. Hence, this land transfer was a step towards concentrating a large çiftlik in a single hand. Yet, more importantly, it means that the Tepedelenli family never totally lost

[496] The full name of the latter vakıf is "*Yenişehr-i Fener kazasında kain müdür-i esbak merhum Mustafa Paşa Bin Abdülhamid Paşa*", meaning Mustafa Paşa, son of Abdülhamid Paşa, former director at Yenişehr-i Fener.

their relationship to the Thessalian land. Descendants of the family were still large çiftlik-possessors and were still at high administrative ranks of the region.

The inheritance (intikal) act concerns the property of the Cağalzade vakıf in Melemenler village of Yenişehr-i Fener. This property was in total 83 kıta (5,000 dönüm) of land inherited in 8 separate contracts, in return for 50000 guruş of inheritance payment (bedel-i intikalat). A fee of 2,500 guruş is levied for the Imperial Treasury. The parts of this inheritance were not stated.

Finally, land sale (feragat) agreements concerned vakıfs of Esma Sultan, Mihriban Sultan and Cağalzade. The vakıf of Esma Sultan is of particular importance. It is the institution established probably after the deceased Esma Sultan, who was referred to as a malikane-holder in the same region on the estates of the vakıf of Valide Sultan at least until the 1820s (see Chapter Three). Sikia and Koniçi, which were Alasonya villages referred to as her malikane in the 1810s, are present in the account book of 1855 as her vakıf estates. Apparently after the 1820s, Esma Sultan's office finally managed to acquire a more secure status for her estates by transforming them from malikane of another vakıf to her own vakıf.

Esma Sultan's vakıf had thirteen entries in this account book. Four of them were at Sikia (Alasonya), three at Koniçi (Alasonya), three at Bekşer (Yenişehr-i Fener) and three at Derelü village (Yenişehr-i Fener). As an exceptional case in two account books examined in this section, Esma Sultan's vakıf lands have not been sold yet.[497] They were included in this account book probably as a means of preparation to be sold.

The vakıf of Mihriban Sultan's property at Koyunyeri village of Yenişehr-i Fener covered 78 parcels (716 dönüms) and transferred from Ayşe, daughter of Hacı

[497] Only one small plot of land was sold among Esma Sultan's *vakıf* property. This was one *dönüm* of land at Bekşer village, and sold in return for 30 *guruş*.

Ali of Velsit town, to Es-seyid Mehmed Arif Efendi of Velsit, in return for 11000 guruş. This transfer was done in eight separate contracts, each of which defined the respective land plots in detail. It should be emphasised about this major transfer that in this both parties were not dwellers of the respective village.

The vakıf of Cağalzade was referred to in eight contracts about its property in Derelü village; 13 parcels (31,5 dönüm) were transferred for 1,880 guruş. All former and new possessors were residents of Derelü. Cağalzade vakıf had two more alienation contracts: one in Pala Mustafa village (5 parcels – 7.5 dönüm for 200 guruş) and another in Hacı Obası village (15 parcels – 50.5 dönüm for 3000 guruş).

5.2 New vakıfs of Thessaly: Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfı (1862-1882)

Vakıf lands at Thessaly, as discussed in the previous part, usually had long-established institutional connections with this region. They were among the property of old vakıfs that had existed there for a long period (Valide Sultan Vakfı), of notables who converted their malikanes into vakıfs (Esma Sultan) or of former high-ranking officers who protected their possession by converting them into vakıfs (the former director of kaza of Yenişehr-i Fener, Mustafa Paşa, after whom a vakıf was established).

In addition to these old settlements, new vakıfs also entered the competition of landholding in Thessaly. Vakıf of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan was among these newcomers. Pertevniyal Valide Sultan lived between 1812 and 1883, and she was the wife of Sultan Mahmud II and mother of Sultan Abdülaziz. She established fifteen vakıfs.

This research is based on account books and documents of the vakıf-çiftliks of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan in Thessaly.[498] This vakıf had five çiftliks in Thessaly. Three of them were in western Thessaly: Çiftliks of Voyvoda and Narlı (Garcan) were at Tırhala, and the çiftlik of Piçri was at Kardiça. Two other çiftliks were in eastern Thessaly: Çiftliks of Garçova and Pınarbaşı were at Alasonya. Eight account books of this vakıf are available for Thessaly çiftliks, covering a period of two decades from 1863 to 1882. The account books and a significant number of documents are located at "*Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Evrakı*" (Pvs.Evr.) at *İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı* in İstanbul (see Appendix B, Figure B23 for a sample page).[499] There are reportedly three other account books for the years 1286/1869-1870, 1287/1870-1871, 1292/1875-1876, which are located in *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* in Munich with the document numbers 521-525, and which are not included in this study.[500] In addition to the çiftliks in Thessaly, the vakıf of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan had also çiftliks in Manastır and Berat/Filorina.

This landed property was transferred to the vakıf of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan by the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) in 1863.[501] The official term used for this transfer was "allocation" (*tahsis*). The çiftliks allocated to her were among the confiscated property of Ali Paşa. This land allocation was probably done without any payment from the vakıf, since the respective document did not refer to any payment. Documents about land transfers to vakıfs (as examined in the previous part of this chapter) would definitely state the price of the land transfer, if any. If Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's vakıf received these highly valuable çiftliks for free, this

[498] I wish to thank Dilek Akyalçın-Kaya for informing me about these accounts books and their location.
[499] AK. PVS. EVR. 3838; AK. PVS. EVR. 2180; AK. PVS. EVR. 4063; AK. PVS. EVR. 2184; AK. PVS. EVR. 2179; AK. PVS. EVR. 2181; AK. PVS. EVR. 2182; AK. PVS. EVR. 2189.
[500] Eliaçık, "Bayerische Staatsbibliothek'te Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfına Ait Arşiv Belgeleri," 71.
[501] AK. PVS. EVR. 3701.

was because of the title of the vakıf holder. Pertevniyal Valide Sultan had the highest dynastic title among all notables examined in this study. She was the mother of the Ottoman sultan at the time of land allocation. The çiftliks remained in the hands of her vakıf until 1882, when they were purchased from the vakıf by the Ottoman treasury in order to be transferred to the Kingdom of Greece due to the annexation of Thessaly to Greece. [502]

The account books of these vakıf-çiftliks are the most detailed ones among all account books examined in this research. Land types, agrarian production, revenue and expenditure were recorded in a degree that has not existed in the previously analysed ones. Moreover, the intermediary çiftlik landlords and managers were more clearly identified and payments for them were explicitly stated. In comparison, the account books of Thessaly çiftliks dated 1823 (çiftliks entrusted to Mesud Ağa) were not clear about the shares of intermediary subaşıs and the çiftlik superintendent (Chapter Four, Part 4.1.2.1). It was argued in this part that it could be a deliberate strategy pursued by book-keeping çiftlik intermediaries in order to limit the control of central authorities over them.

Coming to the 1860s, the detailed account books reflected the changing characteristics of the institutions from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. The Ministry of Imperial Foundations, as previously discussed in this chapter, acted as a supervisory institution with respect to landed property. The previous part (5.1) has discussed the examples of land transfer as a means of supervision. This part scrutinises another aspect of landed property. This is the use of land as a revenue-yielding property of the vakıf. Moreover, the vakıf of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan itself desired to have the detailed account books of these çiftliks in order to be able to

[502] AK. PVS. EVR. 1215.

control its revenue sources. These books were prepared for the administration of the vakıf in İstanbul. Here, one could also think of the competitive relationship among the institutions that wanted to acquire the revenue of these çiftliks. The vakıf itself was the direct collector of the revenue delivered from çiftlik intermediaries. Next, the Ministry of Imperial Foundations expected to have its share from this revenue. Finally, the Central Treasury sought to extract revenue from the Ministry of Imperial Foundations. Detailed account books were the prerequisite for the collection of revenue by the central institutions. Nevertheless, this was strongly based on the assumption that book-keepers at the provincial level would be honest.

Following the established pattern in the region, the book-keepers were the local çiftlik managers. Each çiftlik had a director (müdür), and there was one superintendent (nazır) in charge of five çiftliks examined here (these actors are explained in detail below). The director and superintendent kept the account books with the help of a clerk. While keeping the accounts, the director and superintendent could hide some revenue sources in order to possess them. This indeed happened shortly after they were appointed to these offices. In 1865, they were accused of hiding (mektumat) çiftlik revenue.[503] The accusation resulted in keeping new accounts of the çiftlik and the discharge of the superintendent.

5.2.1 Methods of book-keeping and revenue calculation

The account books of these vakıf-çiftliks were designed to present the grain stocks, revenue and expenditure of the çiftliks. The balance of revenue and expenditure are presented at the end of each book. Revenue and expenditure are presented in two separate sections prepared in different ways. Revenue section takes each çiftlik one

[503] AK. PVS. EVR. 4520.

by one, and shows the revenue in kind and cash. The expenditure section takes five çiftliks as a single entity and shows expenditures in cash subtracted from the total of their cash revenues. (The data about the revenue is shown in separate tables in respective sections of this part. The data about the expenditure can be seen as a summary in Appendix A, Table A14. For different categories of expenditure and their amounts, see Appendix A, Table A15, Table A16, Table A17, Table A18).

The unit of analysis is the çiftlik in each account book. In addition, two of the account books covering the years 1280/1863-1864, 1281/1864-1865 and 1282/1865-1866 also present the household-based data, which included the name of the head of the each household and the amount of crop produced by them.

The types and amount of agrarian production on the cultivable fields are presented in a great detail for each çiftlik (see Appendix A, Table A19, Table A20, Table A21, Table A22). Most of the crops were presented with the following data categories: production (*hasılat*), production including tithe (*maa-aşar hasılat*), landlord's share including tithe and storage excess (*maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi*), landlord's share (*hasılat-ı efendi*), landlord's share with storage excess (*maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi*), tithe (*aşar*), quarter-tithe (*rub aşar*), tithe from churches and monasteries (*kilise ve manastırlardan alınan aşar*), collected seed loans (*tohum olarak verilip de alınan*), to peasants to be collected during harvest (*harman vakti alınmak üzere reayaya verilen*), purchased for seeds (*tohum için mübayaa olunan*), transferred from the previous year (*geçen seneden devreden*), sent to İstanbul (*Dersaadet'e irsal olunan*), delivered to Tırhala [*kaza*] director as a gift (*Tırhala müdürüne ihsan olaran verilen*), food payment to officers and transporters (*memur ve havale ekileleri*), destroyed (*mahv olan*) and sold (*füruht olunan*).

During the two decades they were kept, these account books followed a similar accounting pattern (i.e., counting the revenue and expenditure). But they were different from each other in terms of some details. All of the above-mentioned categories of wheat revenue did not exist in the records of every year. The reason for this might be the changing officers and different methods adopted by them. But, more probably, changing calculation methods of the revenue-sharing and tithe-payment was the reason. Total production, i.e., total of the production of each household, was directly provided only in 1864. This was due to the fact that the account book of that year provided exceptional household-based production information as a part of the corruption investigation that will be explained below.

Accounts of other years provided indirect means of calculating the total production. They presented either "production including tithe (*maa-aşar hasılat*), or the landlord's share with storage excess" (*maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi*) or the landlord's share (*hasılat-ı efendi*). Cross comparisons between years and categories give the result that tithe was 10% of the production and the landlord's share was 30% of the production. The production data provided in section 5.2.3.1.1 is estimated according to these ratios (below is further discussion on revenue-sharing and taxes).

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Table 34 shows an entry from the revenue section of an account book dated 1281/1864-1865. It shows the calculation for the stock records of Vovyoda çiftlik in Tırhala. It presents the net amount of each crop in stocks by calculating the inputs and outputs.

Table 34. Entry of Vovyoda Çiftlik (1281/1864-65)

Voyvoda çiftliği mahsulatı (*kile*) (Revenue of Voyvoda *çiftlik*)						
	Hınta (wheat)	*Şair* (barley)	*Çavdar* (rye)	*Sisam* (sesame)	*Mısır* (maize)	*Penbe* (cotton)
maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi (landlord's share including the tithe and extra)	1,260	86	129	186	1,171	425
kilise ve manastırlardan alınan aşar (tithe from churches and monasteries)	+33	+3	+8	+9	+52	+42
	=1,294	=89	=137	=196	=1,223	=468
80 senesi tohum olarak verilip de alınan (payback from the seed loans from 1280)	+56	+0	+0	+0	+0	+0
	=1,350	=89	=137	=196	=1223	=468
fiyat-ı muhtelife ile füruht olunan (sold for various prices)	-1,017	-23	-79	-196	-1,173	-400
	=333	=66	=58	=0	=50	=68
harman vakti alınmak üzere tohum ve karz olarak 82 senesine mahsuben reayaya verilen (loaned to peasants for seed, due to year 1282)	-308	-0	-58	-0	-11	-30
	=25	=66	=0	=0	=39	=38
memur ve havale ve misafiratın ekileleriyle hayvanata verilen (spent for officers, guests and their animals)	-25	-21	-0	-0	-36	-0
	=0	=45	=0	=0	=3	=38
32 kile burçak yerine alınan (received in return for 32 *kile* of vetch)	+0	+16	+0	+0	+0	+0
	=0	=61	=0	=0	=3	=38
82 senesi anbarına devr olunan şair ile zaiyatı (barley left to the warehouse and ruined in year 1282)	-0	-61	-0	-0	-3	-38
	=0	= 0	= 0	= 0	= 0	=0

In order to explain how the stock amount was calculated, wheat (hınta) will be taken here as an example. "Landlord's share including the tithe and extra" was 1,260 kile. Additional revenue (inputs) and expenditure (outputs) were calculated upon the landlord's share (Landlord's revenue in kind was a fictive entity, which will be discussed further in the "sharecropping" section below. The landlord received only cash payments.) The inputs added to the landlord's share were the following items:

33 kile tithe from churches and monasteries and 56 kile payback from the seed loans from 1863. Hence, the total of the revenue came to 1,350 kile. Total expenditure was also 1,350 kile: 25 kile was spent for officers, guests and their animals; 308 kile was loaned to peasants for seed, due to year 1865; and 1,017 kile of wheat was sold. Hence, the account was in balance. It also means that the çiftlik of Voyvoda did not have any wheat in its stocks in year 1281/1864-1865.

5.2.2 Managing a çiftlik

The Ottoman land regime in Thessaly has created multiple layers of landownership. Despite several transformations that happened after 1825 both at the provincial and imperial levels, this multilayered structure continued. Representatives of the landholding and revenue-sharing institutions had conflicting and overlapping interests. These interest holders were connected to each other with vertical and horizontal links.

Vertically, there was the chain of interest holders starting from above with the Ministry of Imperial Foundations, management of the vakıf of Pertevniyal, superintendent of Thessaly vakıf-çiftliks of the vakıf of Pertevniyal, and the director of each vakıf-çiftlik.

Horizontally, first, the relationship between the vakıf and the ministry can be considered. Although the vakıf was legally subordinate to the ministry, in practice, the vakıf attempted to have its autonomy. Moreover, the Ministry of Fiscal Affairs and the Ministry of Imperial Foundations were in a competitive relationship, as the former desired to acquire the latter's revenue. Another horizontal relationship was between the vakıf managers and financers in İstanbul. Finally, at the provincial level, judicial and administrative authorities cooperated and competed with the çiftlik

superintendent, just as the kocabaşı and çiftlik director did at the level of the çiftlik. These institutions and their competitive relationship are explained in detail below.

Here, a significant question emerges: Who is the landlord? The account books did refer to the landlord's share, "efendi hissesi", as a share from the agrarian revenue. However, unlike the accounts of earlier periods, for example, as in the çiftliks of Ali Paşa, a certain individual was not identified as the landlord. The people in charge of the vakıf-çiftliks were, from bottom to top, the director, superintendent, kethüda of vakıf and the Minister of Imperial Foundations. "Landlord" was none of these people. It was the institutional entity of the vakıf of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan.

Furthermore, "landlord's share" became the name of the tool to continue the regime of sharecropping and to calculate sharecropping ratios for keeping the accounts. The revenue in kind specified as the landlord's share (*efendi hissesi*) was never paid to a certain landlord, or any of the above-mentioned four managers of these çiftliks. The landlord's share was a fictive entity. According to the accounting method of the books, the landlord's share was counted among the assets of a çiftlik, and it was either spent for çiftlik expenses or sold in the market. The revenue and expenses were usually equal, that is, the account was in balance. It means that all revenue was sold or spent. When the account was not in balance, the remaining amount was transferred to the following year.

5.2.2.1 Imperial authorities

The vakıf of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan, founded by a member of the dynastic family, was legally an "imperial foundation" (See Chapter Three for the discussion of imperial foundations). This vakıf was legally subordinate to the Ministry of Imperial Foundations. Mütevelli was the title given to the head of a vakıf. However, imperial

vakıfs had an exception: A member of the dynastic family would not have the bother of managing a vakıf. The minister of the Imperial Foundations would undertake this duty on behalf of the dynastic vakıf-founder. [504] Yet, this case shows that in practice the minister did not have this bother, either. The Minister of Imperial Foundations, or any officer from the ministry, did not make any appearance in the correspondence about major decisions on these çiftliks. Instead, it was the post of "kethüda", appearing in all documents as the highest authority of the vakıf to whom the provincial correspondences were addressed. It should be noted that Esma Sultan tax-farm's highest representative also had the title of "kethüda" during the late eighteenth century (Chapter Three). Therefore, kethüda, literally the representative of a high authority, acquired a special meaning in the regime of absentee landlordism in Thessaly: It was the title for the highest representative of the "office" of an absentee landlord, who was another absentee himself. This office could be either the malikane-mukataa of the late eighteenth century, or the imperial vakıf of the late nineteenth century.

The kethüda had to share his authority with the sarraf of the vakıf. The sarraf, again similar to the tax farming system, was the financer of the vakıf. Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's vakıf's sarraf was Boğos Efendi. One indicator proving that he was involved in the vakıf affairs to a great extent is the following: One copy of each çiftlik account book was also sent to Boğos Efendi. [505]

The Ministry of Fiscal Affairs, as explained before, received a certain amount of the vakıf revenue via the Ministry of Imperial Foundations. The available çiftlik records do not demonstrate this relationship pertaining to the imperial level. Nevertheless, these records may point to the involvement of the Ministry of Fiscal

[504] Öztürk, *Menşei ve Tarihi Gelişimi Açısından Vakıflar*, 93.
[505] AK. PVS. EVR. 4514; BOA. I. DH. 514/35002.

Affairs to the çiftlik economy from another aspect. The post of "harman memuru", literally "harvest officer", was referred to in these sources. This officer was probably in charge of supervision of the accounting of harvest revenue, and also of tax-collection from this revenue. After 1845, tax-collectors of all Ottoman vakıfs were sent from the Ministry of Fiscal Affairs.[506] Hence, the "harvest officers" were probably the ones sent from this ministry. This is a reflection of the Fiscal Affairs' desire to control and acquire vakıf revenue. Moreover, these officers were paid by the çiftlik they were sent to, but not by the Ministry of Fiscal Affairs. Harvest officers stayed in çiftliks during the harvest period and received monthly cash salaries. The name and place of origin were stated for them in some records, which show that they were not local people but usually from the Albanian towns of Leskovik and Premedi. Usually, six or eight officers were sent to large çiftliks such as Voyvoda or Narlı, and worked there for periods varying from four to seven months. The monthly salary ranged between 150 and 200 guruş per officer during the 1860s.[507] The officers and their animals also received payment for food (ekile). In the earlier decades, food payment was paid in kind, in the form of wheat and barley. This practice apparently changed after the 1860s: The officers received cash equivalents of the food payment. This was paid once to each officer and was around 250 guruş per officer.

5.2.2.2 Provincial governors

Centrally appointed provincial governors and locally elected rulers had important duties for vakıf çiftliks. The vali (provincial governor) acted as an administrator and

[506] Öztürk, "Batılılaşma Döneminde Vakıfların Çözülmesine Yol Açan Uygulamalar," 300; Öztürk, *Türk Yenileşme Tarihi Çerçevesinde Vakıf Müessesesi*, 83; Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations*, 84.
[507] AK. PVS. EVR. 3838; AK. PVS. EVR. 4063.

inspector of vakıf estates. Moreover, he was an intermediary between vakıf officers and the centre.[508] For instance, in 1864, rightly after the transfer of çiftliks to the vakıf of Pertevniyal, the vali of Tırhala province, İsmail Rahmi Paşa, wrote many reports to the imperial centre with extensive details about the production and selling of agricultural products from these estates, and also included his own suggestions about methods of production and distribution.[509] The presence of İsmail Rahmi Paşa in Thessaly is remarkable because he was the grandson of Tepedelenli Ali Paşa.[510] Hence, the Tepedelenli family returned to their lands after forty years, yet in a new form. İsmail Rahmi Paşa, similar to his grandfather, became the governor of the region. But his political and economic power was limited by the Ottoman state. Still, it is important to underline that İsmail Rahmi Paşa became an important landowner in Thessaly. Following his appointment to Tırhala as the governor, he and his family became the owner of a number of important çiftliks, which they then held for a number of decades.[511]

The vali's principal authority on these çiftliks was adopted by the mutasarrıf after 1864.[512] Although the regulations of the era officially nominated muhassıl for the collection of taxes from vakıf revenue,[513] in this case, he is not visible at all.

The mutasarrıf of Tırhala also had an intermediary role between the centre and province and worked for the investigation of land disputes. [514] The kaza müdürü,

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[508] AK. PVS. EVR. 4558.
[509] For instance, AK, PVS. EVR. 940; AK, PVS. EVR. 4403; AK, PVS. EVR. 4788.
[510] See Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulations in Tırhala," 378 for further details about İsmail Rahmi Paşa and his relationship to Thessaly *çiftlik*s.
[511] Çiftlik account books dated 1860-64 list the details of the çiftliks in Yenişehr-i Fener that were granted to (*ihsan-ı şahane buyrulmuş olan)* İsmail Rahmi Paşa. These account books are classified in the registers of Evrenos Vakfı, hence they were probably former vakıf property. See Historical Archive of Macedonia in Thessaloniki, Gazi Evrenos Archives, no. 101, GRGSA-IAM. 23; GRGSA-IAM. 53.
In 1879-1880, British Consul-General Blunt refers to İsmai Paşa's and his sister Fatma Hanım's *çiftlik*s in Kardiça and Tırhala. See Great Britain, Parliament, *Correspondence respecting insurrections in Thessaly and Epirus*, 23, 26.
[512] AK. PVS. EVR. 4526; AK. PVS. EVR. 2596.
[513] Öztürk, *Türk Yenileşme Tarihi Çerçevesinde Vakıf Müessesesi*, 109.

the governor of the sub-district, was another centrally appointed local governor who worked for the vakıf upon request of the vakıf administration in İstanbul. For instance, Tırhala kaza müdürü Mehmet investigated the estates upon such request.[515] The role of the kocabaşı, a local leader of non-Muslim communities, is quite important to understand the institutional connections between vakıf estates and the local administration. After the vakıf took these çiftliks over, the existing kocabaşıs stayed and worked in cooperation with the new çiftlik holder. The kocabaşı was directly in charge of the organisation of labour and production in estates.[516] He was also a trusted figure in the eyes of the Pertevniyal vakıf and other authorities during an investigation of corruption and had direct contact with them.[517]

5.2.2.3 Managers of *vakıf-çiftliks*

The çiftlikat nazırı, or superintendent of estates, was responsible for five estates in Tırhala. This was a position previously undertaken by the kadı.[518] The superintendent was in charge of preparation of the account books of the çiftliks. He also regularly informed the vakıf administration in İstanbul about the affairs of the çiftliks; such as the organisation of production, the book-keeping process[519]or unexpected changes about agricultural practices.[520] During 1864-1867, Muhtar Bey was the superintendent, yet occasionally, he was also addressed as "müdür" (director). As discussed above, superintendent Muhtar Bey was discharged in 1865 when his corruption was detected, but then returned to his duty and served until 1868. The process of alleged corruption is very interesting: Muhtar Bey and his seven men were

[514] AK. PVS. EVR. 2607; AK. PVS. EVR. 114; AK. PVS. EVR. 4520; AK. PVS. EVR. 114.
[515] AK. PVS. EVR. 382.
[516] AK. PVS. EVR. 418.
[517] AK. PVS. EVR. 4345; AK. PVS. EVR. 4520.
[518] Yayla, "Operating Regimes and Government," 10.
[519] AK. PVS. EVR. 4514; AK. PVS. EVR. 4249.
[520] AK. PVS. EVR. 3675.

arrested and imprisoned in Tırhala and Yenişehr-i Fener for 67 days. After being released, they were paid 3,689 guruş in total, "due to their expenditure."[521]

The superintendent salary was paid directly from çiftlik revenue. Muhtar Bey's monthly salary was 1,500 guruş during 1863 and 1864, but was reduced to 1,250 guruş in 1865. For the following years, his montly salary was calculated including the payment for his men (adamları), which was around 2,500 guruş.

Following Muhtar Bey, Ahmet Galip Bey became the superintendent from 1868 to 1881. Interestingly, his successor Galib Efendi, however, did not receive any registered cash salary. Instead, he received a payment in kind in 1868 (the payment was 6,732 kile of wheat, 535 kile barley, 151 kile rye, 2,593 kile sesame and 8 kile chickpeas). The account books do not reveal the payments to Galib Efendi during the following years.

The çiftlik müdürü, or director, was the title given to the çiftlik manager. Each çiftlik usually had its own director. Yet, in some cases the superintendent assumed the title of director (as in the early years of vakıf control on these çiftliks), or a single director managed two small çiftliks (such as çiftliks of Alasonya). Directors managed çiftliks together with, or under the supervision of a superintendent.

The director was the post that has replaced subaşılık, which was abolished in Thessaly in 1860. [522] The Bylaw of Tırhala ordered the establishment of the position of "çiftlik müdürü" instead. There were certain similarities and differences between director and subaşı. Similar to a subaşı, a director lived in the mansion (konak) of the çiftlik he was in charge of. The expenses of the director's mansion (which was also called the çiftlik's mansion, or çiftlik konağı), such as food supply of the household,

[521] AK. PVS. EVR. 4063.
[522] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 362.

repair of the house, were met by the çiftlik revenue. In other words, a director was not very much different from a subaşı in the appearance of the daily life. Nevertheless, he was actually a totally new type of çiftlik manager. The subaşı had been the intermediate of a landlord and had practically acquired the position of a landlord since he had had a significant share from the agrarian revenue. Peasants at Ali Paşa's çiftliks during the late 1810s paid 32% of production to the subaşı, in addition to the Paşa's share of 33%. The era of Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun), around 1825, did not change this system much, and the subaşı's share was still 32%. With the abolition of subaşılık, the share of the peasantry at these vakıf-çiftliks increased from 35% to 60% of the production.

A director, unlike the subaşı, was more like a centrally appointed officer of the vakıf. Certainly, he did have an intermediary role between vakıf and çiftlik, and he was probably not an officer in the modern bureaucratic sense. But he lacked the major tools the subaşı had: share of the revenue and offering loans. The director received a cash salary instead of rent in kind. In 1863 and 1864, the monthly salary of director Edhem Ağa was 750 guruş. He received a salary for eight months (from June until February), almost similar to the harvest officers. This is strong evidence that his managerial tasks concentrated on controlling the harvest, taxation and selling products. The vakıf management probably limited his duty to eight months either to limit his authority on çiftliks, or to reduce the expenses for the officers' salaries. The second would be a strong motivation, since the officers' salaries and allowances already constituted 52% of expenses of these vakıf-çiftliks.

Later, though, directors stayed in çiftliks without any breaks. For instance, in 1873, each çiftlik had a separate director with full-year contracts and received monthly salaries ranging from 200 to 1,200 guruş a month. Çiftliks with a greater

amount of production, which were the large çiftliks of Tırhala, paid higher salaries to their directors.

The main duties of çiftlik managers were tax collection, selling agrarian surplus and conducting land surveys. These duties are explained in detail as follows:

5.2.2.3.1 Tax collection

Collection of the taxes was among the main duties of the superintendent and the director. The peasantry of these çiftliks paid their taxes to Istanbul via the çiftlik directors. The institution that received tax payments in İstanbul was the Ministry of Imperial Foundations. The account books depicted only the relationship between çiftliks and the ministry, but they did not state the details of transfer of payments from the ministry to the central treasury. Another document clearly states that tithe collected from these five çiftliks would legally belong to the central treasury.[523] This document refers to the Land Code of 1858 about the definition of vakıf lands. The Land Code defines two types of vakıf lands; the first one is converted from mülk (freehold) and the second one is endowed from the miri land. The Pertevniyal vakıf's land, as almost all other landed property of the Ottoman imperial vakıfs, as the document reads, belongs to the second category. Hence, it has rights to the revenue of the land, but not to the land itself (rakabe). The vakıf also cannot collect the tithe. Nevertheless, the document continues, it was decided that tithe was to be left to the vakıf of Pertevniyal.

Tithe (aşar) was the main tax mentioned in this book. It was stated as 10% of the production in the calculation of stock records. Yet, tithe was not probably sent to İstanbul in kind. Calculations show the item of tithe not as a subtraction from the

[523] BOA. I. MVL. 530/23777.

production. For most of the time, it was the cash equivalent of the tithe that was sent to İstanbul. These vakıf-çiftliks made a small amount of payment in kind, and significant cash payments to İstanbul. In the years 1865 (100 kile), 1866 (200 kile) and 1870 (500 kile), there were wheat transfers to İstanbul, yet these payments were probably not related to tithe payment. This was because the amount sent was much less than the tithe (10% of production) of the respective year.

The process of wheat transfer to İstanbul was explained in detail. The following example depicts how 500 kile of wheat was transferred from Voyvoda çiftlik of Tırhala to İstanbul in 1870:[524] First, wheat was carried from the çiftlik to Golos. Transfer cost was 4,750 guruş (9.5 guruş per kile). Wheat was stored in a shop at Golos, until the time of shipping. The shop was more like a warehouse, and named "shop of the ship", i.e., "vapur mağazası". Wheat was packed there in sacks. A total of 143 sacks were used, which cost 1,870 guruş (9 guruş per sack). A postal fee of 3 guruş was paid to the shop. Customs tax (resm-i gümrük) of 1,217 guruş was paid in Golos port. Shipping charge (vapur navlı) of 1,148 guruş was another payment. Katab(?) fee was 11 guruş, porters' fee was 115 guruş, and allowance for their food and necessities (maunet) was 115 guruş. The total of these expenses was 8,727 guruş, and this amount was met by the çiftlik itself.

Cash payments to İstanbul were delivered in 1866 and 1867: respectively 49,729 guruş and 114,632 guruş, respectively. There were no further explanations about these payments, the mere explanation was "sent to İstanbul" ("Dersaadet'e irsal olunan"). They were the major expenditure of these çiftliks. Payment of year 1867 was equal to 54% of the total expenses of this year. The possible explanation is that payment in kind for the provisioning of Istanbul was replaced by payment in

[524] AK PVS. EVR. 2179.

cash by the mid-1860s. There was also a small amount of payment (550 guruş) in 1865, which was noted as an "aid due to the great fire in İstanbul" (*Dersaadet'te vuku bulan harik-i kebire iane olarak*).

Çiftlik managers also collected cash taxes and rents from the sharecroppers and transhumants.[525] Annual cash taxes and rents collected per çiftlik were around 14,000 guruş (Table 35). They can be classified into three: traditional "maktu" fees, taxes from revenue-yielding activities of peasants and animal grazing rents. The first two categories of payments were collected from sharecroppers, and the final one was from the transhumant shepherds. Discussion on these cash taxes and fees is presented below separately for sharecroppers and transhumants in the respective sections (see Appendix A, Table A23 and Table A24 for the cash taxes and rents).

Table 35. Rents and Taxes in Cash, per Average Çiftlik (Guruş)

year	guruş
1279	9842,8
1280	9157,8
1281	10539
1282	13379
1283	16014,2
1287	25636,9
1290	28422,4
1293	8659,2
1299	1709,3

5.2.2.3.2 Selling agrarian surplus

Organising the sale of agrarian surplus in the market was another major duty of the çiftlik managers. These vakıf-çiftliks sold a considerable amount of their agrarian products (see Appendix A, Table A25).[526] Wheat, maize and sesame were the crops with the highest sales amount (740 kile, 440 kile, 130 kile per çiftlik per year,

[525] These cash rents were only the ones related to agriculture and animal breeding. They did not include the poll-tax, accounts of which kept separately.
[526] There were no sales reported for the years 1279, 1293, 1299, the first of which is the beginning and the final two are the end of the vakıf control for these çiftliks.

respectively). Around 25-30% of each crop was sold. An average çiftlik would earn around 30,000 guruş per year from selling its crops, which increased to 47,000 guruş by 1873. Table 36 shows the number of crops sold and cash revenue received in return.

Table 36. Amount of Crops Sold in Market and Payment Received in Return, Average per Çiftlik (Guruş and Kile)[527]

		1280	1281	1282	1283	1287	1290
wheat	kile	692	221	657	293	870	1,703
	guruş	13,756	5,069	16,210	6,521	23,716	27,590
maize	kile	494	450	534	86.6	633	450
	guruş	5,293	6,054	9,249	1,282.6	10,684	7,326
barley	kile	70	8.6	133	166	202	204
	guruş	690	96.4	1,990	1,988	2,567	3,558
rye	kile	106	27	55	58	61	80
	guruş	1,231	340	758	892	1,067	1,064
vetch	kile			2.8	16.8	7	22
	guruş			36.4	206.4	101	393
sesame	kile	71	91.4	85	80	153	109
	guruş	3,005	3,584	3,918	4,085	6,354	5,348
white maize	kile					2.2	
	guruş					37.4	
chickpea	kile	6.8	0.2	0.9	2		4.6
	guruş	103	2.8	18.9	40		129.2
cotton	kile	81	17	49	168	98	9
	guruş	4,135	1,128.5	1,944	4,737	94	318
lentil	kile	0.3	0.1	0.4			
	guruş	10	1.8	11.6			
tobacco	kile	9	5	6	6	18	12
	guruş	753	456	532,5	720	1722	1473
bean	kile				0,6	1,1	1,2
	guruş				8	42,9	45

Comparison of the crop revenue among çiftliks underlines the regional differences within Thessaly. Çiftliks at Tırhala (Voyvoda and Narlı) were the ones with the highest revenue from agriculture. Their total annual agrarian revenue was usually more than 100,000 guruş, and even reached 200,000 guruş during 1870s. Çiftlik of Voyvoda relies heavily on agriculture, and had almost no income from animal

[527] In the document, the unit of measurement for cotton, tobacco, lentils and beans was "okka", as it was "kile" for the rest. For the sake of comparison, okka is converted into kile in this table, with the ratio of 1 okka= 0.04 kile. Years 1293 and 1299 are not presented since no agrarian cash revenue was yielded in these years.

grazing. Furthermore, peasants from Piçri and Narlı cultivated wheat on the lands of Voyvoda, under the status of being "müzari".

This data also allows us to examine the price of each crop and its change from 1863 to 1873 (Table 37). The most expensive crop was sesame, at around 45 guruş per kile, followed by wheat (22 guruş per kile) and chickpeas (18 guruş per kile). Prices were not constant in time; the sesame price varied between 41 guruş and 51 guruş, and wheat between 17 and 26 guruş.

Table 37. Price of Crops per Unit (Guruş)[528]

	wheat	maize	barley	rye	vetch	sesame	white maize	chickpeas	cotton	lentils	tobacco	beans
1280	17.4	10	8	11		41,6		6.4	2	1.2	0.6	
1281	22	12.7	11	12.5		45		14	2.6	1	3.8	
1282	22	15	14	15	9.5	46		21	1.5	1.2	3.7	
1283	21	14.6	12	15.5	12.3	52		20	1.1		5	0.5
1287	26	17	13	18	15	41,5	17		1.5		3.7	1.5
1290	22	16	17	17	17.5	51		28	1.4		5	1.5

The most important means of selling the agrarian products were the çiftlik-shops ("çiftlik mağazası") and the shops rented in town centres. Çiftliks of western Thessaly, i.e., Voyvoda, Narlı and Piçri, had their own shops, which were established before these çiftliks were allocated to the vakıf of Pertevniyal. This is because these shops were referred to in the account book of the take-over in year 1279/1862-1863.[529] The shops were of çiftlik possession, their expenses (such as repair or purchase of tools) were met by the common account of five çiftliks. In 1866, one more shop was built in Voyvoda çiftlik in addition to the existing one. The new shop was called "the big shop" (büyük mağaza). This was also the year when all çiftlik shops were completely repaired, which was a process that was reflected by the

[528] The unit of measurement is okka for cotton, lentils, tobacco and beans; kile for the rest.
[529] AK. PVS. EVR. 3838.

detailed repair accounts.[530] Following this one, two new çiftlik-shops were opened. These were different from the previous ones because they were specifically for a certain crop. The first one was opened to sell cotton in 1870, but the location was not identified.[531] In 1873, a sesame-selling shop (sisam mağazası) was built in Narlı çiftlik of Tırhala.[532]

In addition to the ones in çiftliks, shops were rented by the çiftlik administration in the town centres of Tırhala, Kardiça and Alasonya. In 1863, a grain shop (zahire mağazası) was rented in Tırhala for 571 guruş annually and in Kardiça for 1,170 guruş.[533] In 1866, a Kardiça shop was rented for 10 months, from August to May, in return for 710 guruş. Another shop was rented in Alasonya in the same year in return for 150 guruş, which was a shop for selling maize for six months (from December to May). [534] In 1870, a new shop was rented in Tırhala only for selling maize, in return for 1,740 guruş per year.[535] Finally, in 1873, another shop was rented in Tırhala town.[536]

5.2.2.3.3 Land surveys

In addition to the duties as tax collection and product-selling, çiftlik managers were also in charge of land surveys within the çiftlik. This was probably not a duty on a regular basis, but handled only once when the vakıf of Pertevniyal took these çiftliks over. In 1864, superintendent Muhtar Bey and Voyvoda çiftlik's director, İbrahim Edhem Bey visited all of the five çiftliks for land surveys. [537] This task was not

[530] AK. PVS. EVR. 2184.
[531] AK. PVS. EVR. 2179.
[532] AK. PVS. EVR. 2181.
[533]AK. PVS. EVR. 4063. Rent in Kardiça shop included cost of grain transportation from *çiftlik*s to the shop.
[534] AK. PVS. EVR. 2184.
[535] AK. PVS. EVR. 2179.
[536] AK. PVS. EVR. 2181.
[537] AK. PVS. EVR. 4558.

delivered to them by the vakıf, but by the state authorities via orders sent to the director of the respective kazas. These surveys included the measurement of the çiftlik boundaries in addition to the counting of çiftlik land and households. The survey was registered in an account book, which was sent to the imperial authorities. Measurements were done by the officers of land survey (mesaha memurları), who received 1,260 guruş of payment in addition to 1,164 guruş of allowance in 1863.

Unfortunately, this land survey book could not be located in the archives yet. Income Surveys (Temettuat Defterleri) of the region, as explained above, could not be located, either. Access to these surveys would make a great contribution to this field of study.

5.2.3 Rural labour and production

The fiscal information presented in the çiftlik account books is actually a means to depict the rural labour and production. The established literature on vakıfs claims that peasants on vakıf-çiftliks were tenants of the vakıf, similar to the permanent tenancy in the miri system. The practice was, however, different from this idealised setting of law. Productive classes of vakıf-çiftliks were not a homogeneous entity. Rather, they were organised as three classes: share-croppers, transhumant shepherds and labourers.

5.2.3.1 Sharecroppers

Sharecroppers were the permanent settlers of the çiftlik. They were residents of these çiftliks long before the vakıf of Pertevniyal acquired the territory.[538] Legally, all

[538] AK. PVS. EVR. 3838. A survey was done in estates in 1280 when they were transferred to the vakıf from state lands. It clearly shows that these estates were already settled and working.

settlers at vakıf estates were tenants of the vakıf.[539] They were entitled only to usufruct rights of the land.[540] However, the terms of their rental contracts show that they lived in the çiftlik and cultivated çiftlik fields with far broader and permanent rights than tenancy. In practice, they "possessed" the land. The account book of the year 1863, as an exceptional case, provided the names of the heads of the sharecropper households.[541] According to this data, Voyvoda had 42, Narlı had 64, Piçri had 23, Pınarbaşı had 26 and Garçova had 7 sharecropper households in 1863. All of them had Christian names; most of them were Greeks (or Hellenised Vlachs) and others were probably Vlachs.

In some respects, their relations with the landlord were more or less similar to the Thessalian sharecroppers of previous decades: They did not pay house rent. Construction of new houses for them, or repairing their houses was financed by the revenue of each çiftlik, which made up nearly 15% of the total expenses.[542] They had a pair of oxen and a plough team in their possession.[543] They also did not pay land rent for agriculture. Seeds were given to them as a loan collected from the following year's revenue.

The economic obligations of the sharecroppers were tax payment in kind, plus cash taxes and fees. Tax payment in kind was the basis of sharecropping. As discussed above, after the elimination of the subaşı, the share of peasantry significantly increased. Approximately 60% of the agrarian production was remained at the peasants, 10% was paid as the tithe and 30% was paid as the "landlord's share".

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[539] Yediyıldız, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye'de Vakıf Müessesesi*, 133.
[540] "...the state had retained the ownership of land and handed over to the landlord the possession, and to the farmer, the usufruct, as separate elements...In such cases it was not the ownership of the land, which remained firmly in state's hands, but rather, the tax revenue generated by it that was endowed." (Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations,*74).
[541] AK. PVS. EVR. 4063.
[542] For instance, AK. PVS. EVR. 2184.
[543] For instance, AK. PVS. EVR. 418; AK. PVS. EVR. 2180.

Sharecroppers paid different types of cash rents (Table 38). Cash fees were feudal "*maktu*" payments. Maktu fees are remnants of the ancient practices in the Balkans, which dated back to at least the tenth century, and they were fixed amounts collected per plot of land.[544] *Baştina*, and in the Ottoman era, *çift*, was the name of the plot. These rents used to be collected by the subaşı in late eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth century (Chapters Three and Four). Although subaşılık was abolished, some maktu taxes continued to be collected in these vakıf-çiftliks for a while by the çiftlik director. This practice demonstrates a very long-term continuity in the land regime in the Balkans. In 1863, the tenants of Voyvoda çiftlik paid 148 guruş under the name "*beher çiftten 90ar paradan alınagelen*" (the ongoing collection of 90 para per çift). This fee was not collected – at least under this title – in the following years.

Other fixed cash fees were "*mart mahsulü*" (March yield) and "*yaz hasılatı*" (summer yield). The March yield fee became a subject of a dispute between the peasants and tax collectors. In 1863, five çiftliks paid 8,129 guruş, which decreased to half in the following year. Moreover, in 1865, the peasants of Voyvoda çiftlik requested an amnesty on this fee due to their inability to pay.[545] After this date, only Narlı and Piçri çiftliks paid the March yield fee, which was fixed to 1380 guruş for the former and 414 guruş for the latter during 1866-1876.

Sharecroppers paid cash taxes and rents for their revenue-yielding activities other than agriculture. These taxes and rents were namely vineyard rent or fee (*bağlar icarı/aidatı*), vine (*üzüm*), orchard (*bostan*), mulberry tree rent (*dut ağacı kirası*) silkworm rent (*harir koza kirası*), beehive (*asel kovan*), reed payment (*sazlık bedeli*), mill rent (*değirmen kirası*), inn rent (*han kirası*) and fair (*panayır*). Vineyard

[544] İnalcık, "Stefan Duşan'dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna XV. Asırda Rumeli'de Hıristiyan Sipahiler ve Menşeleri," 242.
[545] AK. PVS. EVR. 2184.

rent was collected per area of land. It was on average 100 guruş per çiftlik, whereas "vine" is the tax from the product, around 500 guruş per çiftlik. The orchard is also a land rent, around 60 guruş per çiftlik. Mulberry and silkworm were collected only once and rents demonstrate a limited amount of silk production; 214 guruş from the former and 18 guruş from the latter. Beehive rent was around 40 guruş per çiftlik. Reed, as in grass, was measured by cars for being sold, and was around 250 guruş per çiftlik. Mill rent was collected only by Voyvoda farm, at 320 guruş per year. This was because Voyvoda, as the biggest wheat producer, had a mill, whereas the other farms did not have one and were using it in return for a payment. Inn rent, at 180 guruş per year, was probably related to the use of this mill, because it was another revenue collected exclusively by Voyvoda, and registered together with the mill rent. There was also a fair (panayır) rent, which collected 150 guruş from Voyvoda çiftlik.

Table 38. Cash Rents Paid by the Sharecroppers (Guruş)

	Çift rent	Vine yard	vine	orchard	March yield	summer yield	mulberry	Silk worm	Bee hive rent	reed	mill	inn	fair
1279	49.6	286				83.4	214		0	756	66.8	160	30
1280					1625.8				0	756			
1281		50	417.8	16	937				33.4	288	160	160	
1282		54	331.4	57.2	359.4				43.5	40.4	220	0	
1283		46.8	1172.8	88.8	358.8			18	37.6	116.4	320	100	
1287		201.4	847.3	135.3	358.8				93.1	57	450	320	
1290		115	624.7	109.6	358.8				58.5	163.6	450	160	
1293		124.8	1330	143.8	358.8				70.4	120.4	340	180	
1299											882	533	

Another important aspect of the relationship between the sharecroppers and landlords concerns the debts and grants. Around 15% of cash payments collected in çiftliks

were redistributed to the sharecroppers as payments under the following names: animal cost (*hayvanat bahası*), loan to Christians (*Hristiyanların idaneleri için verilen*), payment and loan to sharecroppers (*müzarilere verilen*), wheat cost (*hınta bahası*) and oxen cost to *kocabaşı* (*çiftlik kocabaşına fazlaen verilen öküz bahası*). The registers do not provide further information on these payments. The possible explanation is that sharecroppers need cash sources in this context of increasing cash liabilities, hence, they had to receive loans or grants from their landlords.

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Sharecroppers were the main class of agrarian labourers who cultivated çiftlik fields. The following crops were produced in these five çiftliks: wheat, barley, rye, vetch, sesame, maize, white maize, chickpeas, cotton, lentils, tobacco and beans.[546] Table 39 shows the estimated annual average agrarian production for an average çiftlik.

The dominance of grain cultivation continued in Thessaly until the end of the Ottoman period in Thessaly. Wheat and maize were the main grains, and together they constituted near 75% of the total agrarian production. Maize replaced wheat as the dominant crop in 1864. The annual amount of wheat production per çiftlik was on average around 3,000 kile, although the amount was not constant: It reduced to 695 kile in 1864 and increased to 5,223 kile in 1866. The second important crop, maize, produced around 1,600 kile per çiftlik per year. Its amount of production increased to 2,300 kile until the year 1866, when it started constantly decreasing. Barley was in the third rank in terms of the amount of production, constituting around 9% of total production. Rye, sesame and cotton were 3% of the total amount each. The rest of the crops were in insignificant amounts.

[546] The original terms for crops are *hınta, şair, çavdar, burçak, susam, mısır, beyaz mısır, nohut, penbe, mercimek, duhan,* and *fasulye*, respectively.

Table 39. Annual Average Agrarian Production per Çiftlik[547]

year		1279	1280	1281	1282	1283	1287	1290	1293	1299
wheat	kile	3,685.3	3,487.2	695	3,205.3	5,223.3	2,769.5	3,878	1,395.2	4.492
	%	53	55	25	51	53	47	58	36	71
maize	kile	1700.7	1,377.4	1,657.4	1,744.7	2,322	1,910.5	1,264	1,440	906.7
	%	24	22	59	28	23	32	19	37	14
barley	kile	542.7	590	62.8	584	1,034.7	502.5	647	546	533.3
	%	8	9	2	9	10	8	10	14	8
rye	kile	354.0	230.6	91.8	244	306	129	184	292	392.3
	%	5	4	3	4	3	2	3	8	6
sesame	kile	304.0	238	223	291.3	290.7	346	0	0	0
	%	4	4	8	5	3	6	0	0	0
cotton	kile	315.3	302.4	44.2	167.3	680	222.5	179.4	81.4	0
	%	5	5	2	3	7	4	3	2	0
vetch	kile	0	0	0	54	20	15.5	162	86	0
	%	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	0
white maize	kile	0	0	0	0	0	2	290	0	0
	%	0	0	0	0	0	0.25	4.4	0	0
tobacco	kile	36	36	17.8	21.3	26	16.8	27.2	22.2	0
	%	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.3	1.75	0.4	0.6	0
chickpeas	kile	24	24	2	8.7	19.3	0.2	0	0	0
	%	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.2	0	0	0	0
beans	kile	0	0	0	0	4	1	2.4	2.4	1
	%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1	0
lentil	kile	1.3	1	0.2	1.3	0	0	0	0	3.7
	%	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02	0	0	0	0	0.1
total	kile	6,963.3	6,286	2,794	6,323.3	9,923.3	5,945	6,634	3,865	6,329
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

An analysis per çiftlik provides a regional comparison within Thessaly. Çiftliks of western Thessaly made up the majority of the total production of wheat, maize and barley. Alasonya çiftliks in the eastern part produced only 5-10% of these crops. Physical and institutional differences between two districts help to explainthese results. Separate analysis of these three crops further explains the production patterns.

Wheat: Voyvoda çiftlik of Tırhala constituted around 70% and Narlı çiftlik of Tırhala around 20% of the total annual wheat production. The third important çiftlik

[547] Values for the years except 1281 are estimated from the value of tithe and/or landlords' share based on the ratio of 30% landholder's share and 10% tithe from the revenue. Agrarian figures for the year 1299 were provided for 3 çiftliks (Voyvoda, Garçova and Pınarbaşı). For the previous years, they were provided for 5 çiftliks. Hence, the average is calculated by dividing the total amount of production into 5 for the years 1279-1293, and into 3 for the year 1299. In the document, the unit of measurement for cotton, tobacco, lentils and beans is "okka", and "kile" for the rest. For the sake of comparison, okka is converted into kile in this table, with the ratio of 1 okka= 0.04 kile.

was Piçri of Kardiça, with approximately 8% of the wheat production. Voyvoda, as the champion wheat producer, had a mill (değirmen) to grind the wheat. In fact, it was the only çiftlik among five with a mill and received a mill rent (320 guruş per year). Details of mill use were not provided. Possibly, other çiftliks of Pertevniyal vakıf or nearby çiftliks and villages used this mill in return for payment.

In contrast to the çiftliks of Tırhala and Kardiça, Alasonya çiftliks (Pınarbaşı and Garçova) made up less than 5% of the total wheat production. This result shows that the adjacent plain of Tırhala and Kardiça in western Thessaly was very important for wheat production. The reason for the very insignificant amount of production in Alasonya çiftliks was both physical and institutional. The topography of northeastern Thessaly, i.e., the Alasonya district, was marked by mountains and slopes. The area of fields was limited. Institutionally, as explained in Chapters Two and Three, the Alasonya region continued its legacy of independent villages vis-à-vis çiftliks. It was less çiftlikised compared to Tırhala district.

Barley: Barley production was also undertaken by Tırhala çiftliks. However, Narlı replaces Voyvoda in the first rank: The former usually produced 75% of barley, and the latter produced around 15%. Piçri farm of Kardiça, nevertheless, produced an insignificant amount of barley, and, in some years, did not produce any. Alasonya çiftliks produced 5-10% of the total amount.

Maize: The dominance of western Thessaly over the eastern part prevailed for maize production. Narlı çiftlik of Tırhala was the champion of maize production, producing around 50% of the production of these five çiftliks. Voyvoda and Piçri together produced 30% or 40% of the total maize; neither of them had an absolute superiority over the other. Pınarbaşı çiftlik of Alasonya made up around 10% of

production. Interestingly, Garçova çiftlik of Alasonya almost never produced maize during two decades.

5.2.3.2 Transhumant shepherds

The account books of five vakıf-çiftliks reveal important details on the transhumant shepherds of Thessaly between 1860 and 1880. These transhumant communities were composed predominantly of Vlach people (see Chapter Two for an extensive discussion). Their residence in the çiftliks was usually seasonal; the books indicated that they rented summer pastures of vakıf-çiftliks. This was a mutual relationship between transhumants and landlords. Çiftlik landlords', especially through the end of the century, preferred renting out land to semi-nomadic shepherds, instead of dealing with interminable disputes with settled sharecroppers.[548] Part of the Vlachs probably became permanent residents of these çiftliks. However, these account books, without household data or population census, are not the appropriate sources to confirm this change.

One certain thing about the Vlach's role in the *çiftlik* economy is that they supplied a significant part of the cash flow to the *çiftlik*s. Account books emphasised their cash payments as *perakendelerden alınan* (payments of perakendes) or *perakende Ulahlarından alınan (*payments of perakende Vlachs*).* In at least three different registers, Vlachs were named "perakende Ulahları", which is a reason to think that "perakende" was a shorter version of this title.[549]

There might also be "perakendes" other than Vlachs in the çiftliks. Perakende, a term used prevalently in the Balkans, did not have a fixed meaning and should be contextualised. Ionescu defines "perakende" as "parasites", meaning

[548] Petmezas, "Bridging the Gap," 375.
[549] AK. PVS. EVR. 4063; AK. PVS. EVR. 2184.

dispersed peasants "who did not engage in agriculture (*çift işlemeyen*) or had abandoned cultivation (*çiftten çıkmış*) but continued to live in the çiftlik".[550] During the 1850s, "they were to be urged into land cultivation: On the one hand, they were to pay 50 guruş in rent for their habitation, and, if they had animals, 5 guruş pasture fee per sheep and goat, and 25 guruş per cow and mare that they raised, on the other."[551] A later use of the "perakende", especially during the early 20th century was the çiftlik households other than sharecroppers, regardless of being temporary.[552] In other words, perakende became the name of small scale merchants and guilds. Vlachs acquired a great reputation as artisans organised as guilds for several crafts such as tinkers, locksmiths, silversmiths, tailors, bricklayers and masons.[553] They were also famous for textile production.[554]

Vlachs made cash payments to çiftliks in different ways (Table 40):

Revenue related to animal grazing: More than 80% of the cash revenue of these çiftliks consisted of the rents related to animal grazing. These rents were called as follows: winter pasture rent (*kışlak kirası*), perakendes' dues (*perakendelerden alınan*, *perakende Ulahlarından alınan*), land fee (*yer hakkı*), grass rent (*çayır*, *gıyah*) and meadow (*otlakiye*). Winter pasture rent was clearly the most important one among all. It was around 10,000 guruş per çiftlik per year, and constituted more than 70% of the cash rents. Animal grazing, predominantly undertaken by the shepherd Vlachs, was in a close relationship with the çiftlik organisation. They rented out pastures of the çiftliks during their winter stay. Furthermore, they paid

[550] Cited in Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 366.
[551] Kaya, "On the *Çiftlik* Regulation in Tırhala," 366.
[552] Petmezas defines perakende (or parakende) as follows: "All the village household heads who were not sharecroppers were termed parakende. The parakende population residing in the ciftlik villages enjoyed the same privilege of free grazing. They were either land workers (aylıklı) or professionals and smalltraders (blacksmiths, cart-drivers, innkeepers etc.)" See Petmezas, "Bridging the Gap," 375.
[553] Lascu, "Balkan Vlachs- Autonomies and Modernity," 199.
[554] Lascu, "Balkan Vlachs- Autonomies and Modernity," 203.

various other fees and dues. In Narlı, they paid 680 guruş as "yer hakkı" in 1863, which was not collected in the following years.

Table 40. Cash Rents Paid by the Transhumants (Guruş)

	winter pasture rent	perakende's animal and house rents	grass rent	meadow
1279	6,800	872	525	0
1280	6,120	0	520	136
1281	7,760	443	153.7	60
1282	11,000	928	143	148
1283	12,900	1,053	95.9	300
1287	20,360	600	165	2,082
1290	14,040	760	162.7	1,700
1293	5,000	600	390.6	0
1299				

House rents: Vlachs paid rent for their houses in *çiftlik*s, unlike Greek tenants living there permanently. Houses were rented out only to seasonal or temporary residents, who were transhumant Vlahs under the process of sedentarisation. In 1862, 35 perakende families paid 1,400 guruş to Garçova çiftlik as house rent (*menzil kirası*). In 1863, they paid to Narlı çiftlik 4,039 guruş as house rent and kefalaniko(?).[555] This kefalaniko, whose meaning is not revealed yet, was collected from Vlachs in other occasions as well. Voyvoda çiftlik levies 220 guruş of kefalaniko from Vlach families in the same year. In 1862, they paid 100 guruş as kefalaniko, which was noted to be a fee collected since very early times ("*kadimden beri alınagelen*"). In 1865, "*perakende Ulahlarının menzil kirası*" was 840 guruş to Narlı, 800 guruş to Voyvoda and 3000 guruş to Garçova. Garçova çiftlik continued to collect the same payment in the same amount in years 1866, 1870 and 1876.

Settlement fees: An "*İskaniye*" (settlement fee) was collected by Narlı çiftlik from Vlachs at the fiscal year 1873/1874. Twenty-two families paid 20 guruş each

[555] AK. PVS. EVR. 2180.

for one time. However, this payment did not abolish the payments Vlachs used to make. These 22 families paid 360 guruş as "*ücret-i ra'y*" (payment for grazing) for 24 cattle (hayvanat) they had.[556]

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Transhumant shepherds made contributions to these çiftliks other than the cash payments. Transportation and carriage was one of them. During the late 18th century, muleteering had been the major contribution of Vlachs to çiftliks. In the period of 1860-1880, there is a change in this function. Vakıf-çiftliks made a payment under the name of "muleteering" (mekkari ücreti) only once during these two decades, which was only 95 guruş.[557] The possible explanation is that, since Vlachs were integrated in the çiftlik economy in more direct ways, muleteering was fading out. Moreover, another means of transportation emerged; "havaleci" undertook the duty of transportation of goods. They received cash payments and food (grain) in return. Although there might be the possibility that Vlachs still undertook muleteering but receiving another form of payment than cash, the usual style of book-keeping helps us to eliminate this option. These account books included any kind of payment –in cash, kind or as a discount from land rent. Yet, payment for muleteering (except for 95 guruş) was not mentioned at all.

Last but not least, agriculture is expected to be another economic activity that the Vlachs participated in during their winter stay in çiftliks. There would also be Vlachs permanently settled in these çiftliks as sharecroppers and occupied with cultivation. Since these account books did not identify the cultivators, but merely provided the amount of cultivation, we do not have a direct evidence of associating

[556] AK. PVS. EVR. 2181.
[557] Year 1283, "*mekkari ücreti*".

Vlachs with arable agriculture. Further research is expected to confirm that Vlachs took part in çiftlik agriculture.

5.2.3.3. Labourers

Labourers were the temporary workforce of these çiftliks. Unlike sharecroppers, they did not do cultivation or other revenue-yielding activities. Nevertheless, they made a significant contribution to the agricultural activities and daily maintenance of the çiftliks. They were occupied with side work of agriculture and animal breeding on a monthly-contract basis. For most of the time, payments to labourers were not clearly expressed in the account books. They constituted a vague category between çiftlik managers and residents. People who were called "men of director" (*müdürün adamları*) and received a payment included in the director's salary could well be labourers. Unlike transhumant shepherds, they were not openly associated with rented rooms or houses. One possibility is that they were counted among the "perakende" and resided in the çiftliks by paying house rents as "perakendes". Another possibility is that they lived in nearby villages and towns, and came to çiftliks on a daily basis.

Despite all of these ambiguities, labourers can be traced in the account books when cash salaries were paid to them by specifying their labours. "*Kesicilik*" (cutting) was one of them. There were reed cutters (*sazlık kesici*) and grass cutters (*çayır kesici*). In year 1865, 320 guruş were paid for reed cutter(s) in Piçri. The number of labourers is not stated, but the period of work is stated as four months. The same çiftlik paid 182 guruş to grass cutters. This time, they were mentioned in plural form, but neither the number of labourers, nor the contract period is given. Piçri çiftlik also hired grass cutters in the following year and paid 248 guruş to them.

This çiftlik also hired a bekçi (watchman) for reeds and meadows and paid a salary of 300 guruş to him for an indefinite period.

Day-labourers hired for vineyards constituted other type of labourers. These day labourers were called either amele or ırgat. In 1866, Narlı çiftlik paid 475 guruş to labourers taking care of vineyards ("*bağların imarı için amele ücreti olarak verilen*"). The same çiftlik paid 422.5 guruş in year 1870 to labourers ("*bağların imarı için ber vech-i maktu ırgadlara verilen*"), and paid 352 guruş in 1873 ("*bağların imarı için ırgadiyesine verilen*") for the same task. Neither the number of labourers nor the duration of work is mentioned.

Construction workers were another group of labourers hired by these çiftliks. The construction and repair of sharecroppers' houses, the director's mansion and çiftlik shop was one area in which they worked. Furthermore, they were hired for infrastructural constructions such as digging ditches. For instance, in 1863, 517.5 guruş was paid to the day-labourers (*amele yevmiyesi*) for the repair of the mansion and shop in Narlı. In some entries, payments to construction workers were calculated together with the expenses made for repair and construcion. For instance, 8,784 guruş was paid for the repair expenses and payment of day labourers in Voyvoda in 1863. In 1865, Voyvoda in particular made payments to construction labourers in cash, and also made food payments in the form of wheat. There are entries about construction and repair in almost every year, which reached its peak in 1866. A total of 83,431 guruş was spent for construction materials and payments of workers in that year.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed several aspects of the reintroduction of vakıf control on Thessaly lands after 1840. Vakıfs were important landholders and providers of tax-farms in the region until the early-nineteenth century. Following a period of redistribution initiated by the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun), they become visible again after the 1840s. Their return overlapped with institutional reforms at the imperial level. Namely, increasing the control in provinces and codifying the land privatisation were the important goals of the mid-nineteenth century. Hence, vakıf administration was re-organised under the Ministry of the Imperial Foundations, a process affected by the competition of this ministry with another one, namely, the Ministry of Fiscal Affairs. Moreover, the vakıf, as a landholder, followed the tendencies of the period that gradually shifted from multiple claims to a single claim on land.

In the first part of the chapter, it is argued that land surveys and transfers reflected the attempt to formulate land as a well-defined space. Two reasons are underlined: to increase its value as a commodity and to be able to be keep it under fiscal and political control. The parcelisation of land and identification of territories and boundaries were the means to these ends. However, these methods were not applied in full-fledged form. First, vakıfs did not legally sell the land, but rented it. Yet, in practice, tenants enjoyed several rights of personal property. Second, the transfer of vakıf-shares shows that what was transferred between tenants was not necessarily the land, but generally the revenue.

This part is also based on the argument that old institutional legacies of landholding and tax-collection continued after the mid-nineteenth century. Vakıfs of the region, such as Bahçekapusu Valide Sultan Vakfı, had continued their presence

there since at least the sixteenth century. These vakıfs, as they did in the eighteenth century, leased out malikane contracts in this new period. However, some of their practices changed: Unlike the eighteenth century, a malikane share became a transferable commodity. Absentee landlordism continued. Many of the vakıf-founders or shareholders of vakıf tax-farms were absentee notables. Some of them were appointed high governors of the region. Moreover, significant landholders of the late eighteenth century, such as Esma Sultan, were still landholders in this new era as vakıf-founders. In non-çiftlik land forms, especially in villages, vakıfs continued their presence. Peasants continued to became tenants of vakıf villages.

The second part of the chapter examines a single vakıf as a landholder in Thessaly. This was the newly founded vakıf of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan. This imperial vakıf possessed five çiftliks in different districts of Thessaly from the 1860s to the end of the Ottoman regime in Thessaly in 1880s. This part analysed the registers of these çiftliks in different ways:

1. The competition between different levels of landholding and revenue-sharing institutions is analysed. The competition and collaboration among these institutions are depicted through vertical and horizontal links. It is argued that despite the attempts at having their single claims on the land, landlords could not eliminate the structure of intermediaries. Furthermore, the imperial institutions were dependent on these local intermediaries in order to increase their revenue. In addition, the claim of the conventional historiography that the post-1840 Ottoman bureaucracy had exhausted the vakıf sources is proven to be wrong, at least in the case of imperial vakıfs. There was a mutual relationship between vakıfs and state institutions. Local governors appointed by the state were involved in the affairs of vakıf çiftliks, which

was, on the one hand, a burden for them, and on the other hand, a means for them (and for the central state) to intervene in land control.

2. Vakıf-çiftlik is examined as an economic organisation. Land, labour and taxation relations are highlighted. The relationship of çiftlik managers and peasants acquired a new way. After the elimination of subaşıs, these managers were not share-holders of çiftlik revenue anymore. Instead, they were more like appointed officers who received cash salaries. Still, they were the "head" of the çiftlik in many ways: They lived in the mansion of the çiftlik, collected the taxes, sold the agrarian surplus in the market and made land surveys. Organisation of rural labour had certain similarities with the previous eras. Sharecroppers, transhumant shepherds and labourers constituted the workforce of the çiftliks. Sharecroppers, the main productive class, increased their share of the revenue from 35% to 60% after the elimination of subaşıs. Grain production continued to dominate Thessaly cultivation in this era. However, there was not any considerable amelioration in the condition of sharecroppers; they were still subject to several cash taxes and feudal dues. Transhumant shepherds usually stayed in the çiftliks with their flocks during winter, and supplied majority of the cash incomes of the çiftliks through the pasture rents they paid. They were in the process of sedentarisation, and some groups among them settled in these çiftliks. Labourers usually undertook side works of agriculture and animal breeding on a monthly-contract basis. Many labourers were hired for the construction and repair of çiftlik buildings on a daily basis.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This research aimed at explaining the process of çiftlikisation in Thessaly from the 1780s to the 1880s. It offers a contribution to studies on çiftliks by focusing on a specific area in the Balkans during the late Ottoman period. It discussed the means that land acquired private property-like characteristics in this region, and the implications of this process to its rural economy. It analysed the formation of the çiftliks, and questioned the continuities and changes in their evolution. The main thesis of this research is that the continuity of the absentee mode of landownership was the hallmark of Thessaly çiftliks from c. 1780 to 1880, but, the changes in the characteristics of absenteeism during this period created new property relations in the region.

The conclusions of this research will be presented in the following parts: First, the methodological and conceptual contributions of this research to Ottoman studies will be explained. Second, the factors driving the process of çiftlikisation will be scrutinised. Third, the results of this research will be evaluated with respect to the question of centralisation. Fourth, the conclusions about the question of production and productivity will be discussed. The conditions of the peasantry constitute an important part of this final discussion.

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This research offers a methodological contribution to Ottoman studies by showing that the fiscal, judicial and administrative archives can be used in a way to highlight the social struggles and institutional formations, thus, making an in-depth analysis of the çiftlikisation and çiftlik economy. This research has chosen Thessaly to study

çiftliks of the later Ottoman period, because çiftliks enclosed almost all of the Thessalian lowlands and part of the highlands. Moreover, there were also independent small villages and transhumant settings in the region. Their existence presents a ground to observe the transition from a non-çiftlik form to a çiftlik.

The question of çiftliks is important in Ottoman historiography from various perspectives. It has been regarded as a major topic in the Ottoman political economy, as well as in the Balkan history. Although the earlier or more conventional viewpoint associated çiftliks with the decline of state power, revisionist views explained them within the context of the evolution of provincial institutions. Their legal background is also widely discussed; especially, the effects of the centrally enforced codifications of the mid-nineteenth century on the çiftliks have been addressed. Finally, the role of the market on the evolution of çiftliks is extensively discussed. This research adopts the following conceptual framework in order to discuss the above-mentioned points in the literature: It challenges the decline paradigm and discusses the effects of the Ottoman institutions on çiftlik-making in order to understand to what extent the çiftliks were formed within the limits of these institutions. It proposes an alternative to the centralisation paradigm and suggests examining the local dynamics, especially the local applications of the imperial institutions. It approaches law not as a breaking point, but as a process with continuities and changes that have been related to çiftlik-making. Furthermore, this research adopts a definition of property that exceeds the scope of law and looks for its de facto meanings. Finally, it conceptualises market not as an independent force that could have shaped the çiftliks by itself. Rather, the evolution of the land market and surplus exchange is discussed alongside other institutional developments that were in a causal relationship with the çiftliks.

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This research, based on its case studies covering different parts of the region, claims that the process of çiftlikisation was predominantly initiated and accelerated within the context of vakıfs. They were always among the most important landholders in Thessaly from the 1780s to the 1880s. Although there were profound changes in their forms and functions (regarding their tax-collection methods and also their relationship with provincial and imperial authorities), they continued to control a significant number of Thessalian landed estates during the century. The analysis of vakıf-çiftliks is an important contribution to the literature, because the existing studies usually focus on their fiscal administration rather than on their landholding practices.

There were a number of factors that gradually converted vakıf holdings in Thessaly into çiftlik-type estates: In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the immunities (serbestiyyet) they had had as imperial vakıfs provided protection for them from political and fiscal interventions. Such immunities were common for vakıf properties throughout the empire. In Thessaly, this shelter granted the landowners of vakıf estates with an early form of private land claims, when combined with the tax farming practices of the late eighteenth century. Contrary to the European countries that abolished tax farming before the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire – and the imperial vakıfs – consolidated it with life-term (malikane) contracts. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, local notable Tepedelenli Ali Paşa not only acquired the sub-lease of these vakıf-malikane contracts, but also became the major çiftlik owner of Thessaly by incorporating this fiscal power in his local political authority. The rise of the local elite (and the subsequent role of tax farming) was a typical phenomenon in the Ottoman Empire of this period. Yet, in order to be able to argue that it was necessarily the vakıf framework that empowered

Ali Paşa as a tax farmer-cum-local notable, vakıf properties in the domains of his contemporaries should be studied. In the period following his dismissal, the legacy of vakıf-çiftliks continued in Thessaly in the hands of a number of new (and revived) imperial vakıfs that were supervised by the Ministry of Imperial Foundations (Nezaret-i Evkâf-ı Hümayun).

The competition between the central and local elite was also a factor that drove the process of çiftlikisation in Thessaly. This competition usually took place – especially during the first half of the nineteenth century – to acquire the tax-farm of rural revenue. Acquiring the land itself was another source of competition, which was observed in Thessaly from the mid-nineteenth-century onwards. The winner of this competition was usually the central elite comprising the imperial family and high-ranking officials. They constituted the absentee landlord class of the region. Except from the period of the local elite Ali Paşa (i.e., the decades when the imperial elite had to cooperate with him in the 1790s-1880s, and they accepted his dominance in the 1810s), the central elite controlled the Thessaly çiftliks. The continuity of absenteeism was not interrupted even during control of the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun), which lasted a few years after the confiscation of Ali Paşa's property to its redistribution to a group of absentee notables.

Hence, this research mainly argues that the continuity of absenteeism was the most important characteristic of land ownership in Thessaly çiftliks. The absentee notables held many valuable tax-farms for a lifetime in the early nineteenth century, and for limited periods in the following decades. After 1840 onwards, a number of them also collected the landed property of the çiftliks by establishing vakıfs. Imperial vakıf estates were not limited to Thessaly in this period; they were also observed frequently in the rest of the Ottoman Balkans and western Anatolia. Members of the

dynastic family were among the absentee landlords of Thessaly throughout the century. Two of them who were frequently referred to in the case studies of this research were Esma Sultan and Pertevniyal Valide Sultan. They possessed revenue sources in many other Ottoman provinces including Manastır, Berat, Girid, Biga, Uşak and Bursa. Mothers, sisters and daughters of the Ottoman sultans possessed a considerable number of landed estates, tax-farms, and vakıfs in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A thorough analysis of the possessions of members of the dynastic family is necessary in order to reveal the scope of their effect on the rural economy. Such analysis would also contribute to the challenge proposed by this research towards the assumed rigid boundaries of the Ottoman land regime. In Thessaly, the boundary between miri and vakıf lands blurred when imperial figures were involved. Further research is necessary in order to conclude whether this was a common phenomenon for the empire or not. This kind of inquiry would also provide the possibility to discuss the boundaries between the imperial family and the empire.

Another dimension of the çiftlikisation in Thessaly is the conditions of the land market. In the case of Thessaly çiftliks, it is not possible to argue that there was a land market open to all potential bidders. Major land transfers were rather offered to a group of absentee and local notables. One definite reason is the high value of the çiftliks, which could be met by the credit networks to which the wealthy notables had access. The çiftliks were not usually leased out individually, but instead, a number of them were transferred to a single entrepreneur at once. The contract price for such transactions exceeded 1,000,000 guruş in the 1830s, and such a large amount was promised to be paid in several instalments thanks to a loan from a creditor (sarraf). The fiscal network that the imperial elite (especially the malikanecis) had in Istanbul with sarrafs is definitely another important aspect of the discussion that is not

included in this research. After the 1840s, the land market in Thessaly acquired new dynamics. Major land transfers still approached the higher elite, yet the less significant ones became more open to mid-rank entrepreneurs. Hence, Thessaly vakıfs had to adjust themselves to this new environment. Vakıf lands became well-defined spatial units in a number of respects. Parcelisation enabled a more feasible introduction to the land market. This was also necessary for the vakıf estates, because they were in need of more cash resources in order to meet the fiscal demands of the state.

This research confirms that an absentee ownership regime made the local çiftlik intermediaries an indispensable part of the çiftlik management. These intermediaries had different titles and functions in each epoch. From the 1780s to 1810s, vovyoda was appointed by the malikaneci to the town (kaza) in order to control the revenue. The official ruler of kaza, i.e., the kadı, was practically replaced by voyvoda in several judicial and administrative issues. This transformation was typical for the Ottoman provinces that were leased out as a malikane. After the 1810s, Ali Paşa's rule did not interrupt the role of the intermediaries. Despite the fact that he was a "local" landlord with respect to his local knowledge and authority, he needed intermediaries in order to control the vast number of his çiftliks. The subaşı was the director in each of his çiftliks, who received as much revenue as he did from the harvest. After subaşılık was abolished in 1860, the çiftlik director (çiftlik müdürü) became the local intermediary with rather limited power. Contrary to the subsequent epochs of voyvoda, subaşı and çiftlik director, respectively, there was a local attendant who was always there from the 1780s to 1880s. It was the kocabaşı. The kocabaşı was not principally a çiftlik manager; rather, he was the communal leader of Christian communities who was particularly in charge of collecting the

taxes of the respective community. However, different cases from all of the periods examined in this research show that the kocabaşı had a significant role in çiftlik management. The Bylaw of Tırhala (1860), while abolishing subaşıs, did not shrink the power of the kocabaşı. Instead, it strengthened kocabaşı's authority on certain fiscal aspects.

After discussing the major factors for çiftlikisation, it is necessary to underline the absence of one factor: The enclosure of the commons cannot be emphasised to explain the çiftlikisation of Thessaly during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The region was probably exceptional in that respect, compared to many other parts of the empire. This could be explained by the fact that imperial çiftliks were already dominant in the region long before the late eighteenth century, and they had already enclosed the commons by then. Research about the earlier enclosures in Thessaly is necessary to confirm this hypothesis. If this is the case, Thessalian enclosures could provide a ground for comparison with the extensive enclosure movements in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century England and eighteenth-century France. Nevertheless, this research underlines the issue of çiftlik pastures in Thessaly as a question related to land enclosures. Although these pastures were already enclosed, i.e., included in the çiftlik property, by the nineteenth century, the use-rights regarding them constituted a point of conflict. During the mid-nineteenth century, the authorities attempted to prevent the practice by shepherd transhumant communities practice of renting the winter pastures with the aim of sedentarisation. This was not surprising, as sedentarisation became one of the intentions of the empire for other provinces as well. What was probably unique for Thessaly was the fact that animal breeding was in symbiosis with çiftlik agriculture because the sharecropping agreements included the combination of subsistence

farming and animal husbandry. The sharecroppers did not abandon animal husbandry (and the pastures) for the sake of agriculture in cases where they benefitted more from the former. The attempts at the sedentarisation of Vlachs or the limitation of animal-grazing by the Bylaw of Tırhala could not change this pattern.

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This study also contributes to the discussion of the centralisation (or decentralisation) of the Ottoman Empire in a number of ways. The analysis of the evolution of post-1780 vakıfs provides important contributions to this discussion. It has usually been argued in the literature that vakıfs represented the decentralised nature of the empire up till the 1850s when they became subordinated to a centralised state power. This research challenges this view, and shows that there was a struggle of centralising and decentralising forces that shaped the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Moreover, the connections between the provincial networks of the imperial family members and the imperial offices surpass the paradigms of centralisation and decentralisation. In the late eighteenth century, in Thessaly as well in other Ottoman provinces, vakıfs of the imperial family members enjoyed certain immunities not only from local authorities, but also from the imperial treasury. Yet, whenever these vakıfs had a conflict with the local notables, it was the imperial offices at the centre from which they sought support. By the 1840s, the Ministry of Imperial Foundations, to which all vakıfs had been legally subordinated since 1826, became the supervisory institution for land transfers and çiftlik activities managed by the vakıfs in Thessaly. In return for their autonomy in the çiftlik management, these vakıfs (most of which were founded by the central elite) had to fulfil certain administrative and fiscal obligations imposed by their ministry and the Ministry of Fiscal Affairs. Hence, the

situation was neither the full-fledged central control of the state to the vakıfs and their çiftliks, nor the absolute immunity of the vakıfs from the imperial authority.

Another means of contribution to the discussion of centralisation is to examine the relationship between the mid-nineteenth century codifications and çiftlikisation. As explained above, this research disagrees that the law itself could be a breaking point for the landholding practices. Hence, it challenges the view that the Land Code of 1858 attributed private property-like characteristics to land and created the çiftliks in Thessaly or elsewhere in the empire. Rather, this research shows that çiftlik-making was a process that included the earlier fiscal institutions, local dynamics and intra-class conflicts of the landholders. Legal codes did not formulate the çiftliks, but consolidated the claims of çiftlik-owners. Moreover, it was not the centrally implemented laws such as the Land Code, but local ones such as the Bylaw of Tırhala that fixated the private property-like characteristics to land in Thessaly. The Bylaw of Tırhala, which was negotiated by local councils composed of notables and then confirmed by the imperial authority in 1860, shows that law-making could be an effective step in the evolution of the Thessalian çiftliks as long as it represented the interests of local çiftlik holders. Analytical studies on the local and central land laws from the mid-nineteenth century onwards would open further discussions about the relationship between the legal codification and the upsurge of çiftliks in different Ottoman provinces.

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The continuities and changes in the agrarian production in Thessaly çiftliks offer further reflections on the political economy of the era. Grain cultivation dominated agriculture in Thessaly çiftliks during the nineteenth century. The share of the total production of wheat, barley and maize was always around 80%. Industrial crops such

as cotton and tobacco never had a major share in agriculture. Similarly, fruit and vegetables were produced in insignificant amounts. The agrarian patterns of Thessaly – that is the dominance of grain cultivation and the insignificance of industrial crops, fruit and vegetables – cannot simply be explained by a contrast between subsistence and commercial farming. This is because the dominance of grain cultivation did not mean that the peasantry made the production primarily for their subsistence. Rather, grain cultivation in Thessaly mainly aimed at the provisioning of the local and imperial army, navy and the imperial capital. Provisioning policy required the control of the surplus revenue by the landlords in accordance with the needs of the imperial authority. This policy was a ground where the interests of the imperial and provincial power-holders met and clashed. Provisioning was as much an obligation as an advantage for the çiftlik-holding elite of the early nineteenth century, since it supplied them with a negotiation capacity vis-à-vis the imperial authorities. Selling grain in the domestic market or its export was not the primary aim. On the contrary, these commercial activities were extensively limited for the sake of provisioning. However, it should also be considered that selling the surpluson the black market would also provide an appealing alternative for notables such as Ali Paşa. Upon the official request of the Ottoman rule, he was already in charge of provisioning the Russian Navy during the Napoleonic Wars. This connection could have provided him with the means of selling the grains produced in his çiftliks in the market. This research, though, limits its scope to Thessaly and to the landed property rather than the outbound commercial networks of Ali Paşa. An extensive analysis of Ali Paşa's post-mortem records regarding his commercial network will definitely open further discussion.

After the mid-nineteenth century, the Ottoman political economy gradually abandoned provisioning. This research clearly shows that grain provisioning was not the primary aim of Thessaly çiftliks in this period. Post-1860 Thessaly çiftliks sent less than 5% of their revenue for provisioning the army. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the provisioning pressure was removed, grains constituted around 75% of the production of these çiftliks. The reason for this continuity in the predominance of grain production should be questioned. The continuity of the labour regime in the region may provide an answer. Sharecropping remained as the main form of agrarian labour in Thessaly throughout the nineteenth century. Instead of the labour-intensive products as cotton and tobacco, sharecroppers might have continued to produce grains. Another explanation could be that the landholding vakıfs preferred grain cultivation, mostly due to the developments in the global market that supported the long-distance trade of wheat. While the transaction costs decreased during the second half of the nineteenth century, the price of wheat increased significantly in the early 1860s, especially due to the rising demand during the American Civil War. Demands from the domestic market, based on the rapid urbanisation, could also be a reason for the grain cultivation during this period. The presence of çiftlik shops and the figures of crop sales demonstrate that Thessaly çiftliks also targeted the domestic market and sold around 25% of their production during the 1860s. Wheat, maize and sesame were the crops with highest sales amount. The price of the crops is also available; sesame, wheat and chickpeas had the highest price per unit, respectively. Hence, it is evident that wheat sales were very important for the Thessalian market in terms of both its amount and its cash return.

The most important agrarian change in post-1860 Thessaly was the significant increase in the total amount of agricultural production. An average çiftlik

in Thessaly increased its agricultural production produced almost ten times from the 1820s to 1870s. The striking increase in the amount of production could be explained by the productivity. Nevertheless, land area, ratio of seed to grain, or the seed type was not available in the fiscal data utilised in this research. Moreover, it is not possible to assume that a certain çiftlik in 1820 had the same area in 1870. This makes it difficult to present a quantitative explanation of productivity in Thessaly. Still, the changing dynamics of the landholding and labour can provide another basis for explanation. Before 1860, the subaşı was in charge of the çiftlik management and received one-third of the revenue, in addition to one-third that the landlord received. It meant that the sharecroppers had paid two-thirds of their production as rent in kind. This tax regime would have probably led them to produce the minimum amount possible. After the subaşılık was abolished in 1860, the tax in kind directly decreased to one-third of the revenue, which could have motivated the sharecroppers to produce more. In other words, it is highly possible that the abolishment of the subaşı had an effect in the rise of productivity in Thessaly çiftliks.

The effect of the vakıf as an institution on production and productivity in Thessaly çiftliks is another question that could be raised. A comparison between vakıf-çiftliks and çiftliks of other types could have revealed these effects. However, since vakıfs were predominantly the main estate owners in the region, çiftlik possessions of other institutional forms did not provide a satisfactory ground for comparison. Even in the periods when vakıfs indirectly controlled the çiftliks via tax farmers, or lost their control to Ali Paşa, they were still the lawful owners of the land, which makes the isolation of the effects of vakıf far from feasible.

It should be underlined that because of the continuity of the landholding practices in Thessaly from the 1780s to 1880s there was not a radical transformation

in the conditions of the peasantry. The system of absentee landlords and their intermediaries always created a heavy tax burden. In the short epoch that the central elites were replaced by Ali Paşa, the situation did not change. The çiftlik intermediaries continued to extract the revenue in addition to the taxes collected for Ali Paşa. Moreover, the sharecroppers were bonded to soil and to the landlord. Bondage to soil was another long-lasting phenomenon of Thessaly, and it was reinforced further in the mid-nineteenth century by legal and administrative acts. The Bylaw of Tırhala (1860) clearly states that sharecroppers who were born in a çiftlik were prohibited from leaving it.

Ali Paşa's dismissal did not create immediate relief for tax-paying sharecroppers. On the contrary, they became liable to retroactive tax payments, for a period during which they might have already paid tax. Following the dismissal of Ali Paşa, the state authorities' promise of amelioration of the peasantry's tax burden was not kept. On the contrary, the situation worsened. Sharecroppers continued to pay taxes both to new absentee landlords and local çiftlik managers. Besides, the cash rents they paid were increased at least five times. Related to that, peasant indebtedness to the landlord and to the subaşı, which was another long-lasting problem in Thessaly, reached an unbearable level. This was among the causes of the severe rural distress in the region that led to uprisings of 1854-1855. Although the peasantry's share from the revenue increased by the elimination of the subaşı in 1860, it was outweighed by the tremendous rise of the cash taxes. Hence, the problem of indebtedness continued in the following two decades. After the annexation of Thessaly to the Kingdom of Greece in 1881, there were no major changes in the land or labour regime that could have changed the conditions of the peasantry. Sharecropping-based çiftliks continued to dominate Thessalian lowlands.

Stagnation of wheat cultivation, the Balkan Wars and the First World War postponed a profound land reform and aggravated the problems of the rural population of Thessaly.

APPENDIX A: SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table A1. Ali Paşa Family's Confiscated Çiftliks and Villages in Thessaly[558]

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Owner	Name Of Kaza
Aglicadis	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Agoryani	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Çatalca
Aklahoyat	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/İmam İbrahim Ve Kocabaşı Zoyimi	Domnik
Askosye	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/İmam İbrahim Ve Kocabaşı Zoyimi	Domnik
Aslatna	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Aslatna	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Astalosos	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Avaritza	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Çatalca
Avdiki	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Çatalca
Ayakiryaki	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Baklalı	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Zaraklı Atnaş	Tırhala
Boçtika	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa/Çiftlik Kethüdası Hristo	Tırhala
Bodkiçe	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Borvik	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Bozova	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Çatadavas	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Çeltükçü	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Çernilo	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Taraftarı Tahir Abbas	Alasonya
Çiftlik-İ Vemşi	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Çukut-I Kebir	Karye	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Zaraklı Atnaş	Tırhala
Çukut-I Sagir	Karye	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Zaraklı Atnaş	Tırhala
Delinista	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kocabaşı Ve Kethüda Dimitri	Alasonya
Dokidsine	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala

[558] The data is derived from BOA. MAD.d. 9761.

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Owner	Name Of Kaza
Dokşo	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Domnik	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/İmam İbrahim Ve Kocabaşı Zoyimi	Domnik
Doryani	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Zaraklı Atnaş	Tırhala
Dosi Oğlu Ma Taşo	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Doşot	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Çatalca
Gelnoz	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa/Çiftlik Kethüdası Hristo	Tırhala
Godove	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa/Çiftlik Kethüdası Hristo	Tırhala
Hamidli	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Çatalca
Hasade	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Hasköy	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Hasköy	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa/Çiftlik Kethüdası Hristo	Tırhala
İflamyozti	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa/Çiftlik Kethüdası Hristo	Tırhala
İklamoli	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Kalagrane	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Zaraklı Atnaş	Tırhala
Kalogorane	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa/Çiftlik Kethüdası Hristo	Tırhala
Kapçoz	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Karakokle	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Karaşa Aklas	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Karaştino	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Kavak	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Çatalca
Kirçatadis	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa/Çiftlik Kethüdası Hristo	Tırhala
Kokinopilo	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kocabaşı Ve Kethüda Dimitri	Alasonya
Kondoroçe	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kocabaşı Ve Kethüda Dimitri	Alasonya
Konice	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kocabaşı Ve Kethüda Dimitri	Alasonya
Korci	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Korlimi	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Kuruca Oba	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kocabaşı Ve Kethüda Dimitri	Alasonya
Kuruvazde	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Kuzgunlar	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Çatalca
Küçük Toşan	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Çatalca
Küçükçayhasarı	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Domnik
Likmod	Karye	Ali Paşa/İmam İbrahim Ve Kocabaşı Zoyimi	Domnik
Lişane	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Owner	Name Of Kaza
Magula	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Magule	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kocabaşı Ve Kethüda Dimitri	Alasonya
Makarki	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Merci-İ Kebir	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Merci-İ Sagir	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Mesudlar	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Çatalca
Miçon	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kocabaşı Ve Kethüda Dimitri	Alasonya
Mirice	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa/Çiftlik Kethüdası Hristo	Tırhala
Narlı	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Zaraklı Atnaş	Tırhala
Oba Yance	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Orman Ahmed	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Ostyoçe	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Otyodçoke	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa/Çiftlik Kethüdası Hristo	Tırhala
Palarme	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Çatalca
Palasova	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Patole	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa/Çiftlik Kethüdası Hristo	Tırhala
Peritor	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kocabaşı Ve Kethüda Dimitri	Alasonya
Petre	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kocabaşı Ve Kethüda Dimitri	Alasonya
Pınarbaşı	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Taraftarı Yanyalı Çebot İbrahim Ve Tahir Abbas	Alasonya
Polyane-İ Kebir	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Pornar	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Çatalca
Selos	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kocabaşı Ve Kethüda Dimitri	Alasonya
Semavmi	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Çatalca
Seraklar	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Sikia	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kocabaşı Ve Kethüda Dimitri	Alasonya
Solathiste	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/İmam İbrahim Ve Kocabaşı Zoyimi	Domnik
Sotire	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Şurut	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Zaraklı Atnaş	Tırhala
Tehor	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Zaraklı Atnaş	Tırhala
Umur	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kocabaşı Ve Kethüda Dimitri	Alasonya
Vaciste	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Vadşis	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Vanye	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Owner	Name Of Kaza
Veleştine	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/İmam İbrahim Ve Kocabaşı Zoyimi	Domnik
Vondos	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kocabaşı Ve Kethüda Dimitri	Alasonya
Voştod	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Zaraklı Atnaş	Tırhala
Voyvoda	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Yanote	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kocabaşı Ve Kethüda Dimitri	Alasonya
Yaye	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Zaraklı Atnaş	Tırhala
Yolyane-İ Kebir	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala
Zabant	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Çatalca
Zarak	Karye	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Zaraklı Atnaş	Tırhala
Zavlanye	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Zayalişi	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Taşo	Tırhala
Zolafi	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa/Kethüda Kostandi	Tırhala

Table A2. Ali Paşa Family's Confiscated Çiftliks in Yenişehr-i Fener[559]

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Owner	Name Of Kaza
Admacılar	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Ağani	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Akpınar	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Almes	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Ay Doğu Vanye Püşu Ve Bektaş Doke Karalar	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Bakir Goni Ma Köseler	Çiftlik	Muhtar Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Bazarganlar	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Belyanlu	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Bezciler	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Bozeler Obası Nam-I Diğer Yanık	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Bozoğnan	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Büyük Kaşine	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Büyük Porle Nam-I Diğer Ardançi	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Büyük Saraclar Ma Küçük Saraçlar	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Büyük Undaklar	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Cuma Çakırlar	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Cumalar	Çiftlik	Muhtar Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Cumalu	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Cumralu	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Çavuş	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Çeltik Sedgah Ma Orman	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Daber	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Deli İbrahim	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Deli Veli	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Doğvid	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Doso	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Eşkıya	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Evmiç	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener

[559] The data is derived from BOA. MAD.d. 7675.

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Owner	Name Of Kaza
Göbek Obası	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Gölada	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Hacı Mustafalar	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Hacı Obası	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Haliç Obası	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Haliç Obası Ma Adlabalu	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Havaleler	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Hermine Nam-I Diğer Apomazye	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Hisarlık	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
İbrahim Bey	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
İsadi	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
İsnebler Ma İpçiler	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
İthanlu	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Kalpfon	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Kalyone	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Kamlino	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Kapa	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Kara Turgutlu Ma Keşanlı Nam-I Diğer Cemaş	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Karacaoğlan	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Kartavriş	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Kasab Aliler	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Kasaklı Kebir Ve Sagir	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Katranye	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Katreler	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Kerişe	Çiftlik	Muhtar Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Kerli	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Kesrice	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Kilangi	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Kilangi Nam-I Diğer Kiramcor	Çiftlik	Muhtar Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Koçbasan	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Koçoheri	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Komados	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Konpa	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Owner	Name Of Kaza
Koru Çerlos	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Koruk	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Koşke	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Koşkine	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Kozgölü	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Köprücü	Çiftlik	Muhtar Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Küçük Ondaklar Ma Ali Kahya	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Küçük Porle	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Lazanad	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Lazarin	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Lekoyani	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Lescod	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Lotroyi	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Magule Karandos	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Magule Rum	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Maguliçe	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Mecdan	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Mefriçod	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Merçova	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Meşkize	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Meşklod	Çiftlik	Muhtar Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Metranka	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Metranka Oğlu	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Miroz	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Mozik	Çiftlik	Muhtar Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Muhterem	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Musalar	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Noksade	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Ortacılar	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Ömerler Ma Yunduklar	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Palihor	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Palteler	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Parvadi Kebir Ve Sagir	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Owner	Name Of Kaza
Piçri	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Pirine Panos	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Polyane	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Polyane-İ Kebir Ve Sagir	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Preprestani	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Sadfadis	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Sakalar	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Sarı Avsadlu	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Sarı Meşe	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Sarıcılar	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Sedkeri	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Sekodlu	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Serakine	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Serkinli	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Sofu Obası	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Şeyh Pederlü	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Tahtalar	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Vanari	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Veliş Pazarı	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Vize Ova	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Yaycılar	Çiftlik	Ali Paşa Ve Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Yazıcı Hüseyin Nam-I Diğer Nivdoç	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Yedidler	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir
Yusuflu	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Fener Ve Kardiça
Zabir	Çiftlik	Veli Paşa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Nahiye-i Etraf Şehir

Table A3. Ali Paşa Family's Confiscated Çiftliks in Thessaly[560]

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Owner	Name Of Kaza
Agoryani	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Çatalca
Aksaray	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Arnavut Çoke	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Atros	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Cemaş Kolu
Avaritza	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Çatalca
Avdiki	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Çatalca
Babalori	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Cemaş Kolu
Bakir Goni	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Baklalu	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Belyanlu	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Cemaş Kolu
Bezciler	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Bodevik	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Kelniva Nahiyesi
Bolahave	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Bozgoç	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Bozova	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Kıraç Ova Sınırı
Büyük Haliç Obası	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Büyük Köy Ma Vatrin	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Care	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Cemaş	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Cemaş Kolu
Cuma	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Ova Kolu
Cumralu	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Çataros	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Kıraç Ova Sınırı
Çeltik Ma Orman	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Çeltikçi	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Çukud-I Kebir	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Çukud-I Sagir	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Davudlu	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Çatalca
Delinista	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Mustafa Şakir	Alasonya

[560] The data is derived from BOA. MAD.d. 9767.

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Owner	Name Of Kaza
Der Kasaba-İ Tirnovi	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Derbend Korfu	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Çatalca
Dizave	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Doşot	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Çatalca
Gelinoz	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Girova	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Kıraç Ova Sınırı
Gole	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Gorci	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Hacı Mustafalar	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Hacı Obası	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Hamidli	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Çatalca
Hassa Kolu	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Havalelu	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Cemaş Kolu
Hilcades	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Kıraç Ova Sınırı
Hisarlık	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Iskalatna	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
İklasboroş	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
İklasol	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
İrkeryani	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
İsadi	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Cemaş Kolu
İsnebler	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
İstefanoşos	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Kalogorane Hassa-İ Ali Paşa	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Kalogorane Hassa-İ Muhtar Paşa	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Karakokle	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Karalar	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Karalu	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Karanise Ma Likoyan	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Karaşa Eflak	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Kıraç Ova Sınırı
Karaşasno	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Karçtavos	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Kasab Aliler	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Kavak	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Çatalca

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Owner	Name Of Kaza
Kavanat	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Cemaş Kolu
Kelsivine	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Kenar Alasonya	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Mustafa Şakir	Alasonya
Kerişe	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Cemaş Kolu
Kesrice	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Kilangi	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Kispan	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Koca Oğlu	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Koçbasan	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Koçoheri	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Kokilovoz	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Kelniva Nahiyesi
Kokinopilo	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Mustafa Şakir	Alasonya
Kolifon	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Cemaş Kolu
Konbele Ma Fenar	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Konice	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Mustafa Şakir	Alasonya
Koruk	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Ova Kolu
Kosoklu	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Ova Kolu
Koşkine	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Ova Kolu
Kovliçi	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Köprücü	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Ova Kolu
Kuruca Oba	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Mustafa Şakir	Alasonya
Kurucapos	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Kuruvazde	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Kelniva Nahiyesi
Kuzgunlar	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Çatalca
Küçük Haliç Obası	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Küçük Toşan	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Çatalca
Lazarin	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Leksave	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Lişane	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Lizişti	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Kelniva Nahiyesi
Magula	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Mustafa Şakir	Alasonya
Magula	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Magule Keşad	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Owner	Name Of Kaza
Maguliçe Ma İramanik	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Mate Anke	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Ova Kolu
Mavramat	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Mecdan	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Merci-İ Kebir	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Merci-İ Sagir	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Meriçe	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Kıraç Ova Sınırı
Mesudlar	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Çatalca
Meşkelorne	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Ova Kolu
Methor	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Metranka Oğlu	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Cemaş Kolu
Miçon	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Mustafa Şakir	Alasonya
Mifarki	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Mirohove	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Mozik	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Musalar	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Ova Kolu
Narlı	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Obaniçe	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Okçular	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Orman Ahmed	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Ortacılar	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Ömerler	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Palame	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Çatalca
Palihor	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Paraparsitasni	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Mecdan Kolu
Patole	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Peritori	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Mustafa Şakir	Alasonya
Pınarbaşı	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Mustafa Şakir	Alasonya
Polyane-İ Kebir	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Porçinka	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Pornar	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Çatalca
Raciste	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Rakova	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Ova Kolu

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Owner	Name Of Kaza
Rokşor	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Kıraç Ova Sınırı
Sakalar	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Saraçlar	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Sarakin	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Cemaş Kolu
Saray	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Sarı Avsadlu	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Sarıcılar	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Sekodlu	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Selemroz	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Cemaş Kolu
Selos	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Mustafa Şakir	Alasonya
Serkinli	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Sikia	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Mustafa Şakir	Alasonya
Sirkedi	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Sofedes	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Ova Kolu
Sofu Obası	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Sotire	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Şerohot	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Umur Ovası	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Mustafa Şakir	Alasonya
Uzun Karalar	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Ova Kolu
Vanye	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Varanci	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Veliş Pazarı	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Cemaş Kolu
Velmişi	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Kıraç Ova Sınırı
Verindiste	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Veştet	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Veyalşi	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Voryani	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Voyvoda	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Yanote	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Mustafa Şakir	Alasonya
Yaye	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Yehisalar	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Yorgice	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Kıraç Ova Sınırı
Yusuflu	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Ova Kolu

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Owner	Name Of Kaza
Zabant	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Çatalca
Zarak	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Zaryoz	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Zavlanye	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala
Zimtace	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Zirve Küçük Karişte	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Hasan Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener/Bayır Kolu
Zolati	Çiftlik	Emlak-İ Hümayun/Nazır Saadettin Bey Ve Nureddin Ağa	Tırhala

Table A4. Population and Houses in Çiftliks of Ali Paşa and His Entourage in Alasonya (1819-1820)[561]

	Population (Household)						Peasant Houses (Bab)		Plough Team	Other Houses (Bab)					
	share cropper	labourer	merchant	perakende	vacant	çift	share cropper	labourer		house with warehouse	house from Hüsnü Bey	Subaşı's mansion	house with shop	house	ruined house
Ali Paşa's çiftliks															
Magula	27	21					27	21	27						
Kunduryodsa	30	3					30	3	30			1			
delinista	17				6		17		17			1			
Miçuni	20						20		20			1			
Petra	1.5						3		1.5						
Selos	36	19					36	19	36			1			
Yanote	27	7					27	7	27			1			
Veli Paşa's çiftliks															
Umur	14	13						31	14	1	1		1		
Peritori	10	16					10	29	10			1			
Kontiçi	13						13		13						
Kurucaoba	7	23		50					7			1			
Kokinoplu	30		270				300		30						
Sikia	30						30		30						
Vondos	14	14					14	16	14						20
Çebot İbrahim's çiftliks															
Çiftlik at central Alasonya													1	3	
Field at Alasonya						1.5								1	
Pınarbaşı	4						3		1						
Çernilo						6	6		6			1			

[561] Source: BOA. D.BŞM.MHF.d. 13300

Table A5. Production and Land in Çiftliks of Ali Paşa and His Entourage in Alasonya (1819-1820)[562]

	Production (Kile)																Land (Dönüm)				
	production (year 1235)								warehouse amount from previous two years								field	tobacco field	meadow	Vine yard	ruined vine yard
	wheat	barley	rye	maize	vetch	oat	millet	cotton	wheat	barley	rye	maize	vetch	oat	millet	cotton					
Ali Paşa's çiftliks																					
Magula	192	52	51	83								132					2,700				
Kunduryodsa	440	77	4	161		51	10										2,500				
delinista	300	75	62			8			731	18	169	256		56	10		1,840			24	
Miçuni	178.5	45	141.5						106		16	16					1,300				
Petra	6.5	2		7.5													50				
Selos	272	86.5	181	90.5		15			140	190	89			55			2,500			15	
Yanote	114.5	74	224						141		43			32			3,000			15	
Veli Paşa's çiftliks																					
Umur	247	43	19	287				215	245.5	128	24	800				200	1,100			6	
Peritori	362	12	12						51			565					2,240			32	
Kontiçi	46.5	7,5	3					10	32								1,930			6	
Kurucaoba	50	3	9	8.5					80							40	450				150
Kokinoplu	130	111	300			44						950					1,500				
Sikia	694	116	131	130					422	22	324	800	3		11	200	1,860			60	
Vondos	200	200		149		22											1,000				
Çebot İbrahim's çiftliks																					
Çiftlik at central																	150	2.5	20	12	

[562] Source: BOA. D.BŞM.MHF.d. 13300

	Production (Kile)																Land (Dönüm)				
	production (year 1235)								warehouse amount from previous two years								field	tobacco field	meadow	Vine yard	ruined vine yard
Alasonya																					
Field in Alasonya	128	32	24		24				95												
Pınarbaşı		5		12													320				
Tahir Abbas' çiftliks																					
Çernilo	71.5	17.5	31.5	36				214								215	250				

Table A6. Livestock, Shops, and Loans in Çiftliks of Ali Paşa and His Entourage in Alasonya (1819-1820)[563]

	Livestock				Shops			Loan (Guruş)	Miscellaneous	
	black cattle cow	calves	donkey	oxen	shops	bakery	grocery		… for niter production (okka)	mulberry trees (number)
Ali Paşa's çiftliks										
Magula										
Kunduryodsa									800	
delinista										
Miçuni					2					
Petra					1					
Selos										
Yanote										
Veli Paşa's çiftliks					1					
Umur										
Peritori	9		1							
Kontiçi	10	4								
Kurucaoba										
Kokinoplu										
Sikia										
Vondos										
Çebot İbrahim's çiftliks										
Çiftlik in Alasonya										
Field in Alasonya						1	1	1,792		
Pınarbaşı	1		1	8				2,000		
Çernilo										
										150

[563] Source: BOA. D.BŞM.MHF.d. 13300

Table A7. Agrarian Production and Rents Paid in Kind in Lowland (Ova) Çiftliks of Thessaly that were Entrusted to Superintendent Mesud Ağa of the Imperial Domains (Emlâk-ı Hümayun) (1820-22)[564]

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
Astalosos														
1820/21	revenue	453	54	14	619			8	31					
	paraspor	20												
	subaşılık	116												
	yemeklik	21	21											
	total	611	76	14	619			8	31					
1821/22	revenue	254	30	3	760			1	13					
	paraspor	21												
	total	275	30	3	760			1	13					
Tehlos														
1820/21	revenue	714	78		416			4			100			
	paraspor	47												
	subaşılık	176												
	yemeklik	33	33											
	total	970	111		416			4			100			
1821/22	revenue	395	48		385									
	paraspor	22												
	subaşılık	100												
	yemeklik	18	18											
	total	536	66		385				6					
Zolandiya														
1820/21	revenue	407	24		132			1			415			
	paraspor	14												
	subaşılık	96												

[564] BOA. KK.d 7461.

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
	yemeklik	18	18											
	total	535	42		132			1			415			
1821/22	revenue	330	45		151						342			
	paraspor	31												
	total	362	45		151						342			
Çeltikçi														
1820/21	revenue	405	84		41		16	2			150			
	paraspor	24												
	subaşılık	72												
	yemeklik	13	13											
	storage excess	10												
	total	523	97		41		16	2			150			
1821/22	revenue	251	77		58		6				42			
	paraspor	22												
	total	273	77		58		6				42			
Sahraköy														
1820/21	revenue	906	136	8	288	16	60	14						
	paraspor	22												
	subaşılık	140												
	yemeklik	26	26											
	storage excess	15												
	total	1111	162	8	288	16	60	14						
Avdos														
1820/21	revenue	348	24		816			6						
	paraspor	21												
	subaşılık	88												
	yemeklik	16	16											
	storage	14												

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
	excess													
	total	477	41		816			6						
1821/22	revenue	173	46		679			5						
	paraspor	20												
	total	193	46		679			5						
Oyaltı														
1820/21	revenue	230	7	4	108	17		30	4		156			
	paraspor	100												
	subaşılık	80												
	yemeklik	15												
	total	325	7	4	108	17		30	4		156			
1821/22	revenue	110	29	19	488	63		14	39		189			
	paraspor	28												
	subaşılık	64												
	yemeklik	12	12											
	total	214	41	19	488	63		14	39		189			
Karakokle	2 çift													
1820/21	revenue	19		1	105			3	1					
	paraspor													
	subaşılık	16												
	yemeklik	3	3											
	Total	38	3	1	105			3	1					
1821/22	revenue			5	236	8			18					
Ma Asgir	4.5 çift													
1820/21	revenue	140	35	12	38	19	3	9				20		
	paraspor	1												
	subaşılık	36												
	yemeklik	6	6											
	total	184	42	12	38	19	3	9				20		
1821/22	revenue	100	31	30	57	34		17	1		53	14		

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
Voyvoda	40 çift													
1820/21	revenue	1,790	10	8	411	23		202			2,021			
	paraspor	112												
	subaşılık	320												
	yemeklik	60	60											
	storage excess	56												
	total	2,338	70	8	411	23		202			2,021			
1821/22	revenue	1,702	80	56	353	162		8						
	paraspor	200									1,888			
	subaşılık	296												
	yemeklik	55	55											
	storage excess	54												
	total	2,308	135	56	353	162		8			1,888			
Bestane	10 çift													
1820/21	revenue	57	9	4	334			3	4					
	paraspor	14												
	subaşılık	88												
	yemeklik	16	16											
	storage excess	6												
	total	181	25	4	334			3	4					
1821/22	revenue			2	167			2						
Yolane	23 çift													
1820/21	revenue	123	12		1,410			8	6					
	paraspor	26												
	subaşılık	184												
	yemeklik	34	24											
	total	438	46		1,410			8	6					

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
1821/22	revenue	147	20	11	681				6					
	paraspor	28												
	subaşılık	160												
	yemeklik	30	30											
	total	366	50	11	681				6					
Filamboli	14 çift													
1820/21	revenue	360	16	81	408		3							
	paraspor	6												
	subaşılık	112												
	yemeklik	19	21											
	total	497	37	81	408		3							
1821/22	revenue	350	27	79	189									
	paraspor	23												
	total	373	27	79	189									
Delinişte	29 çift													
1820/21	revenue	400	14		829			37						
	paraspor	29												
	subaşılık	232												
	yemeklik	43	43											
	total	715	57		829			37						
1821/22	revenue	262	45		861			10	53					
	paraspor	20						0						
	total	282	45		861			10	43					
Patolye	17.5 çift													
1820/21	revenue	429	31		75			10						
	paraspor	18												
	subaşılık	140												
	yemeklik	26	26											
	total	653	57		75			10						
1821/22	revenue	61	9		181									

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
	subaşılık	24												
	yemeklik	4	4											
	total	90	13		181									
Divkoyaki	18 çift													
1820/21	revenue	455	75		429			1			100			
	paraspor	20												
	subaşılık	144												
	yemeklik	27	27											
	storage excess	6												
	total	652	102		429			1			100			
1821/22	revenue	395	73	1	438						94			
	paraspor	55												
	total	450	73	1	438						94			
Orman Ahmed	5.5 çift													
1820/21	revenue	264	35		30									
	paraspor													
	subaşılık	44												
	yemeklik	8	8											
	total	316	43		30									
1821/22	revenue	213	52		37									
Veştet	19 çift													
1820/21	revenue	183	153	99	292			18			800			
	paraspor	27												
	subaşılık	192												
	yemeklik	36	36											
	storage excess	15	100											
	total	453	189	99	292			18			800			
1821/22		172	166	171	464			7			666			

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
		27												
		192												
		36	36											
		427	202	171	464			7			666			
Donci	6 çift													
1820/21	revenue	73		27	59			6	5					
	paraspor	8												
	subaşılık	48												
	yemeklik	9												
	total	138		27	59			6	5					
1821/22	revenue	10	1	19	13									
	paraspor													
	subaşılık	8												
	yemeklik	1	1											
	total	20	2	19	13									
Semori	40 çift													
1820/21	revenue	944	205	70	749		1	13			300		413.5	
	paraspor	39												
	subaşılık	352												
	yemeklik	66	66											
	storage excess	23												
	total	1,424	271	70	749		1	13			300		413.5	
1821/22	revenue	293	205	56	684			7			357		480	
	paraspor	90												
	subaşılık	320												
	yemeklik	60	60											
	total	1,162	265	56	684			7			357		480	
Narlı	25 çift													
1820/21	revenue	131	135	54	23						1,000			

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
	paraspor													
	subaşılık	200												
	yemeklik	37	37											
	storage excess	16												
	total	385	172	54	23						1,000			
1821/22	revenue	119	99	51	192	16					1,291			
	subaşılık	180												
	yemeklik	33	32											
	total	333	132	51	192	16					1,291			
Serdine	16 çift													
1820/21	revenue	1,316	362		503			15						
	paraspor	81												
	subaşılık	128												
	yemeklik	24	24											
	storage excess	2												
	total	1,552	386		503			15						
1821/22	revenue	604	143		548		9				45			
	paraspor	90												
	subaşılık	104												
	yemeklik	19	19											
	total	818	163		548		9				45			
Baklalı	12 çift													
1820/21	revenue	129	94		159		5				50			
	paraspor													
	subaşılık	96												
	yemeklik	18	18											
	storage excess	14												

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
	total	257	112		159		5				50			
1821/22	revenue	46	56		143			2			68			
	subaşılık	64												
	yemeklik	12	12											
	total	122	68		143			2			68			
Moni Kebir	6.5 çift													
1820/21	revenue	329	6	4	64		2	10			48			
	paraspor	40												
	subaşılık	52												
	yemeklik	9	9											
	total	431	15	4	64		2	10			48			
1821/22	revenue	169	14	19	72	17		12			134.5			
	paraspor	17												
	subaşılık	40												
	yemeklik	7	7											
	total	233	21	19	72	17		12			134.5			
Vodine	13 çift													
1820/21	revenue	278	17	19	656			15			1,704			
	paraspor	10												
	subaşılık	104												
	yemeklik	19	19											
	storage excess	10												
	total	422	37	19	656			15			1,704			
1821/22	revenue	203	25	33	168			3			783			
	paraspor	43												
	subaşılık	96												
	yemeklik	18	18											
	total	360	43	33	168			3			783			
Verbani	4 çift													

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
1820/21	revenue	1	12	18	25						100			
	paraspor													
	subaşılık	32												
	yemeklik	6	6											
	total	39	18	18	15						100			
1821/22	revenue	2	1		45	6					215.5			
	subaşılık	32												
	yemeklik	6	6											
	total	40	7		45	6					215.5			
Zecbos	9 çift													
1820/21	revenue	402	41	18	32	12	2	21						
	paraspor	60												
	subaşılık	72												
	yemeklik	13	13											
	total	547	55	18	32	12	2	21						
1821/22	revenue	272	27	31	50	34		14						
	paraspor	20												
	subaşılık	64												
	yemeklik	12	12											
	total	368	39	31	50	34		14						
Serdiler	7 çift													
1820/21	revenue	153	1	13		56	7				50			
	paraspor	7												
	subaşılık	56												
	yemeklik	10	11											
	total	226	11	13		56	7				50			
1821/22	revenue	67	2	17	83						36			
	paraspor	11												
	total	79	2	17	83						36			
Kalogolne	17 çift													

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
1820/21	revenue	344	84		574									
	paraspor	70												
	subaşılık	136												
	yemeklik	25	25											
	total	575	110		574									
1821/22	revenue	280	61		777	9								
	paraspor	75												
	subaşılık	124												
	yemeklik	23	23											
	total	503	86		777	9								
Makarki	36 çift													
1820/21	revenue	562	12	45	310	173		107						
	paraspor	50												
	subaşılık	289												
	yemeklik	55	55											
	storage excess	50												
	bekçilik	40												
	total	1,046	67	45	310	173		107						
1821/22	revenue	956												
	paraspor	80	38	90	601	484		165						
	subaşılık	244												
	yemeklik	45	45											
	storage excess	71												
	total	1,396	84	90	601	484		165						
Babe	14 çift													
1820/21	revenue	311	52	3	348			9			200		80.5	
	paraspor	20												
	subaşılık	112												

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
	yemeklik	21	21											
	total	464	72	3	348			9			200		80.5	
1821/22	revenue	241	64	8				2			180		68.5	
	paraspor	45												
	subaşılık	104												
	yemeklik	19	19											
	total	409	84	8				2			180		68.5	
Hocaoğlu	2 çift													
1820/21	revenue	34						5						
	paraspor	4												
	subaşılık	16												
	yemeklik	3	3											
	total	57	3					5						
1821/22	revenue	2												
Care Ve Magule	3 çift													
1820/21	revenue				51	11			3					
	subaşılık	24												
	total	24			51	11			3					
1821/22	revenue	9			57	23			13					
Iskalatna	43 çift													
1820/21	revenue	1,119	37		796			6			3,044			
	paraspor	5												
	subaşılık	341												
	yemeklik	64	64											
	total	1,532	102		796			6			3,044			
1821/22	revenue	1,263	54	35	343	15					2,513			
	paraspor	352	0	0										
	yemeklik	66	66	0										
	total	1,681	120	35	343	15					2,513			
Zarak	30 çift													

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
1820/21	revenue	221	217	3	45									
	paraspor													
	subaşılık	400												
	yemeklik													
	total	621	217	3	45									
1821/22		303	203	5	602						7,538			
		400												
		703	203	5	602						7,538			
Sekoni-i Kebir	30 çift													
1820/21	revenue	6			140						750			
	paraspor													
	subaşılık	240												
	total	246			140						750			
1821/22	revenue	32	11		490	145					2,028			
	subaşılık	240												
	total	263	1		490	145					2,028			
Zolani	4 çift													
1820/21	revenue	171	20	6	25			5						
	subaşılık	32												
	yemeklik	6	6											
	total	209	26	6	25			5						
1821/22		121	39	6	120			7						
		32												
		6	6											
		159	45	6	120			7						
Kovaliç	9 çift													
1820/21	revenue	319	3	5	261		2	34			898			
	paraspor	15												
	subaşılık	72												
	yemeklik	13	13											

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
	storage excess	13												
	total	432	16	5	261		2	34			898			
1821/22	revenue	320	25	16	152			5	9		462			
	paraspor	24												
	subaşılık	72												
	yemeklik	13	13											
	total	430	38	16	152			5	9		462			
Sotire	3 çift													
1820/21	Çiftlik settlers had fleed													
1821/22		3			2									
Duhulişte														
1821/22	revenue	947	200	27	424	15	18							
	paraspor	125												

Table A8. Agrarian Production and Rents Paid in Kind in Highland (Bayır) Çiftliks of Thessaly that were Entrusted to Superintendent Mesud Ağa of the Imperial Domains (Emlak-ı Hümayun) (1820-22)[565]

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
Kokinopilos														
1820/21	revenue	99	56	42	106					48				4,187
	yemeklik	34	24		10									
	storage excess	7												
		140	80	42	116					48				4,187
1821/22	revenue	45	20	24	38				3	21				4,268.5
	yemeklik	30	15											
	total	75	35	24	38				3	21				4,268.5
Kuruazde														
1820/21	revenue	181	47	15	91					50				11,005
	yemeklik	52	52											
	storage excess	12												
	total	246	99	15	91					50				11,005
1821/22	revenue	125	35	28	96					36				10,904
	yemeklik	52	52											
	total	178	87	28	96					36				10,904
Bodok														
	revenue	132	30	15	64					50				5,167.5
	yemeklik	66	30	15	36									
	storage excess	10												
	total	208	60	30	100					50				5,167.5

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		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
Kalcades														
1820/21	revenue	65	10	8	80					6				839.5
	yemeklik	15	15											
	storage excess	4												
	total	84	25	8	80					6				839.5
1821/22	revenue	74	28	19	100					9				1,001
	yemeklik	15	15											
	total	89	43	19	100					9				1,001
Ostoroçe														
	revenue	60	10	12	76									1,191
	yemeklik	23			23									
	storage excess	4												
	total	87	10	12	99									1,191
Çatarüstü														
1820/21	revenue	117	8	8	69					40				1,469
	yemeklik	23			23									
	storage excess	7												
	total	147	8	8	92					40				1,469
1821/22	revenue	101	11	5	70					41				1,538
	yemeklik	23	23											
	total	124	34	5	70					41				1,538
Mozavo	31 çift													
1820/21	revenue	316	37	80			125			126				
	subaşılık	171												
	yemeklik	43	42											
	storage excess	26												

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
	total	556	80	80			125			126				
Bodnice	21 çift													
1820/21	revenue	198			83					13				
	subaşılık	168												
	yemeklik	30												
	storage excess	20												
	total	416			83					13				
1821/22	revenue	90	4	3	63					7				
	subaşılık	140												
	yemeklik	26	26											
	total	256	30	3	63					7				
Dalemiş	17 çift													
1820/21	revenue	554	144	69	112					90				
	subaşılık	135												
	yemeklik	55	55											
	storage excess	36												
	total	781	199	69	112					90				
1821/22	revenue	396	23	41	270					39				
	subaşılık	84												
	yemeklik	28	28											
	total	508	51	41	270					39				
Keraşe Ve Kanak	2 çift													
1820/21	revenue	84	8	2	22									
	subaşılk	18	6											
	yemeklik	4	4											
	storage excess	3												

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
	total	59	13	2	22									
1821/22	revenue	24	9	3										
	subaşılık	12												
	yemeklik	3	4											
	total	39	14	3										
Goro	12 çift													
1820/21	revenue	178	35	14	230				61	5				
	subaşılık	96												
	yemeklik	18	18											
	storage excess	13												
	total	305	53	14	230				61	5				
1821/22	revenue	446	37	77	125					126				
	subaşılık	171												
	yemeklik	42	42											
	total	660	80	77	125					126				
Bolahave	4.5 çift													
1820/21	revenue	29	28	29					11					
	subaşılık	36												
	yemeklik	9	9											
	storage excess	4												
	total	78	37	29					11					
1821/22	revenue	32	27	25					8					
	subaşılık	36												
	yemeklik	19	9											
	total	77	36	25					8					
Kirnasodades	8 çift													
1820/21	revenue	32	16	16	28				22	1				
	subaşılık	64												

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
	yemeklik	12	12											
	storage excess	5												
	total	113	28	16	28				22	1				
1821/22	revenue	45	22	13	24				9					
	subaşılık	64												
	yemeklik	12	12											
	total	121	34	13	24				9					
Keroşesino														
1820/21	revenue	26	14	22	5				12					
	subaşılık	22												
	yemeklik	6	6											
	storage excess	3												
	total	57	20	22	5				12					
1821/22	revenue	158	30	40	116				28	17				
	subaşılık	88												
	yemeklik	16	16											
	total	263	46	40	116				28	17				
Dobeniçe	10 çift													
1820/21	revenue	101	10	17	30				30	6				
	subaşılık	80												
	yemeklik	15	15											
	storage excess	10	10											
	total	206	25	17	30				30	6				
1821/22	revenue	43	14	6	39				13					
	subaşılık	40												
	yemeklik	7	7											
	total	91	22	6	39				13					

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
Zamyaca														
1820/21	revenue	203	17	38	99				57	5				
	subaşılık	38	38											
	yemeklik	12												
	storage excess													
	total	253	55	38	99				57	5				
1821/22	revenue	125	27	59	101				20	10				
	yemeklik	158	39											
	total	183	66	59	101				20	10				
Miçonye														
1820/21	revenue	180	37	230	131				144	5				
	subaşılık	192												
	yemeklik	36	36											
	storage excess	20												
	total	428	73	230	131				144	5				
1821/22	revenue	115	14	135	71				7	5				
	subaşılık	184												
	yemeklik	134	34											
	total	333	48	135	71				7	5				
Avtorçoke														
1820/21	revenue	70	164	258	4				26					
	subaşılık	192												
	yemeklik	36	36											
	storage excess	15												
	total	313	200	258	4				26					
1821/22	revenue	17	74	225					8	3				
	subaşılık	176												

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
	yemeklik	33	33											
	total	226	107	225					8	3				
Aknamides	15 çift													
1820/21	revenue	48	174	232					51					
	subaşılık	120												
	yemeklik	22	22											
	storage excess	19												
	total	200	197	232					51					
1821/22	revenue	138	140	137								72		
	subaşılık	120												
	yemeklik	22	22											
	total	181	162	137								72		
Doksori	3 çift													
1820/21	revenue	11	20	32										
	subaşılık	24												
	yemeklik	5	5											
	total	45	25	32										
1821/22	revenue		20	7	32				5					
	yemeklik		5											
	total		25	7	32				5					
Darmesne														
1820/21	revenue	55			44					65				
	yemeklik		6		6									
	total	55	6		50					65				
1821/22	revenue	90	22	13	46				1	33				5,140
	yemeklik	66	33											
	total	156	55	13	46				1	33				5,140
Moçine														
1820/21	revenue	657	68	56	183					69				2,113

		wheat (kile)	barley (kile)	rye (kile)	maize (kile)	white maize (kile)	lentil (kile)	sesame (kile)	millet (kile)	oat (kile)	cotton (okka)	tobacco (okka)	flax (okka)	grape (okka)
Çiftlik														
	subaşılık	67												
	yemeklik	45												
	storage excess	38												
	total	807	68	56	183					69				2,113
1821/22	revenue	738	100	55	183					66				
	subaşılık	67												
	yemeklik	45												
	total	850	100	55	183					66				

Table A9. List of the Tax-Farms in Thessaly (1838-39 and 1839-40)[566]

Settlement Name	Type Of Revenue Source	Tax-Farmer	Name Of Kaza
Alasonya	Mukataa	Esma Sultan	Alasonya
Apoyorgi	Timar	Mustafa Suphi	?
Arnoran Voboşki	Zeamet	Ayanzade Mehmed Emin Efendi	Alasonya
Aya Yorgi	Mukataa	Mehmed Said Efendi	Domnik
Aynegore Nam-I Diğer Bosokku	Timar	Hüseyin	Tırhala
Azmiç	Mukataa	Numan Ağa	Tırhala
Bayraklı	Zeamet	Derviş Bey	?
Borniçe	Timar	Halil	Yenişehr-i Fener
Boyacılar	Mukataa	Ahmed Atıf	Tırnovi
Boyacılar	Mukataa	Mehmed Emin	?
Çeltük Alanhar	Zeamet	Ahmed Nazif	?
Çeltük Alanhar	Mukataa	Hüseyin Fehmi Ve Abid Ve Hüseyin Sadık Efendiler	?
Çomerdelü	Hassa Mukataa	Elhac Edhem Efendi	?
Çomerdelü	Mukataa	Faik Efendi	?
Çoraklar	Mukataa	Receb Efendi	?
Çoraklar	Mukataa	Sadi Efendi	Tırhala
Çuka Alvan	Zeamet	Galib Efendi	?
Dodone	Zeamet	Esseyid İsmail Rakım	Tırhala
Evres Ve Oda	Zeamet	Süleyman Bey	?
Hacı Opesi	Zeamet	Takaüd İbrahim Ağa	Kesriye
Hadov	Timar	Mehmed Ali Ağa	?
Hekirdeli	Zeamet	Mustafa Müfid Ve Mehmed Şerif Ve Mehmed Reşid Efendiler	?
Hendeklü	Mukataa	Elhac Ahmed	?
Hendeklü	Mukataa	Şakir Apa	?
Hersel Evresi Nam-I Diğer Keşanlı	Mukataa	Mehmed Hasib Efendi	Tırhala
İzmiç	Mukataa	Esseyid Elhac Osman Ağa	Tırhala
İzmiç	Mukataa	Mehmed Hüsrev Ağa	Tırhala
İzmiç	Çiftlik	Esma Sultan	Tırhala

[566] The data is derived from BOA. KK.d 660.

Settlement Name	Type Of Revenue Source	Tax-Farmer	Name Of Kaza
Kakaran	Timar	Mehmed Ve Ahmed Atıf Bey	?
Karşova	Zeamet	Hasan Tahsin Ve Mehmed Salih	?
Karye-İ Galban	Timar	Hamid Suphi	?
Karye-İ Posi	Zeamet	Mehmed Memiş Ağa	Ferecik
Kasab Ve Veratlı	Zeamet	Esseyid Hüseyin Ve Mehmed	?
Kasiç	Çiftlik	Saliha Sultan	Yenişehr-i Fener
Kermezi Bubacılık	Mukataa	Mehmed Emin Efendi	Tırnovi
Kireli	Zeamet	Süleyman	?
Koçan	Zeamet	Esseyid Mehmed Hasib Efendi	?
Koçan	Zeamet	Fazıl Efendi	?
Koçan	Zeamet	Hayri Efendi	?
Koçan	Zeamet	Kordos Efendi	?
Koçan	Zeamet	Nuri Efendi	?
Kolisi	Karye/Mukataa	Esseyid İbrahim Edhem Efendi	Tırhala
Korlu	Zeamet	Ali Kemal Efendi	Yenişehr-i Fener
Koru	Zeamet	Hacı Osman Ağa	Kırçova
Kosne Nikola Nam-I Diğer Velihal	Timar	Mecid Efendi	?
Kuzgunlar	Mukataa	Elhac Edhem Efendi	?
London Danice	Mukataa	Mehmed Said	Tırhala
Mahrısve	Mukataa	Abdullah Ağa	?
Mavrız	Timar	Mehmed Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener
Mavroz	Zeamet	Mehmed Emin	?
Mayalve	Çiftlik	Valide(?) Sultan	Tırhala
Meclid Pınarı	Zeamet	Mehmed Hayreddin Beyzade	?
Metifkan	Mukataa	İbrahim Rıfat Bey	?
Metifkan	Mukataa	İsmail Behzat Efendi	?
Metifkan	Mukataa	Osman Efendi	?
Metifkan	Mukataa	Osman Efendi	?
Mevhi	Çiftlik	Esma Sultan	Tırhala
Miriç Kaliç	Zeamet	Said Efendi	Tırhala
Natze	Timar	Mehmed Ali	Yenişehr-i Fener
Orle Nam-I Diğer Paşalı	Zeamet	Ahmed Kazım Efendi	Yenişehr-i Fener
Pınarbaşı?-Beypınarı Nam-I Diğer Pınarbaşı	Timar	Ömer Ağa	Çatalca

Settlement Name	Type Of Revenue Source	Tax-Farmer	Name Of Kaza
Rodoş	Karye/Mukataa	Esseyid İbrahim Edhem Efendi	Tırhala
Samircili	Mukataa	Raif Bey Efendi	?
Selos	Zeamet	Mehmed Asaf Efendi	Alasonya
Selos	Zeamet	Mehmed Tahir Hüsni	Alasonya
Selos	Zeamet	Sadık Bey Efendi	Alasonya
Selos	Zeamet	Said Ali Rıza Efendi	Alasonya
Serbortavar	Timar	Mehmed Emin	Alasonya
Şabanlu	Zeamet	Mehmed Memiş Ağa	?
Tahka	Mukataa	Taki Efendi	Yenişehr-i Fener
Tatarçayırlığı	Mukataa- Turhan Bey Vakfı	Mehmed Emin	Yenişehr-i Fener
Tedvin Ve Gide	Zeamet	Hacı Bey Zade Mirhasan Ve Mir Ahmed	?
Tehorlar	Çiftlik	Saliha Sultan	Çatalca
Terkemişli	Mukataa	Mehmed Said Efendi	Tırhala
Teviş Ve Nemard Bey	Timar	İbrahim Ağa	Tırhala
Ustalu	Timar	Yusuf	Kırçova
Veliş	Mukataa	Mehmed Arif Efendi	?
Veliş	Mukataa	Mehmed Arif Efendi	?
Veliş	Mukataa	Selimhan Hüseyin Efendi	?
Veşter	Zeamet	Mehmed Ağa	Yenişehr-i Fener

Table A10. Rural Settlements of Tırhala (1840)[567]

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Name Of Kaza
Asyonoşik	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Bokori	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Corce	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Dobros	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Dramaz	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Gardik	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Halin	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
İşkilyonyo	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Kabros	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Kalo Pros	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Kamnas	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Karatye	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Koçana	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Korniş	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Laçno	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Moçarda	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Pahtor	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Palokdya	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Pertol	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Pire	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Rasova	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Tenay	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Tofloşil	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Turna	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Vardar	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Vasirima	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Veternik	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Vicana	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi

[567] The data is derived from BOA. C. SM.10/541.

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Name Of Kaza
Viçiste	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Yorta Pazar	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Yorta Tayaye	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Zişi	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Zolhi	Karye	Tırhala/Aspro Nahiyesi
Aba Kebir Bakçi(?)	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Abayıraşköy	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Adamola	Karye	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Ardan	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Arkano	Manastır	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Asir Ve Kilise	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Aspasazaş	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Astayazmisa	Manastır	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Aşfanoşoz	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Aya İstefano	Manastır	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Aya Moni	Manastır	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Aya Todoro	Manastır	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Aya Triada	Manastır	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Aya Yorgi	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Ayamo Perlanko	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Ayano Yorşaki	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Babadance	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Baklalu	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Balişi	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Balişi	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Baloyto	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Batola [Bastolya]	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Baye	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Biçonka	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Bolanye	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Bolate	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Boldikçi	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Boroyko	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Name Of Kaza
Bukas	Manastır	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Çada	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Çada	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Çandazsi	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Çaşı	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Çeltükçü	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Çeltükçü	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Çodatoz	Karye	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Çonkorsi	Karye	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Çukut-ı Kebir	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Çukut-ı Kebir	Manastır	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Çukut-ı Sagir	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Dadağo Mişti	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Dakse	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Darciste	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Daşnot	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Deryanos	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Dokşo	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Dolaka	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Donka	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Dosam	Manastır	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Doşko	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Doşko	Manastır	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Ekişlü Barak	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Gelnoz	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Godova	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Godoze	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Gorci	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Gorgoyir	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Halcazsi	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Hasköy	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Hasköy	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Hezmetler	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Name Of Kaza
Hristo	Manastır	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Iskalatna	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Islatna [Iskalatna]	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
İşkiyar	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Kakoplori	Karye	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Kalabaka	Karye	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Kalabot	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Kalamorşik	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Kalasol	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Kale	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Kalnoz	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Kalo Granhi	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Kara Kokola	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Karbanlu	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Karçin	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Karya	Manastır	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Kasraki	Karye	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Kastanya	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Kato Perlanko	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Kato Yorşaki	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Katri	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Kızköy(?)	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Kiraşa Meydan	Karye	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Kokoloz	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Kologarat	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Kolohca	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Kolor Linice	Karye	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Komat	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Konice	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Konko	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Konyaka	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Koperna	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Korbode	Manastır	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Name Of Kaza
Koto	Manastır	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Kotorsi	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Kozluca	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Kraşasnor	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Lefto Karye	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Liraso	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Lişana	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Litçe Has	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Livan	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Lonka	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Lonkaki	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Lozşiti	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Makadakmi	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Mandrevol	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Mavdal	Karye	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Merci-İ Kebir	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Merci-İ Kebir	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Merci-İ Sagir	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Merci-İ Sagir	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Merciye	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Mihtoz	Manastır	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Narlı	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Nomi(?)	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Orman Ahmed Ağa	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Ostrova	Karye	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Otihe	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Palasova	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Palomila	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Peliç	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Perevetri	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Peritoz	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Petreblu(?)	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Prakad	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Name Of Kaza
Sabvayli(?)	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Savakine	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Sokoye(?)	Karye	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Sotire	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Şovat	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Yolanye Nahiyesi
Tahor	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Tahor	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Tekliç	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Ternoz	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Tolopiçe	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Toskoşe	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Usturumce	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Valçnoz	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Valmeşe	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Vanye	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Vanyekola	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Varance	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Varlaam	Manastır	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Varyop	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Vedlohod	Karye	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Veliçaka	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Veryani	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Vondiste	Karye	Tırhala/Kalnoz Nahiyesi
Voyvoda	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Yilniş	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Yozdomos	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Yozode	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Karaçora Nahiyesi
Zaçyoz	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Diro Nahiyesi
Zamlac	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Haslar Nahiyesi
Zarak	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Zarak	Manastır	Tırhala/Garcan Nahiyesi
Zolati	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Zolatne	Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Name Of Kaza
Zolatne	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala/Ardan Nahiyesi
Aba Kebir Bakçi(?)	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Abayıraşköy	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Adamola	Karye	Tırhala
Ardan	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Aspasazaş	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Aspro Kilise	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Asyonoşik	Karye	Tırhala
Aşfanoşoz	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Aya Yorgi	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Ayamo Perlanko	Karye	Tırhala
Ayano Yorşaki	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Babadance	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Baklalu	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Balişi	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Balişi	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Baloyto	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Batola [Bastolya]	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Baye	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Biçonka	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Bokori	Karye	Tırhala
Bolanye	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Bolate	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Boldikçi	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Boroyko	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Çada	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Çada	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Çandazsi	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Çaşı	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Çeltükçü	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Çeltükçü	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Çodatoz	Karye	Tırhala
Çonkorsi	Karye	Tırhala

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Name Of Kaza
Çukut-I Kebir	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Çukut-İ Sagir	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Dadağo Mişti	Karye	Tırhala
Dakse	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Darciste	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Daşnot	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Deryanos	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Dobros	Karye	Tırhala
Dokşo	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Dolaka	Karye	Tırhala
Donka	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Doşko	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Dramaz	Karye	Tırhala
Ekişlü Barak	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Gardik	Karye	Tırhala
Gelnoz	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Godova	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Godoze	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Gorci	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Gorgoyir	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Halcazsi	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Halin	Karye	Tırhala
Hasköy	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Hasköy	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Hezmetler	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Iskalatna	Karye	Tırhala
Islatna [Iskalatna]	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
İşkilyonyo	Karye	Tırhala
İşkiyar	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Kabros	Karye	Tırhala
Kakoplori	Karye	Tırhala
Kalabaka	Karye	Tırhala
Kalabot	Çiftlik	Tırhala

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Name Of Kaza
Kalamorşik	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Kalasol	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Kale	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Kalnoz	Karye	Tırhala
Kalo Pros	Karye	Tırhala
Kalogorane	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Kamnas	Karye	Tırhala
Karakokle	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Karanye	Karye	Tırhala
Karbanlu	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Karçin	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Kasraki	Karye	Tırhala
Kastanya	Karye	Tırhala
Kato Perlanko	Karye	Tırhala
Kato Yorşaki	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Katri	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Kızköy(?)	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Kiraşa Meydan	Karye	Tırhala
Koçana	Karye	Tırhala
Kokoloz	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Kologarat	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Kolohca	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Kolor Linice	Karye	Tırhala
Komat	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Konice	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Konko	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Konyaka	Karye	Tırhala
Koperna	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Korce	Karye	Tırhala
Korniş	Karye	Tırhala
Kotorsi	Karye	Tırhala
Kozluca	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Kraşasnor	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Name Of Kaza
Laçno	Karye	Tırhala
Lefto Karye	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Liraso	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Lişana	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Litçe Has	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Livan	Karye	Tırhala
Longaki	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Lonka	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Lozşiti	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Makadakmi	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Mandrevol	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Mavdal	Karye	Tırhala
Merci-İ Kebir	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Merci-İ Kebir	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Merci-İ Sagir	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Merci-İ Sagir	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Merciye	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Moçarda	Karye	Tırhala
Narlı	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Nomi(?)	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Orman Ahmed Ağa	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Ostrova	Karye	Tırhala
Otihe	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Pahtor	Karye	Tırhala
Palasova	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Palokdya	Karye	Tırhala
Palomila	Karye	Tırhala
Peliç	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Perevetri	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Peritor	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Pertol	Karye	Tırhala
Petreblu(?)	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Pire	Karye	Tırhala

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Name Of Kaza
Prakad	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Rakova	Karye	Tırhala
Sabvayli(?)	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Savakine	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Sokoye(?)	Karye	Tırhala
Sotire	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Şovat	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Tahor	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Tahor	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Tekliç	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Tenay	Karye	Tırhala
Ternoz	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Tofloşil	Karye	Tırhala
Tolopiçe	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Toskoşe	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Turna	Karye	Tırhala
Usturumce	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Valçnoz	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Valmeşe	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Vanye	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Vanyekola	Karye	Tırhala
Varance	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Vardar	Karye	Tırhala
Varyop	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Vasirima	Karye	Tırhala
Vedlohod	Karye	Tırhala
Veliçaka	Karye	Tırhala
Verbani	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Veternik	Karye	Tırhala
Vicana	Karye	Tırhala
Viçiste	Karye	Tırhala
Vondiste	Karye	Tırhala
Voyvoda	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala

Settlement Name	Type Of Settlement	Name Of Kaza
Yilniş	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Yorta Pazar	Karye	Tırhala
Yorta Tayaye	Karye	Tırhala
Yozdomos	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Yozode	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Zaçyoz	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Zamlac	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Zarak	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Zişi	Karye	Tırhala
Zolati	Çiftlik	Tırhala
Zolati	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Zolati	Emlak-İ Hümayun Çiftlik	Tırhala
Zolhi	Karye	Tırhala

Table A11. Perakende Settlements of Tırhala (1840)[568]

Perakendes in central town of Tırhala	Perakendes in countryside				
neighbourhood	çiftlik			village	monastery
Ayazpetre	Zolati	Merci-i Sagir	Petrepoli	Kalayze	Aya dotoro
Ayamartine	Savaylar	Teşnito	Karçin	Kakoblosi	Aya aşkano
Aya Beraşköy	Kesemol	Varico	Nomi	Ostorode	Istabaz
Ayafebar Ve Melin	Kozluca	Cada	Ternoz	Kasraki	Menho
Aya Nikola	Peritoz	Babadance	Zolayne	Çorenoz	Varlaam
Metrepoli	Mezkur	Perakende	Yatola	Hasan Kaloye	Karya
Beşikbaşı	Selim Ağalar	Merci-i Kebir	Kuryako		Yunas
Aya Moni	Orman Ahmed Ağa	Aya Peraşköy	Hasköy		
	Verakoz	Voyvoda	Tahor		
	Kale	Koyirna	Voşnok		
	Sotire	Vayne	Baye		
	Daçiste	İslatna	Kadlo		
	Doşko	Varancı	Çovan-I Sagir		
	Valhinoz	Karşova	Zadık		
	Vetrekor	Dakse	Şovot		
	Çağalı	Kataklo	Kolografi		

[568] The data is derived from BOA. C. SM. 10/541.

Table A12. Gypsy Settlements of Tırhala (1840)[569]

Muslim gypsies in central town of Tırhala	Non-Muslim gypsies		
neighbourhood	neighbourhood	çiftlik	village
Yusuf Bey	Aya nikola	Daciste	Kalabaka
Mahmud Bey	Fenar ve milite	Peliç	
Dizdar Bey	Beşkişi	Merci-i sagir	
Cami-i kebir	Metrepoli	Voyvoda	
Aya Dimitri	Ayamarta	Magarki	
Aya Marine		Ardan	
Aya Yaraşköy		Islatna	
Aya Fenarosin		Zolatye	
Aya Nikola		Baye	
Metro livali		Tehor	
Beşikbaşı		Kastanya	
Aya Mavani		Narlı	

[569] The data is derived from BOA. C. SM. 10/541.

Table A13. Land Transactions in Vakıfs of Yenişehr-i Fener and Alasonya (1855)[570]

Vakıf	Village	Payment	Nr of Parcels	Area (dönüm)	Former Possessor	New Possessor	Fee of Imperial Treasury	Transaction Type
Cağalzade	Derelü	130	10	13,5	veli ibrahim oğlu ibrahim	karındaşı yusuf		Escheated Property (Mahlulat)
Cağalzade	Derelü	135	7	8	veli ibrahim oğlu ibrahim	karındaşı yusuf		Escheated Property (Mahlulat)
Cağalzade	Derelü	65	6	7	tahir bin salih	karındaşı yakup		Escheated Property (Mahlulat)
Cağalzade	Derelü	72	11	17	mustafa oğlu kör abdülbaki	hüseyin oğlu hüseyin		Escheated Property (Mahlulat)
Cağalzade	Yakbe	550	1	5	kanalyotos nam zımmi	yorgi nam zımmi		Escheated Property (Mahlulat)
Cağalzade	Osmanlu	504	9	30	osman oğlu ali	karındaşı kızlar ümmügülsüm ve aişe ve rukiye ve emine		Escheated Property (Mahlulat)
Cağalzade	Bakaşlar	360	16	12	ali bin mehmed	karındaşı mehmed		Escheated Property (Mahlulat)

[570] The data is derived from BOA. EV.d. 15913.

Vakıf	Village	Payment	Nr of Parcels	Area (dönüm)	Former Possessor	New Possessor	Fee of Imperial Treasury	Transaction Type
Cağalzade	Bakaşlar	180	1	1	hüseyin	müteveffa-i merkmun zevcesi hadice nam hatun		Escheated Property (Mahlulat)
Mustafa Paşa	vanari çiftliği	40000	1	800	sabık kars(?) kaymakamı abdüllatif paşa	biraderzadesi ve çiftlik-i mezkurda müşteriki Mustafa Ragıp bin Ahmed Rıfat efendi		Escheated Property (Mahlulat)
Cağalzade	Melemenler	50000	83	5000			2500	Inheritance (İntikal)
Mihriban Sultan	Koyunyeri	11000	78	716	Velsit kasabası sakinelerinden ayşe bint hacı ali	kasaba sakinlerinden esseyid mehmed arif efendi	550	Sale (Feragat)
Cağalzade	Derelü	220	3	5	derelü sakinlerinden seyid bin metoş	derelü sakinlerinden karındaşı mehmed	11	Sale (Feragat)
Cağalzade	Derelü	150	1	1,5	derelü sakinlerinden hüseyin kızı ayşe	himmet oğlu kadir	7,5	Sale (Feragat)
Cağalzade	Derelü	100	1	3	derelü sakinlerinden hüseyin kızı ayşe	hasan kızı fatma	5	Sale (Feragat)
Cağalzade	Derelü	440	1	4	derelü sakinlerinden hüseyin kızı hadice	merhum hasan oğlu arif	22	Sale (Feragat)
Cağalzade	Derelü	120	1	5	derelü sakinlerinden ramazan ali	kerim hüseyin oğlu arif	6	Sale (Feragat)
Cağalzade	Derelü	300	1	1	derelü sakinlerinden ahmed oğlu mehmed	halil oğlu derviş	15	Sale (Feragat)
Cağalzade	Derelü	250	1	2	derelü sakinlerinden ramazan ahmed	malı ahmed oğlu mehmed	12,5	Sale (Feragat)
Cağalzade	Derelü	300	4	10	derelü sakinlerinden merton oğlu seyid	karındaşı şerif	15	Sale (Feragat)

Vakıf	Village	Payment	Nr of Parcels	Area (dönüm)	Former Possessor	New Possessor	Fee of Imperial Treasury	Transaction Type
Cağalzade	Pala Mustafa	200	5	7,5	derelü sakinlerinden toman kerimesi hadice	şerif oğlu ahmed	10	Sale (Feragat)
Cağalzade	Hacı obası	3000	15	50,5	kendil oğlu mustafa	karye-i mezkur sakinlerinden osman efendi ve süleyman ve mustafa ve seyid nam 4 nefer kimesne		Sale (Feragat)
Esma Sultan	Sikia (Alasonya)		10	130				Sale (Feragat)
Esma Sultan	Sikia (Alasonya)		10	112				Sale (Feragat)
Esma Sultan	Sikia (Alasonya)		10	191				Sale (Feragat)
Esma Sultan	Sikia (Alasonya)		10	162,5				Sale (Feragat)
Esma Sultan	Koniçi (Alasonya)		10	61				Sale (Feragat)
Esma Sultan	Koniçi (Alasonya)		10	111				Sale (Feragat)

Vakıf	Village	Payment	Nr of Parcels	Area (dönüm)	Former Possessor	New Possessor	Fee of Imperial Treasury	Transaction Type
Esma Sultan	Koniçi (Alasonya)		10	74				Sale (Feragat)
Esma Sultan	Bekşer		10	15				Sale (Feragat)
Esma Sultan	Bekşer		9	40				Sale (Feragat)
Esma Sultan	Bekşer	30	1	1	karye-i mezbur sakinlerinden mustafa oğlu hüseyin	derelü karyesi sakinlerinden elhac mehmed oğlu ahmed		
Esma Sultan	Derelü		10	9,5				
Esma Sultan	Derelü		10	13,5				
Esma Sultan	Derelü		5	8				

Table A14. Annual Expenditure per Çiftlik for the Çiftliks of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfı (Guruş and % of Total Expenditures) (1862-1874)[571]

	salary		officers' expenses		construction		payment to peasants		payment to Istanbul		paperwork		transportation		shop rent		miscalleneous		total	
	guruş	%	guruş	%	guruş	%	guruş	%	guruş	%	guruş	%	guruş	%	guruş	%	guruş	%	guruş	%
1862/63	7,773	79	1,315	13	349	4	160	2	0	0	241.8	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	9,839	100
1863/64	10,465	79	205	2	843.4	6	0	0	0	0	239.6	2	0	0	93.4	1	1,353	10	13,199	100
1864/65	6,233	59	2,386	23	420.8	4	0	0	110	1	692.8	7	314	3	348.2	3	0	0	10,505	100
1865/66	6,854	16	0	0	7,453	17	5,531	13	23,606	54	481.8	1	0	0	143.4	0	0	0	44,071	100
1866/67	6,814	15	0	0	16,686	36	11,114	24	10,691	23	1,121	2	53.2	0	0	0	0	0	46,479	100
1870/71	11,129	49	0	0	3,166	14	4,323	19	1,745	8	648.6	3	476.4	2	348	2	928.4	4	22,765	100
1873/74	6,907	39	298	2	3,261	18	6,327	36	0	0	741	4	126	1	132	1	0	0	17,793	100

[571] AK. Pvs. Evr. no. 3838, 4063, 2184, 2179.

Table A15. Workers' Salaries and Payments in the Çiftliks of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfı (Guruş)[572]

	muhtar bey maaşı	edhem ağa maaşı	ibrahim efendinin maaşı	ahmed ağanın maaşı	çiftlik müdürü maaşı	rüstem paşanın adamları maaşı	harman memurları maaşı	mesaha memurlarının ücreti	sazlık kesici maaşı	çayır kesici maaşı	bekçi maaşı	amele yevmiyesi	ırgadlara verilen	kalambak havale ücreti	mısır havale ücreti
1862/63															
Narlı							5524,5								
Voyvoda							5674								
Garçova							1600								
Piçri							3216,5								
Pınarbaşı							1575								
Joint Expenses	13500	6000						1260				517,5			
Total	13500	6000					17590	1260				517,5			
1863/64															
Narlı															
Voyvoda															
Garçova															
Piçri															
Pınarbaşı															
Joint Expenses	19500	6000	300				26523								
Total	19500	6000	300				26523								
1864/65															
Narlı							4750								
Voyvoda							4415								
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı							3250								
Piçri							3300								
Joint	13750		1200	500											

[572] AK. Pvs. Evr. no. 3838, 4063, 2184, 2179, 2181, 2182, 2189.

	muhtar bey maaşı	edhem ağa maaşı	ibrahim efendinin maaşı	ahmed ağanın maaşı	çiftlik müdürü maaşı	rüstem paşanın adamları maaşı	harman memurları maaşı	mesaha memurlarının ücreti	sazlık kesici maaşı	çayır kesici maaşı	bekçi maaşı	amele yevmiyesi	ırgadlara verilen	kalambak havale ücreti	mısır havale ücreti
Expenses															
Total	13750		1200	500			15715								
July-October 1865															
Narlı							4450								
Voyvoda							4320								
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı							1750								
Piçri							1850								
Joint Expenses	5000														
Total	5000						12370								
1865/66															
Narlı															
Voyvoda															
Garçova															
Pınarbaşı															
Piçri									320	182					
Joint Expenses	33770														
Total	33770								320	182					
1866/67															
Narlı												475			
Voyvoda															
Garçova															
Pınarbaşı															
Piçri										248	300				
Joint	29547					3500									

	muhtar bey maaşı	edhem ağa maaşı	ibrahim efendinin maaşı	ahmed ağanın maaşı	çiftlik müdürü maaşı	rüstem paşanın adamları maaşı	harman memurları maaşı	mesaha memurlarının ücreti	sazlık kesici maaşı	çayır kesici maaşı	bekçi maaşı	amele yevmiyesi	ırgadlara verilen	kalambak havale ücreti	mısır havale ücreti
Expenses															
Total	29547					3500				248	300	475			
1870/71															
Narlı					28800								422,5	2368	
Voyvoda					7200									2055	
Garçova															
Pınarbaşı					7200									400	
Piçri					7200										
Joint Expenses															
Total					50400								422,5	4823	
1873/74															
Narlı					14400								352		2625
Voyvoda					7200										1400
Garçova					2400										
Pınarbaşı					2400										
Piçri					3600						160				
Joint Expenses															
Total					30000						160		352		4025

Table A16. Workers' Expenses and Paperwork Expenses in the Çiftliks of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfı (Guruş)[573]

	WORKERS' EXPENSES								PAPERWORK AND FEES					
	bargir ücreti	Vapur yolu	zahair bahası	mesaha memurların bargir ücreti	harman memurlarının bargir ücreti	harman memurlarının ekileleri	küşat ve güzarda sarf olunan	muhtar bey tevkif olunduğu sırada sarf olunan	şahitlere verilen	mart mahsulü iadesi	mesaha ücreti	posta ücreti	evrak masrafı	harç
1862/63														
Narlı						1653								
Voyvoda						1487,5								
Garçova						438,5								
Piçri						573,5								
Pınarbaşı						387								
Joint Expenses	684,5			1164	186							1209,5		
Total	684,5			1164	186	4539,5						1209,5		
1863/64														
Narlı														
Voyvoda									286					
Garçova														
Piçri														
Pınarbaşı														
Joint Expenses		1025										912		
Total		1025							286			912		
1864/65														
Narlı						1380			2352					
Voyvoda						1280			150					
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı						802,5								

[573] AK. Pvs. Evr. no. 3838, 4063, 2184, 2179, 2181, 2182, 2189.

	WORKERS' EXPENSES								PAPERWORK AND FEES					
	bargir ücreti	Vapur yolu	zahair bahası	mesaha memurların bargir ücreti	harman memurlarının bargir ücreti	harman memurlarının ekileleri	küşat ve güzarda sarf olunan	muhtar bey tevkif olunduğu sırada sarf olunan	şahitlere verilen	mart mahsulü iadesi	mesaha ücreti	posta ücreti	evrak masrafı	harç
Piçri						649								
Joint Expenses							4132	3689				962,5		
Total						4111,5	4132	3689	2502			962,5		
July-October 1865														
Narlı														
Voyvoda														
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı														
Piçri														
Joint Expenses						2550								
Total						2550								
1865/66														
Narlı														
Voyvoda									725					
Garçova									487,5					
Pınarbaşı														
Piçri														
Joint Expenses												1197		
Total									1212,5			1197		
1866/67														
Narlı														
Voyvoda										2670				

	WORKERS' EXPENSES								PAPERWORK AND FEES					
	bargir ücreti	Vapur yolu	zahair bahası	mesaha memurların bargir ücreti	harman memurlarının bargir ücreti	harman memurlarının ekileleri	küşat ve güzarda sarf olunan	muhtar bey tevkif olunduğu sırada sarf olunan	şahitlere verilen	mart mahsulü iadesi	mesaha ücreti	posta ücreti	evrak masrafı	harç
Garçova														
Pınarbaşı														
Piçri														
Joint Expenses												2022	820	
Total										2670		2022	820	
1870/71														
Narlı											20			
Voyvoda														
Garçova														
Pınarbaşı														
Piçri											80			
Joint Expenses												479		2664
Total											100	479		2664
1873/74														
Narlı											40			
Voyvoda	615													
Garçova														
Pınarbaşı			875											
Piçri											100			
Joint Expenses												319		3246
Total	615		875								140	319		3246

Table A17. Expenses for Transport of Crops, Shop Rents, and Repair and Construction in the Çiftliks of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfı (Guruş)[574]

	TRANSPORT OF CROPS				SHOP RENT		REPAIR AND CONSTRUCTION						
	kalambak nakliye ücreti	mısır nakliye ücreti	Mekkari ücreti	zahair bargir ücreti	tırhala mağaza kirası ve mağazaya nakil ücreti	Kardiça mağaza kirası ve mağazaya nakil ücreti	kile-kilit-damga	kantar	kilit	kile	tamirat masrafı	inşaat masrafı	hendek masrafı
1862/63													
Narlı							137,5						
Voyvoda													
Garçova													
Piçri													
Pınarbaşı													
Joint Expenses											1608		
Total							137,5				1608		
1863/64													
Narlı													
Voyvoda					467								
Garçova													
Piçri											4217		
Pınarbaşı													
Joint Expenses													
Total					467						4217		
1864/65													
Narlı											502		

[574] AK. Pvs. Evr. no. 3838, 4063, 2184, 2179, 2181, 2182, 2189.

	TRANSPORT OF CROPS				SHOP RENT		REPAIR AND CONSTRUCTION						
	kalambak nakliye ücreti	mısır nakliye ücreti	Mekkari ücreti	zahair bargir ücreti	tırhala mağaza kirası ve mağazaya nakil ücreti	Kardiça mağaza kirası ve mağazaya nakil ücreti	kile-kilit-damga	kantar	kilit	kile	tamirat masrafı	inşaat masrafı	hendek masrafı
Voyvoda											228,5		
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı													
Piçri											1374		
Joint Expenses				1570	571	1170							
Total				1570	571	1170					2104,5		
July-October 1865													
Narlı											2729		
Voyvoda											9784		
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı													
Piçri													
Joint Expenses													
Total											12513		
1865/66													
Narlı								126	36	21	2729		
Voyvoda											9861	14662	
Garçova													
Pınarbaşı													
Piçri						717,5					1007	500	8324,5
Joint													

	TRANSPORT OF CROPS				SHOP RENT		REPAIR AND CONSTRUCTION						
	kalambak nakliye ücreti	mısır nakliye ücreti	Mekkari ücreti	zahair bargir ücreti	tırhala mağaza kirası ve mağazaya nakil ücreti	Kardiça mağaza kirası ve mağazaya nakil ücreti	kile-kilit-damga	kantar	kilit	kile	tamirat masrafı	inşaat masrafı	hendek masrafı
Expenses													
Total						717,5		126	36	21	13597	15162	8324,5
1866/67													
Narlı									52		576	57299	
Voyvoda											4917		
Garçova													
Pınarbaşı		266											
Piçri											5125,5	14779,5	682
Joint Expenses			95										
Total		266	95						52		10618,5	72078,5	682
1870/71													
Narlı											33		
Voyvoda	2382				1740					29	4207	2294	
Garçova													
Pınarbaşı											460,5	2006	100
Piçri											1040	3662	
Joint Expenses											2000		
Total	2382				1740					29	7740,5	7962	100
1873/74													
Narlı												2685	
Voyvoda		630			660				5		605		
Garçova											300		
Pınarbaşı											726		
Piçri											11629		357,5
Joint													

	TRANSPORT OF CROPS				SHOP RENT		REPAIR AND CONSTRUCTION						
	kalambak nakliye ücreti	mısır nakliye ücreti	Mekkari ücreti	zahair bargir ücreti	tırhala mağaza kirası ve mağazaya nakil ücreti	Kardiça mağaza kirası ve mağazaya nakil ücreti	kile-kilit-damga	kantar	kilit	kile	tamirat masrafı	inşaat masrafı	hendek masrafı
Expenses													
Total		630			660				5		13260	2685	357,5

Table A18. Payments (Taxes) to Istanbul and Payments to Peasants in the Çiftliks of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfı (Guruş)[575]

	PAYMENT TO ISTANBUL			PAYMENT TO PEASANTS						OTHER
	iane	dersaadete	dersaadete irsalin masrafı	hayvanat bahası	hristiyanların idaneleri için	müzarilere idane olunan	müzarilere verilen	hınta bahası	çiftlik-i mezkurun kocabaşına fazlaen verilen öküz bahası	
1862/63										
Narlı										
Voyvoda										
Garçova										
Piçri									800	
Pınarbaşı										
Joint Expenses										
Total									800	
1863/64										
Narlı										6767
Voyvoda										6767
Garçova										
Piçri										
Pınarbaşı										
Joint Expenses										
Total										
1864/65										
Narlı										
Voyvoda										
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı										

[575] AK. Pvs. Evr. no. 3838, 4063, 2184, 2179, 2181, 2182, 2189.

	PAYMENT TO ISTANBUL			PAYMENT TO PEASANTS						OTHER
	iane	dersaadete	dersaadete irsalin masrafı	hayvanat bahası	hristiyanların idaneleri için	müzarilere idane olunan	müzarilere verilen	hınta bahası	çiftlik-i mezkurun kocabaşına fazlaen verilen öküz bahası	
Piçri										
Joint Expenses	550									
Total	550									
July-October 1865										
Narlı										
Voyvoda										
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı										
Piçri										
Joint Expenses										
Total										
1865/66										
Narlı						10000				
Voyvoda						8882				
Garçova										
Pınarbaşı						400				
Piçri						8375				
Joint Expenses		114632	3400							
Total		114632	3400			27657				
1866/67										
Narlı							17254	8478		
Voyvoda							15290			
Garçova										

	PAYMENT TO ISTANBUL			PAYMENT TO PEASANTS						OTHER
	iane	dersaadete	dersaadete irsalin masrafı	hayvanat bahası	hristiyanların idaneleri için	müzarilere idane olunan	müzarilere verilen	hınta bahası	çiftlik-i mezkurun kocabaşına fazlaen verilen öküz bahası	
Pınarbaşı							400			
Piçri							7605	3942		
Joint Expenses		49729	3725	2600						
Total		49729	3725	2600			40549	12420		
1870/71										
Narlı										
Voyvoda				4904	2723	5770		8216,5		4642
Garçova										
Pınarbaşı										
Piçri										
Joint Expenses			8727							
Total			8727	4904	2723	5770		8216,5		4642
1873/74										
Narlı						20286				
Voyvoda				11348						
Garçova										
Pınarbaşı										
Piçri										
Joint Expenses										
Total				11348		20286				

Table A19. Wheat, Barley and Rye Produced in the Çiftliks of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfı (Kile)[576]

	wheat (kile)						barley (kile)						rye (kile)					
	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar
1862/63																		
Narlı	1,410						607						175					
Voyvoda	3,525						207						168					
Garçova	143												101					
Piçri	204																	
Pınarbaşı	246												87					
Total	5,528						814						531					
1863/64																		
Narlı	4,700	1,410					2,023	607					593	178				
Voyvoda	10,750	3,225					857	257					560	168				
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı	1,306				392		436				131		626				188	
Piçri	680	204					70	21										
Total	17,436	4,839			392		2,950	885			131		1,153	346			188	
1864/65																		
Narlı	57			24			25			11			12			5		
Voyvoda	3,065			1,260			217			86			294			129		
Garçova	183			73			37			14			95			38		
Piçri																		
Pınarbaşı	170			75			35			14			58			30		
Total	3,475			1,432			314			125			459			202		
1865/66																		

[576] AK. Pvs. Evr. no. 3838, 4063, 2184, 2179, 2181, 2182, 2189.

	wheat (kile)						barley (kile)						rye (kile)					
	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar
Narlı	495						501						90					
Voyvoda	3932						262						173					
Garçova	64						36						65					
Piçri	263						44											
Pınarbaşı	54						33						38					
Total	4,808						876						366					
1866/67																		
Narlı	1,769						1,157						193					
Voyvoda	5273						296						119					
Garçova	90						29						49					
Piçri	675						64											
Pınarbaşı	28						6						98					
Total	7,835						1,552						459					
1870/71																		
Narlı	1,375		1,513				595		654				15		17			
Voyvoda	2,698		2,968				220		242				115		126			
Garçova	80		88				44		48				37		41			
Piçri	1,320		1,453				119		131									
Pınarbaşı	66		73				27		30				91		100			
Total	5,539		6,095				1,005		1,105				258		284			
1873/74																		
Narlı	2,100				612	210	1,450				422	145	200				59	20
Voyvoda	12,810				3,737	1281	1210				355	121	180				55	18
Garçova	230				68	23	150				46	15	210				60	21
Piçri	4,180				1,220	418	330				96	33	0					
Pınarbaşı	70				26	7	95				2,7	9,5	330				98	33

	wheat (kile)						barley (kile)						rye (kile)					
	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar
Total	19,390				5,663	1,939	3,235				921.7	323,5	920				272	92
1876/77																		
Narlı	2,350				707	235	2,100				630	210	550				167	55
Voyvoda	3,950				1,187	395	330				101	33	60				20	6
Garçova	450				135	45	240				45	24	240				37	24
Piçri	6				2		0						0					
Pınarbaşı	220				65	22	60				19	6	610				185	61
Total	6,976				2,096	697	2,730				795	273	1,460				409	146
1881/82																		
Voyvoda	12,843				3,853		1,600				480		247				74	
Garçova	360				108.5		290				87		127				38	
Pınarbaşı	273				82		217				65		803				241	
Total	13,476				4,043.5		2,107				632		1,177				353	

Table A20. Maize, White Maize and Vetch Produced in the Çiftliks of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfı (Kile)[577]

	maize (kile)						white maize (kile)				vetch (kile)		
	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-aşar hasılat	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-aşar hasılat	aşar
1862/63													
Narlı	435												
Voyvoda	693												
Garçova	19												
Piçri	938												
Pınarbaşı	466												
Total	2,551												
1863/64													
Narlı	1,450	435											
Voyvoda	2,310	693											
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı	1,620				486								
Piçri	3,127	938											
Total	6,887	2,066			486								
1864/65													
Narlı	2,731			1,092									
Voyvoda	2,929			1,171									
Garçova													
Piçri	2,330				699	233							
Pınarbaşı	297			118									
Total	8,287			2,381	699	233							
1865/66													
Narlı	1,039												
Voyvoda	261										67		
Garçova	28										8		

[577] AK. Pvs. Evr. no. 3838, 4063, 2184, 2179, 2181, 2182, 2189.

	maize (kile)						white maize (kile)				vetch (kile)		
	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-aşar hasılat	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-aşar hasılat	aşar
Piçri	1,128										6		
Pınarbaşı	161												
Total	2,617										81		
1866/67													
Narlı	1,722												
Voyvoda	306										24		
Garçova											3		
Piçri	1,036										3		
Pınarbaşı	419												
Total	3,483										30		
1870/71													
Narlı	646		711				10	11					
Voyvoda	2,155		2,370								25	28	
Garçova											3	3	
Piçri	517		569			230					3	3.5	
Pınarbaşı	503		553										
Total	3,821		4,203			230	10	11			31	34.5	
1873/74													
Narlı	2,060				602	206	1,450		422	145			
Voyvoda	1,810				528	181					680		68
Garçova											80		8
Piçri	1,050				306	105					50		5
Pınarbaşı	1,400				437	140					0		
Total	6,320				1,873	632	1,450		422	145	810		81
1876/77													
Narlı	2,610				783	261							
Voyvoda	1,740				523	174					340		34
Garçova	230				71	23					90		9
Piçri	1,810				544	181							

	maize (kile)						white maize (kile)				vetch (kile)		
	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-aşar hasılat	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-aşar hasılat	aşar
Pınarbaşı	810				244	81							
Total	7,200				2,165	720					430		43
1881/82													
Voyvoda	2720				816								
Garçova													
Pınarbaşı													
Total	2,720				816								

Table A21. Sesame, Chickpea and Cotton Produced in the Çiftliks of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfı (Kile and Okka)[578]

	sesame (kile)						chickpea (kile)						cotton (okka)					
	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar
1862/63																		
Narlı	217						31						8,667					
Voyvoda	201												2315					
Garçova													285					
Piçri	38						5						55					
Pınarbaşı													494					
Total	456						36						11,816					
1863/64																		
Narlı	727	218					103	31					28,890	8,667				
Voyvoda	337	101											8,717	2,615				
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı													0				779	
Piçri	127	38					17	5					183	55				
Total	1,190	357					120	36					37,790	11,337			779	
1864/65																		
Narlı	495			199			10			4			2,974			1,189		
Voyvoda	465			186									1,071			425		
Garçova	155			62									1,483			594		
Piçri																		
Pınarbaşı																		
Total	1115			447			10			4			5,528			2,208		

[578] AK. Pvs. Evr. no. 3838, 4063, 2184, 2179, 2181, 2182, 2189.

	sesame (kile)						chickpea (kile)						cotton (okka)					
	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar
1865/66																		
Narlı	191						4						4,069					
Voyvoda	246												1,923					
Garçova													168					
Piçri							9						47.5					
Pınarbaşı													60					
Total	437						13						6,267.5					
1866/67																		
Narlı	219						5						19,314					
Voyvoda	208												5,453.5					
Garçova													555					
Piçri	9						24						44					
Pınarbaşı													137.5					
Total	436						29						25,504					
1870/71																		
Narlı	615		677										10,874		11,961			
Voyvoda	76		84										38		41.5			
Garçova													191		210			
Piçri							1		1									
Pınarbaşı													24		26			
Total	692		761				1		1				11,126		12,238.5			
1873/74																		
Narlı					133	46							19,750				5,761	1,975
Voyvoda					211	72							2,240				654	224

	sesame (kile)						chickpea (kile)						cotton (okka)					
	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar
Garçova					2,5	0,7							430				125	43
Piçri					25	8					15	6						
Pınarbaşı																		
Total					371,5	126,7					15	6	22,420				6,540	2,242
1876/77																		
Narlı					422	140					3	1	9,500				2,851	950
Voyvoda					131	43						4						
Garçova					2	1							680				204	68
Piçri											82	27						
Pınarbaşı																		
Total					555	184					85	32	10,180				3,055	1,018
1881/82																		
Voyvoda																		
Garçova																		
Pınarbaşı																		
Total																		

Table A22. Lentil, Tobacco and Bean Produced in the Çiftliks of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfı (Okka)[579]

	lentil (okka)				tobacco (okka)					bean (okka)			
	hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-aşar hasılat	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar
1862/63													
Narlı													
Voyvoda													
Garçova	40												
Piçri					1,351								
Pınarbaşı													
Total	40				1,351								
1863/64													
Narlı													
Voyvoda													
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı	133		40										
Piçri					4,503	1,351							
Total	133		40		4,503	1,351							
1864/65													
Narlı													
Voyvoda													
Garçova	23	9											

[579] AK. Pvs. Evr. no. 3838, 4063, 2184, 2179, 2181, 2182, 2189.

	lentil (okka)				tobacco (okka)					bean (okka)			
	hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-aşar hasılat	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar
Piçri					2,230			522	223				
Pınarbaşı													
Total	23	9			2,230			522	223				
1865/66													
Narlı													
Voyvoda													
Garçova	47												
Piçri					806								
Pınarbaşı													
Total	47				806								
1866/67													
Narlı													
Voyvoda													
Garçova													
Piçri					967								
Pınarbaşı										149.5			
Total					967					149.5			
1870/71													
Narlı													
Voyvoda													
Garçova													
Piçri					2,100		2,310						

	lentil (okka)				tobacco (okka)					bean (okka)			
	hasılat	maa-aşar ve fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-fazla hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	maa-aşar hasılat	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar	hasılat	maa-aşar hasılat	hisse-i hasılat-ı efendi	aşar
Pınarbaşı										129	142		
Total					2,100		2,310			129			
1873/74													
Narlı					110			33					
Voyvoda													
Garçova													
Piçri					3,300			990	330				
Pınarbaşı										300		109	30
Total					3,410			1,023	330	300			
1876/77													
Narlı													
Voyvoda													
Garçova	10			1									
Piçri					2,770			832	277				
Pınarbaşı										310		99	31
Total	10			1	2,770			832	277	310			
1881/82													
Voyvoda													
Garçova	277		83										
Pınarbaşı			433	48						85		75.5	8.5
Total	277		516	48						85			

Table A23. Cash Taxes and Rents Related to Animal Grazing in the Çiftliks of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfı (Guruş)[580]

	kışlak kirası	perakendelerden alınan yer hakkı	perakende hayvan raiyesi	perakende ulahlardan alınan	ulah perakende hayvanatıyla hane ücreti	perakende hanelerin icare-i maktua-i seneviyesi	koyun ve keçi raiyesi	ot bedeli	gıyah bedeli	gıyah aşarı	kadiryanko(?) namıyla min el kadim alınagelen	otlakiye	çayır bahası	beher çiftten doksanar paradan alınagelen	asel
1862/63															
Narlı	13,000	680						2,625			100				
Voyvoda														148	
Garçova	11,000		630				1,650								
Piçri															
Pınarbaşı	10,000														
Total	34,000	680	630				1,650	2,625			100			148	
1863/64															
Narlı	11,700								2,600			680			
Voyvoda															
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı	18,900														
Piçri															
Total	30,600								2,600			680			
1864/65															
Narlı	20,000			705						390					
Voyvoda										162.5					55
Garçova	8,800														
Piçri				510						216			300		112
Pınarbaşı	10,000						1,000								
Total	38,800			1,215			1,000			768.5			300		167
1865/66															
Narlı	28,500									475					78

[580] AK. Pvs. Evr. no. 3838, 4063, 2184, 2179, 2181, 2182, 2189.

	kışlak kirası	perakendelerden alınan yer hakkı	perakende hayvan raiyesi	perakende ulahlardan alınan	ulah perakende hayvanatıyla hane ücreti	perakende hanelerin icare-i maktua-i seneviyesi	koyun ve keçi raiyesi	ot bedeli	gıyah bedeli	gıyah aşarı	kadiryanko(?) namıyla min el kadim alınagelen	otlakiye	çayır bahası	beher çiftten doksanar paradan alınagelen	asel
Voyvoda															
Garçova	11,800														49.5
Piçri										240		100	640.5		90
Pınarbaşı	14,700														
Total	55,000									715		100	640.5		217.5
1866/67															
Narlı	30,500		1,500		765					327.5					78
Voyvoda															
Garçova	14,500														76
Piçri	2,500									152			1,500		34
Pınarbaşı	17,000														
Total	64,500		1,500		765					479.5			1,500		188
1870/71															
Narlı	47,000									500		165			170
Voyvoda															15
Garçova	26,000														121.5
Piçri	800									325		10,000	245		33
Pınarbaşı	28,000														126
Total	101,800									825		10,165	245		465.5
1873/74															
Narlı	5,400		360							669.5					212.5
Voyvoda															15
Garçova	32,000					3,000									
Piçri	800									144		8,500			65
Pınarbaşı	32,000														
Total	70,200		360			3,000				813.5		8,500			292.5
1876/77															
Narlı	300 (lira-i									1,398					282

	kışlak kirası	perakendelerden alınan yer hakkı	perakende hayvan raiyesi	perakende ulahlardan alınan	ulah perakende hayvanatıyla hane ücreti	perakende hanelerin icare-i maktua-i seneviyesi	koyun ve keçi raiyesi	ot bedeli	gıyah bedeli	gıyah aşarı	kadiryanko(?) namıyla min el kadim alınagelen	otlakiye	çayır bahası	beher çiftten doksanar paradan alınageleln	asel
	osmani)														
Voyvoda															15
Garçova	25,000														
Piçri	0									555		0			55
Pınarbaşı	205 (lira-i osmani)														
Total	25,000									1,953		0			352
1881/82															
Voyvoda															
Garçova															
Pınarbaşı															
Total															

Table A24. Other Cash Rents and Dues Collected in the Çiftliks of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfı (Guruş)[581]

	bağ aidatı	değirmen kirası	han kirası	dut yaprağı bedeli	dut ağacı kirası	harir koza bahası	bostan	mart mahsulü	üzüm	menzil kirası	yaz hasılatı	sazlık bedeli	saz aşarı	panayırdan alınan	sair nakdiyat
1862/63															
Narlı	800			600											
Voyvoda		334	800		470									150	
Garçova	630									1,400					
Piçri											417	3,780			
Pınarbaşı															
Total	1,430	334	800	600	470					1,400	417	3,780		150	
1863/64															
Narlı								1,500							
Voyvoda								1,902							
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı								4,310							
Piçri								417				3,780			
Total								8,129				3,780			
1864/65															
Narlı							80	1,500	1,172						
Voyvoda		800	800					768	506						
Garçova								2,000	411						300
Piçri	250							417				1,440			
Pınarbaşı															
Total	250	800	800				80	4,685	2,089			1,440			300
1865/66															
Narlı							208	1,380	1,400	840					
Voyvoda		1100							50	800					
Garçova									207	3,000					
Piçri	270						78	417					202		

[581] AK. Pvs. Evr. no. 3838, 4063, 2184, 2179, 2181, 2182, 2189.

	bağ aidatı	değirmen kirası	han kirası	dut yaprağı bedeli	dut ağacı kirası	harir koza bahası	bostan	mart mahsulü	üzüm	menzil kirası	yaz hasılatı	sazlık bedeli	saz aşarı	panayırdan alınan	sair nakdiyat
Pınarbaşı															
Total	270	1,100					286	1,797	1,657	4,640			202		
1866/67															
Narlı							288	1,380	2,349						
Voyvoda		1,600	500						215						
Garçova									3,300	3,000					
Piçri	234					90	156	414					582		
Pınarbaşı															
Total	234	1,600	500			90	444	1,794	5,864	3,000			582		
1870/71															
Narlı	1,007						320	1,380	2,700						360
Voyvoda		2,250	1,600				150		400						
Garçova									871.5	3,000					
Piçri							206.5	414	265				285		
Pınarbaşı															
Total	1,007	2,250	1,600				676.5	1,794	4,236.5	3,000			285		360
1873/74															
Narlı	575						480	1,380	2,562.5	440					
Voyvoda		2,250	800												
Garçova									230						
Piçri							68	414	331				818		
Pınarbaşı															
Total	575	2,250	800				548	1,794	3,123.5	440			818		
1876/77															
Narlı	624						572	1,380	5,678						
Voyvoda		1,700	900						250						
Garçova									468	3,000					
Piçri							147	414	254				602		
Pınarbaşı															
Total	624	1,700	900				719	1,794	6,650	3,000			602		
1881/82															

	bağ aidatı	değirmen kirası	han kirası	dut yaprağı bedeli	dut ağacı kirası	harir koza bahası	bostan	mart mahsulü	üzüm	menzil kirası	yaz hasılatı	sazlık bedeli	saz aşarı	panayırdan alınan	sair nakdiyat
Voyvoda		3,528	1,600												
Garçova															
Pınarbaşı															
Total		3,528	1,600												

Table A25. Revenue from Crop Sales in Çiftliks of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Vakfı (Guruş)[582]

	wheat	barley	rye	vetch	sesame	maize	white maize	chickpea	cotton	lentil	tobacco	bean
1862/63												
Narlı					9,222.5							
Voyvoda					8,743.5							
Garçova												
Piçri												
Pınarbaşı												
Total					17,966							
1863/64												
Narlı	9,064	1,383	2,002		9,254	4,377		430	14,950			
Voyvoda	52,266	809	2,249		4,243.5	7,146			4,414			
Garçova Ve Pınarbaşı	5,714	1,107	1,905			4,709			1314	50		
Piçri	1,736	150			1,530	10,234		85.5			3,768	
Total	68,780	3,449	6,156		15,027.5	26,466		515.5	20,678	50	3,768	
1864/65												
Narlı			62		9,177	5,500		14	3,205			
Voyvoda	23,320	232	1,000		8,624	15,712			1,100			
Garçova	720	68	353		120				1,337.5	9		
Piçri						8,071					2,280	
Pınarbaşı	1,309	182	286			990						
Total	25,349	482	1,701		17,921	30,273		14	5,642.5	9	2,280	
1865/66												
Narlı	4,945	4,890	340		8,646	26,040			7,000			
Voyvoda	66,563	4,254	1,800		10,948	3,665			2,375			
Garçova	1,386	390	1,105	68		300			240	58		
Piçri	6,880	0		64		14,868		94.5			2,662.5	
Pınarbaşı	1,276	420	546			1,372			105			

[582] AK. Pvs. Evr. no. 3838, 4063, 2184, 2179, 2181.

	wheat	barley	rye	vetch	sesame	maize	white maize	chickpea	cotton	lentil	tobacco	bean
Total	81,050	9,954	3,791	132	19,594	46,245		94.5	9,720	58	2,662.5	
1866/67												
Narlı	24,200	6,100			10,015			200	18,469			
Voyvoda	4,200	3,104	1,987	1,032	10,045	4,431			5,216			
Garçova	2,511	390	940									
Piçri	1,190	350			365	980					3,600	
Pınarbaşı	504		1,532			1,002						40
Total	32,605	9,944	4,459	1,032	20,425	6,413		200	23,685		3,600	40
1870/71												
Narlı	33,048	8,937	217		28,290.5	13,434	187					
Voyvoda	61,020	3,173	2,497	405.5	3,480	22,525.5			62.5			
Garçova	2,448		637.5	52.5					369			
Piçri	21,325	351		49		8,520					8,610	
Pınarbaşı	743	377	1,986.5			8,943			39			214.5
Total	118,584	12,838	5,338	507	31,770.5	53,422.5	187		470.5		8,610	214.5
1873/74												
Narlı	16,410	11,716	1,258		9,531	15,354					165	
Voyvoda	119,735	3,400	30	1,694	15,144	5,760			1,322			
Garçova	1,806	969	1,786	160	188.5				268			
Piçri		1,704.5		109	1,877.5	5,959		646			7,200	
Pınarbaşı			2,246			9,559						225
Total	137,951	17,789.5	5,320	1,963	26,741	36,632		646	1,590		7,365	225



Figure B1. Thessaly region in the Balkans[583]

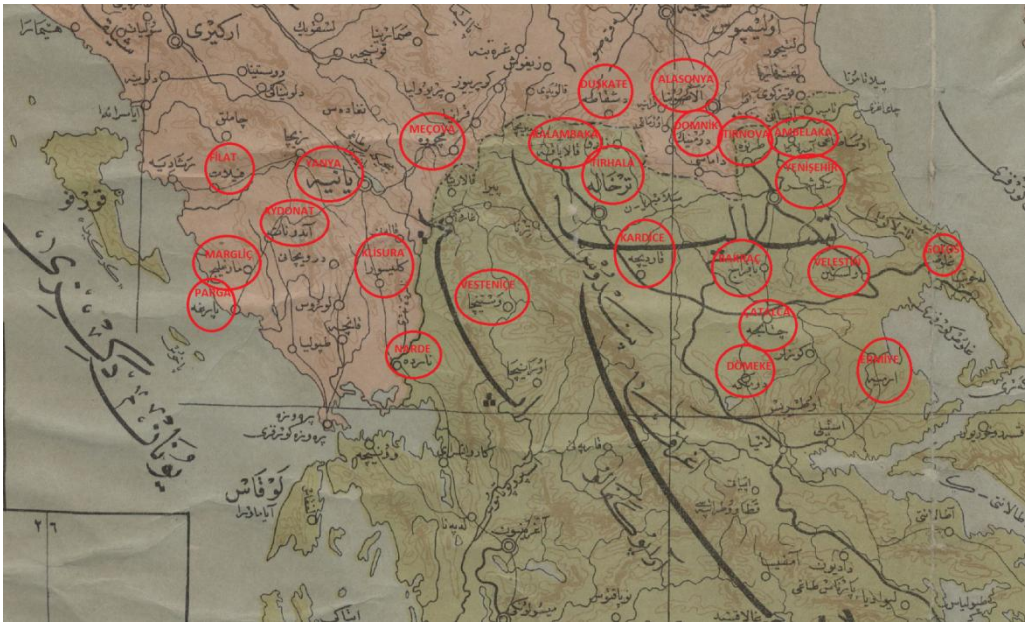


Figure B2. Major settlements of Thessaly and Epirus[584]

[583] BOA. HRT.h. 171.
[584] BOA. HRT.h. 171.

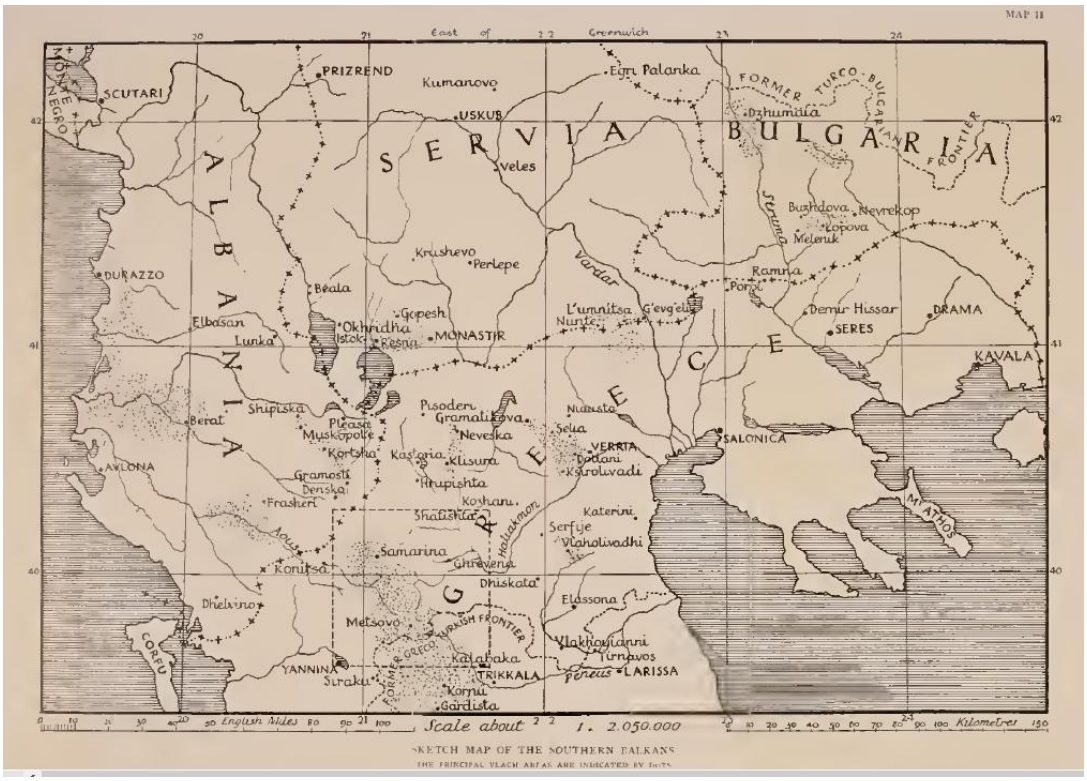


Figure B3. Wace and Thompson's map indicating principal Vlach areas[585]

[585] Wace and Thompson, *The nomads of the Balkans*, 206.

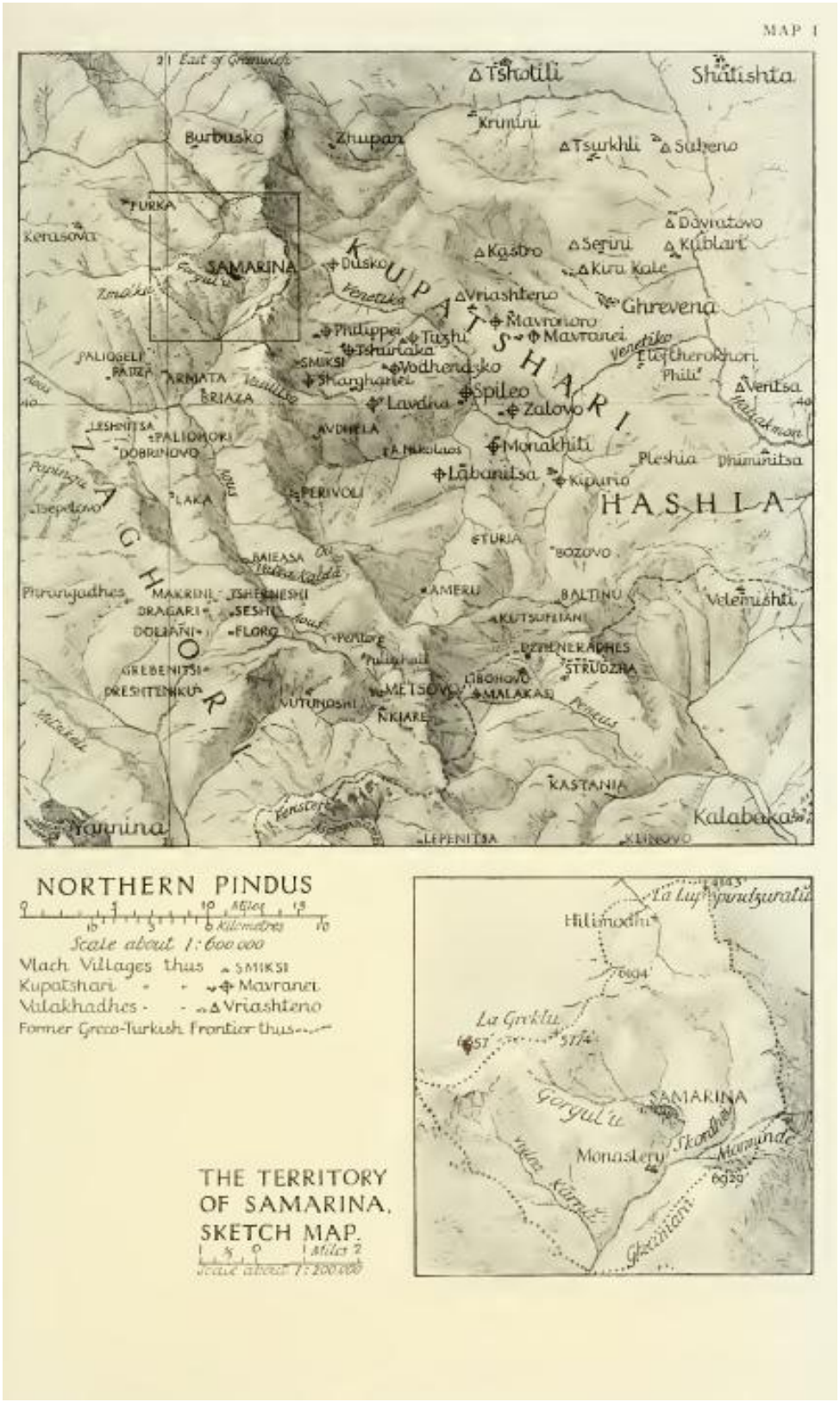


Figure B4. Wace and Thompson's map showing Northern Pindus and the territory of Samarina[586]

[586] Wace and Thompson, *The nomads of the Balkans*, 160.

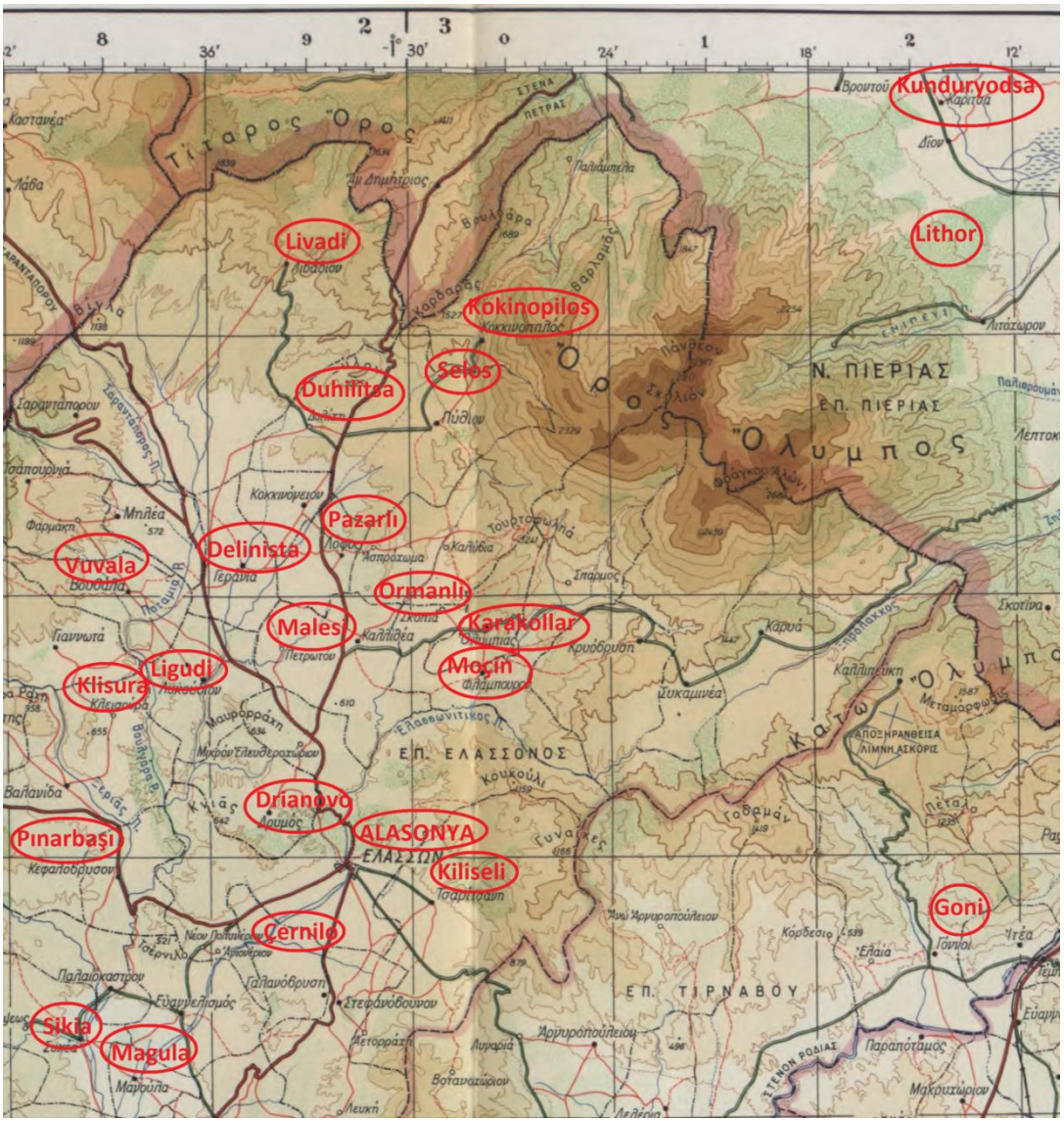


Figure B5. Some of the villages of Alasonya referred to in a book of expenses dated 1793[587]

[587] The village names are referred in the book of expenses located at BOA. C. DH. 21/2044. The base map is from National Statistical Service of Greece, *Atlas of Greece*, 30.

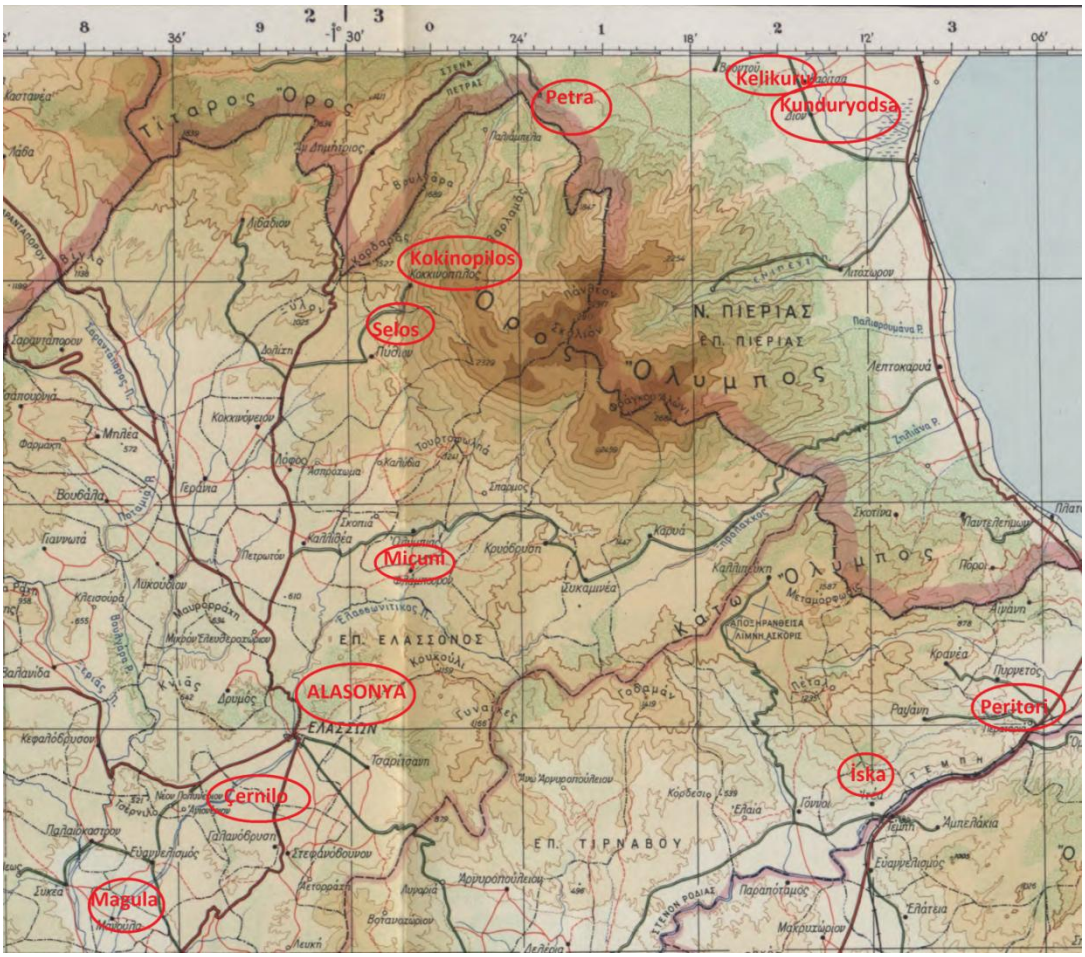


Figure B6. Some of the villages of Alasonya within the mukataa of Esma Sultan, sub-leased to Ali Paşa and Veli Paşa, and converted to çiftliks, 1820[588]

[588] The village names are referred in BOA. C.ML. 575/23594. The base map is from the National Statistical Service of Greece, *Atlas of Greece*, 30.

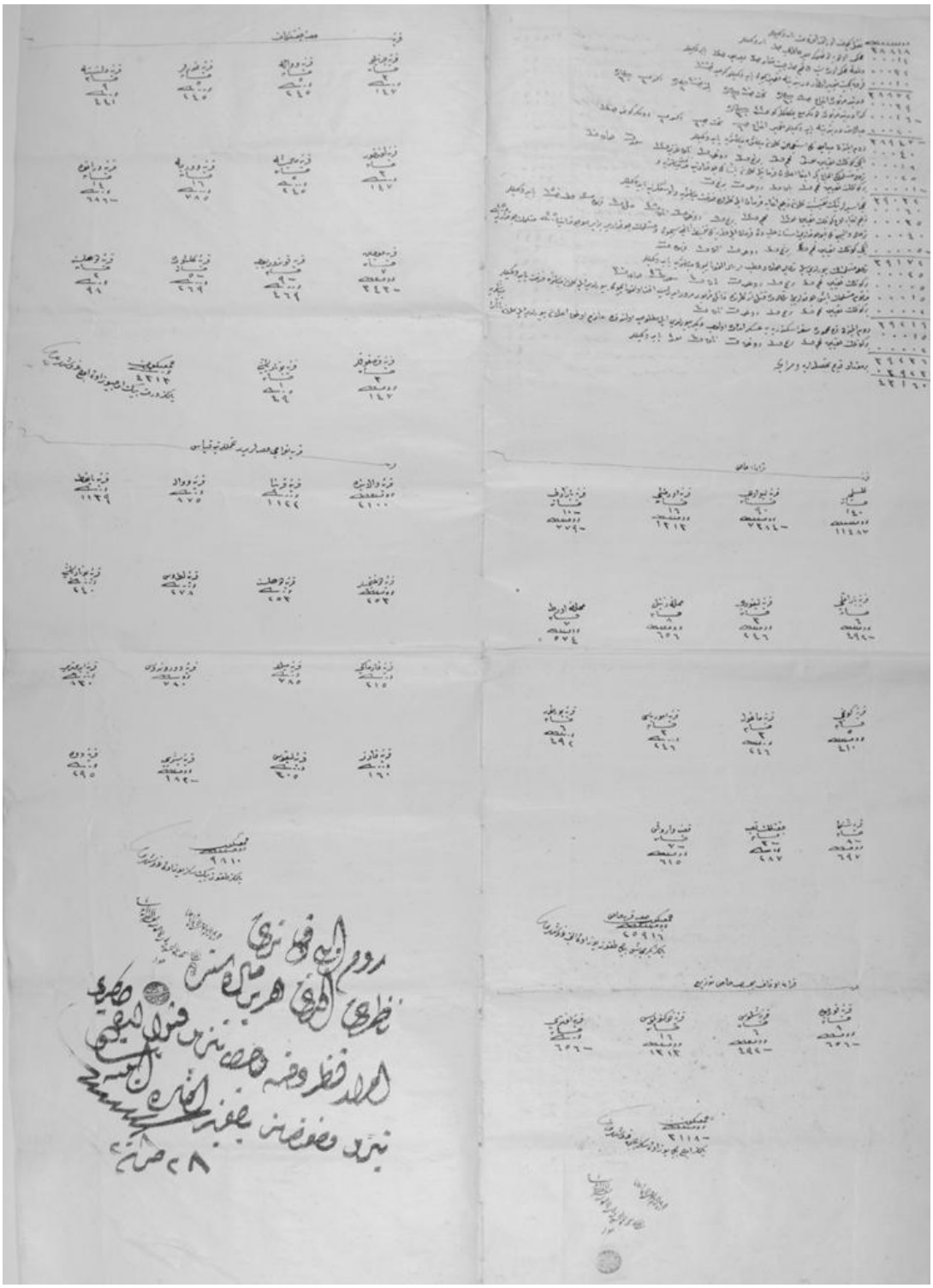


Figure B7. Sample page from BOA. C. DH. 41/2044

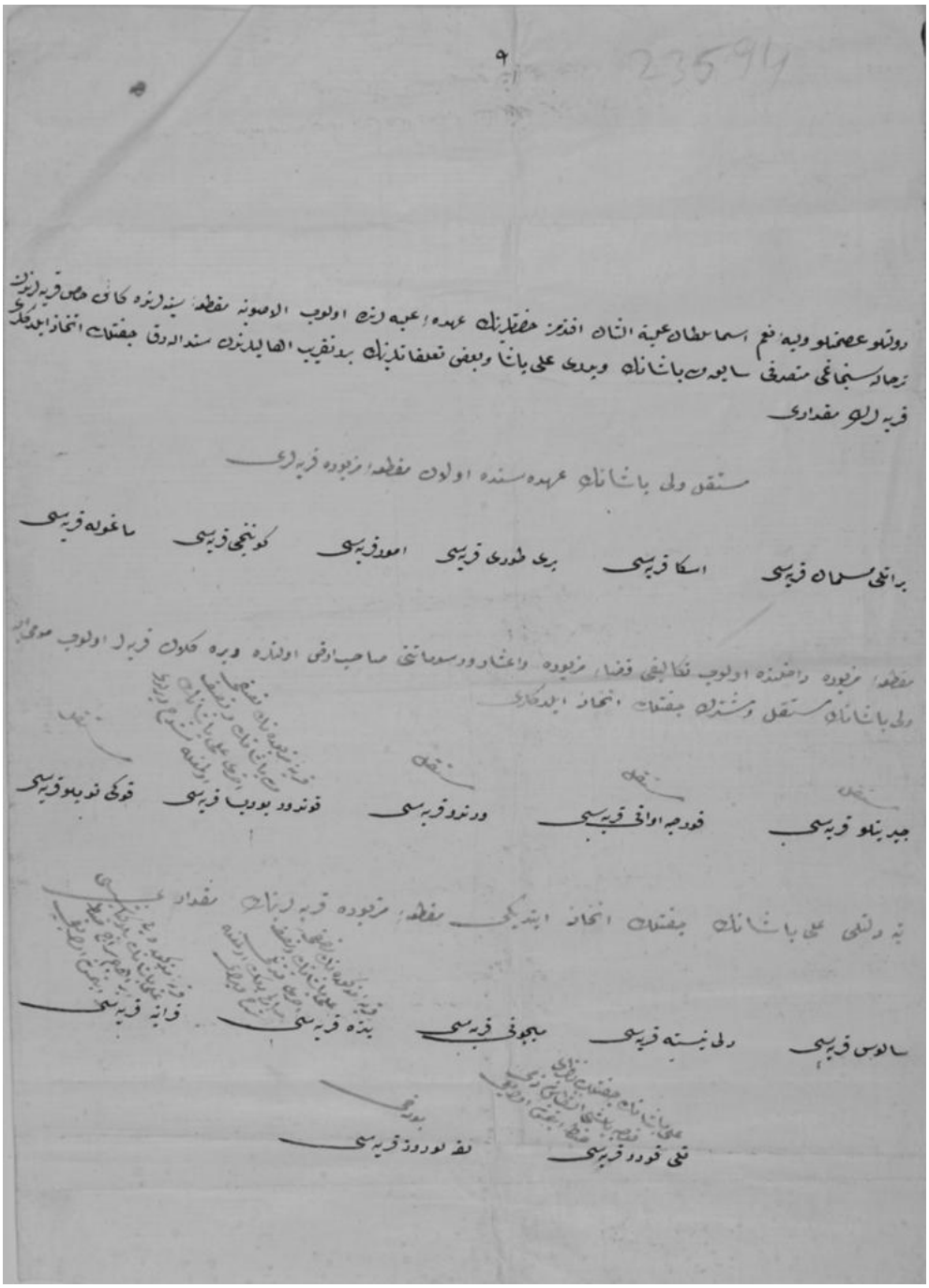


Figure B8. Sample page from BOA. C. ML. 575/23594

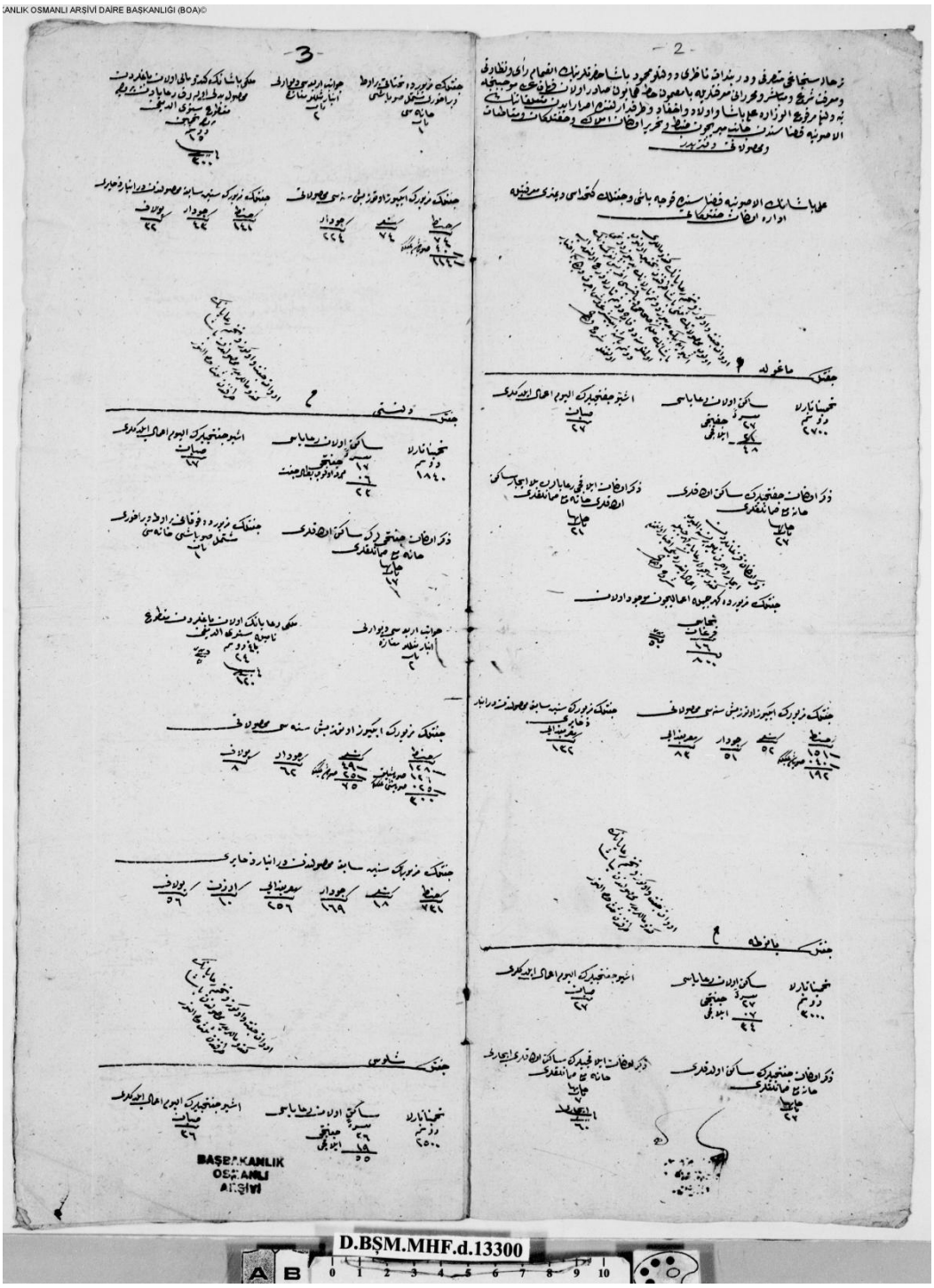


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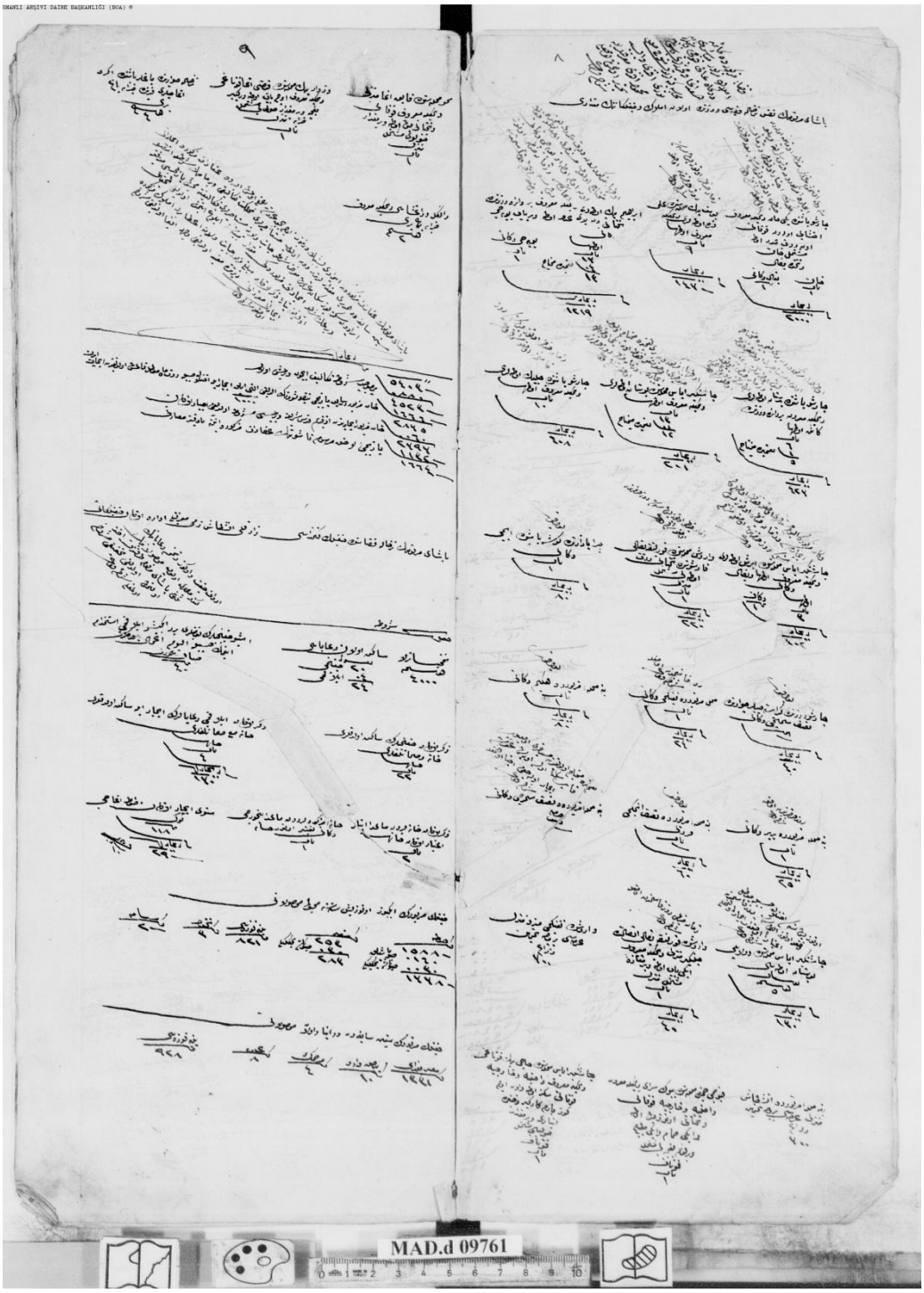


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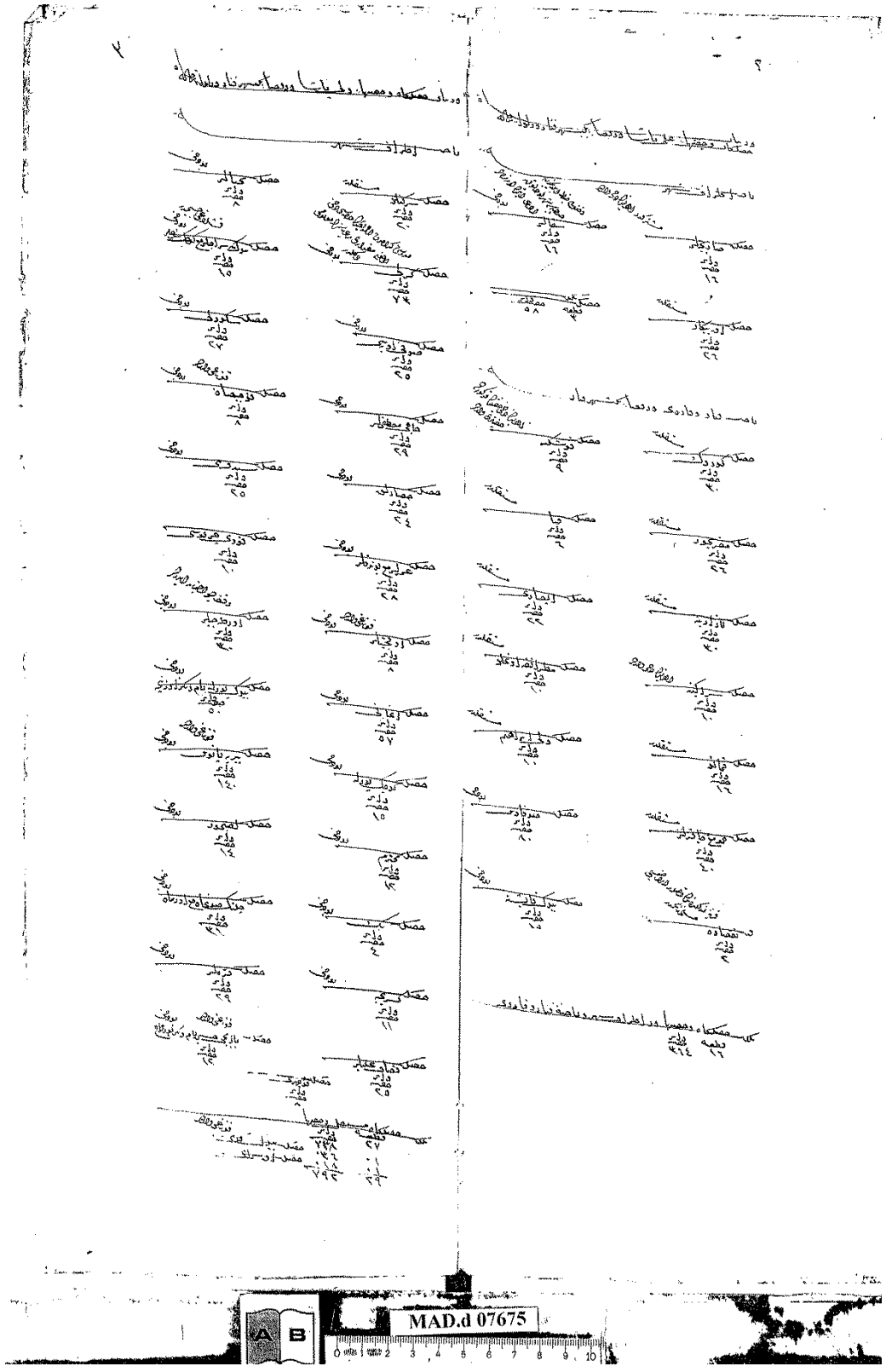


Figure B11. Sample page from BOA. MAD.d.7675

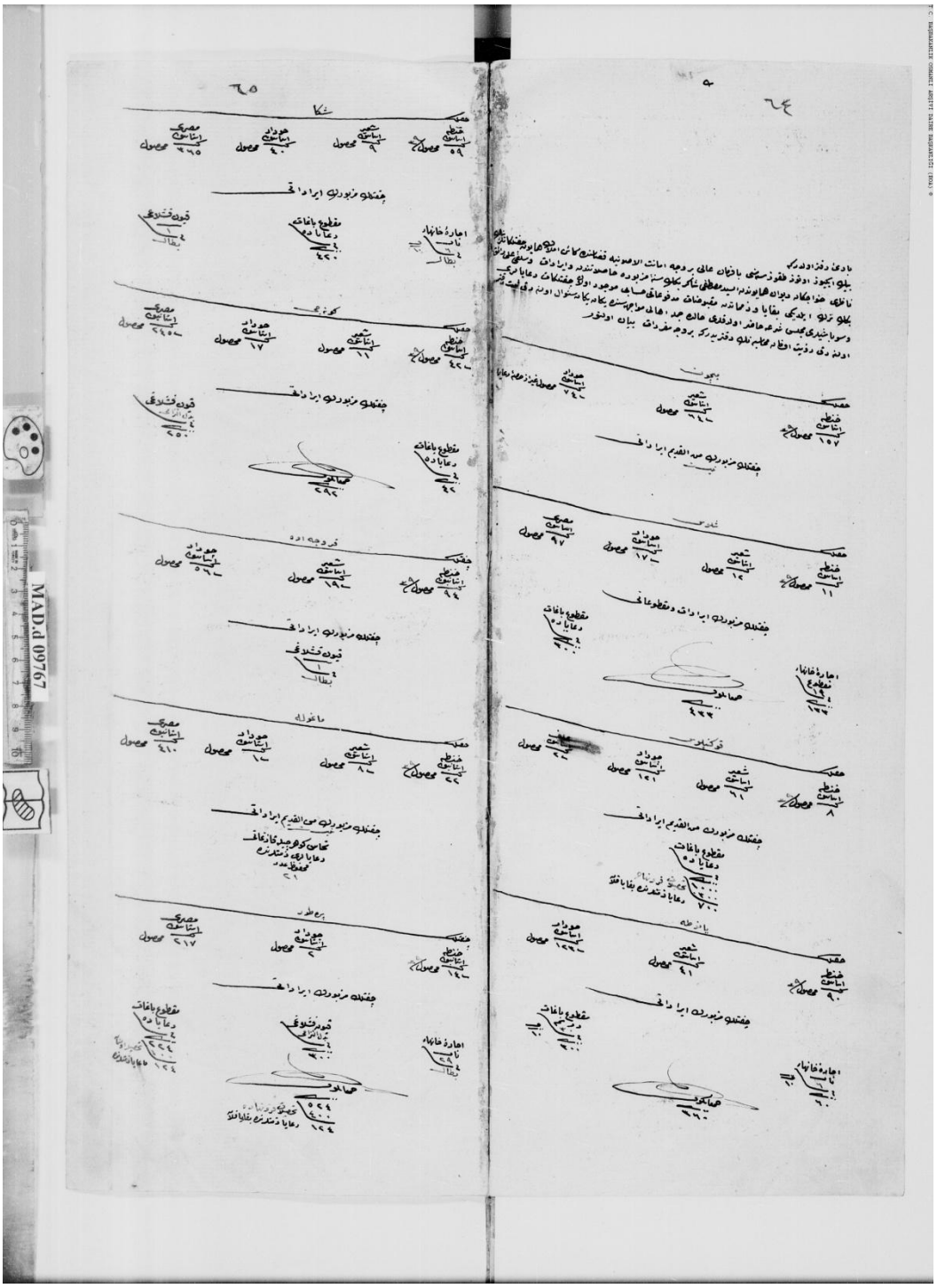


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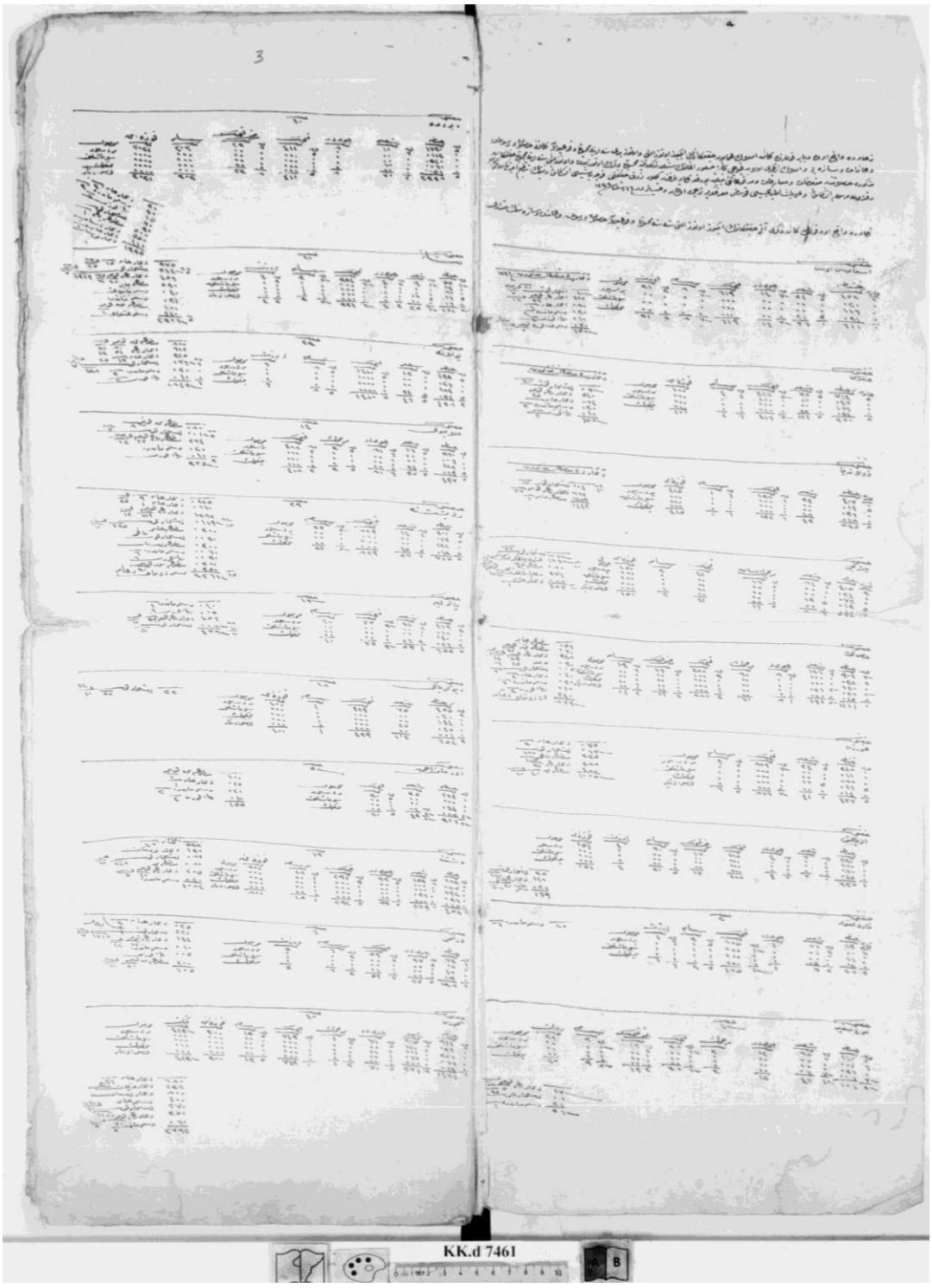


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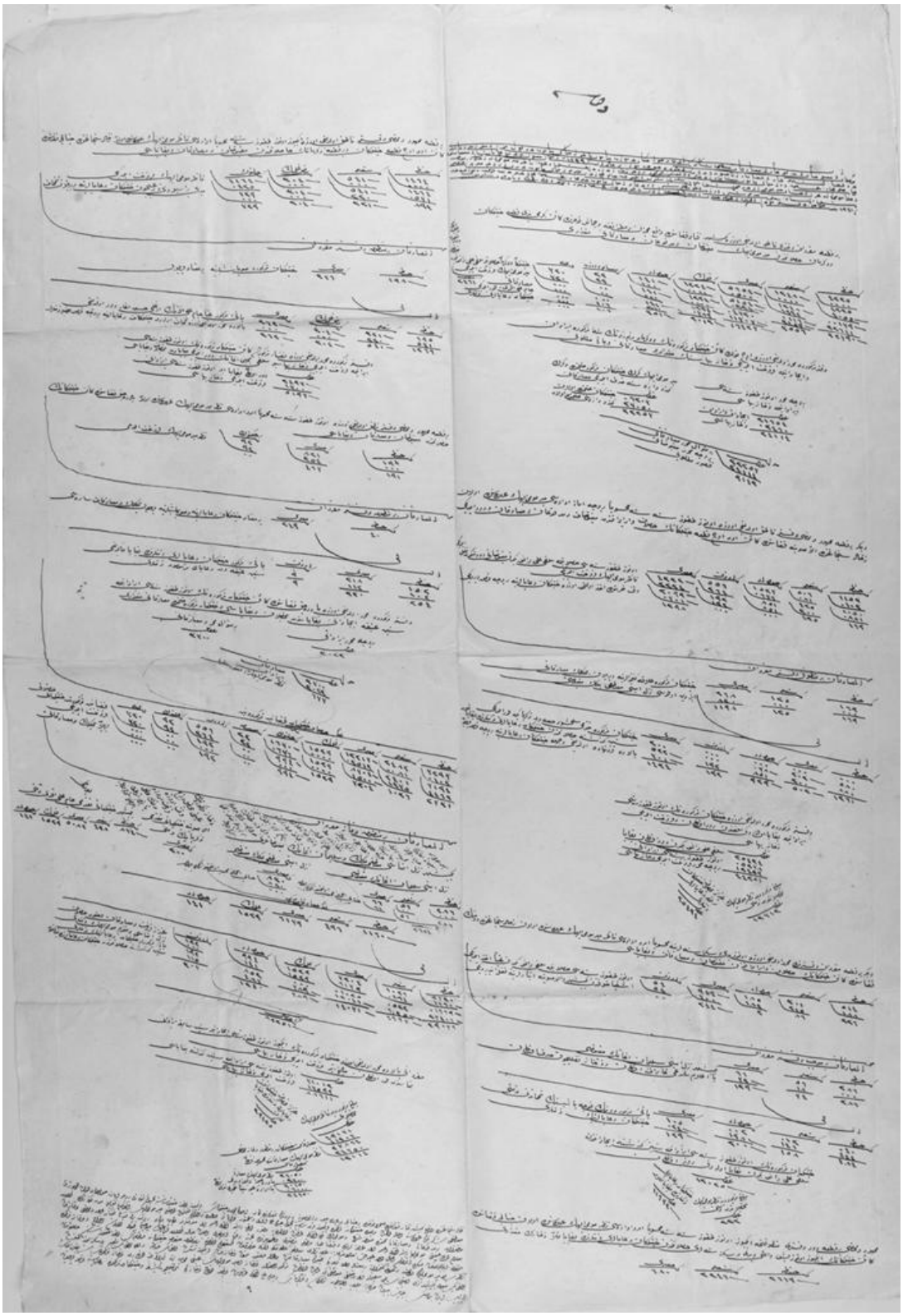


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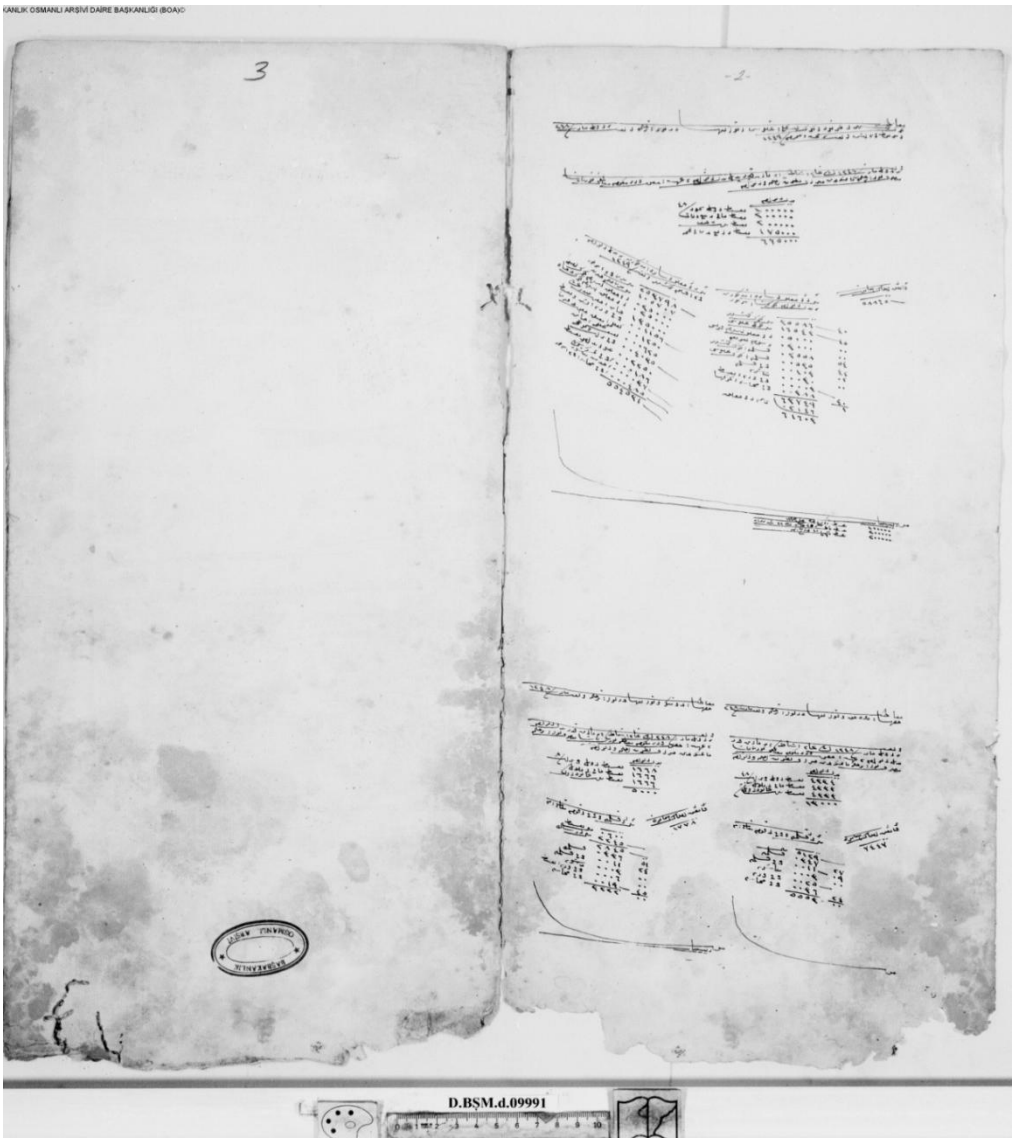


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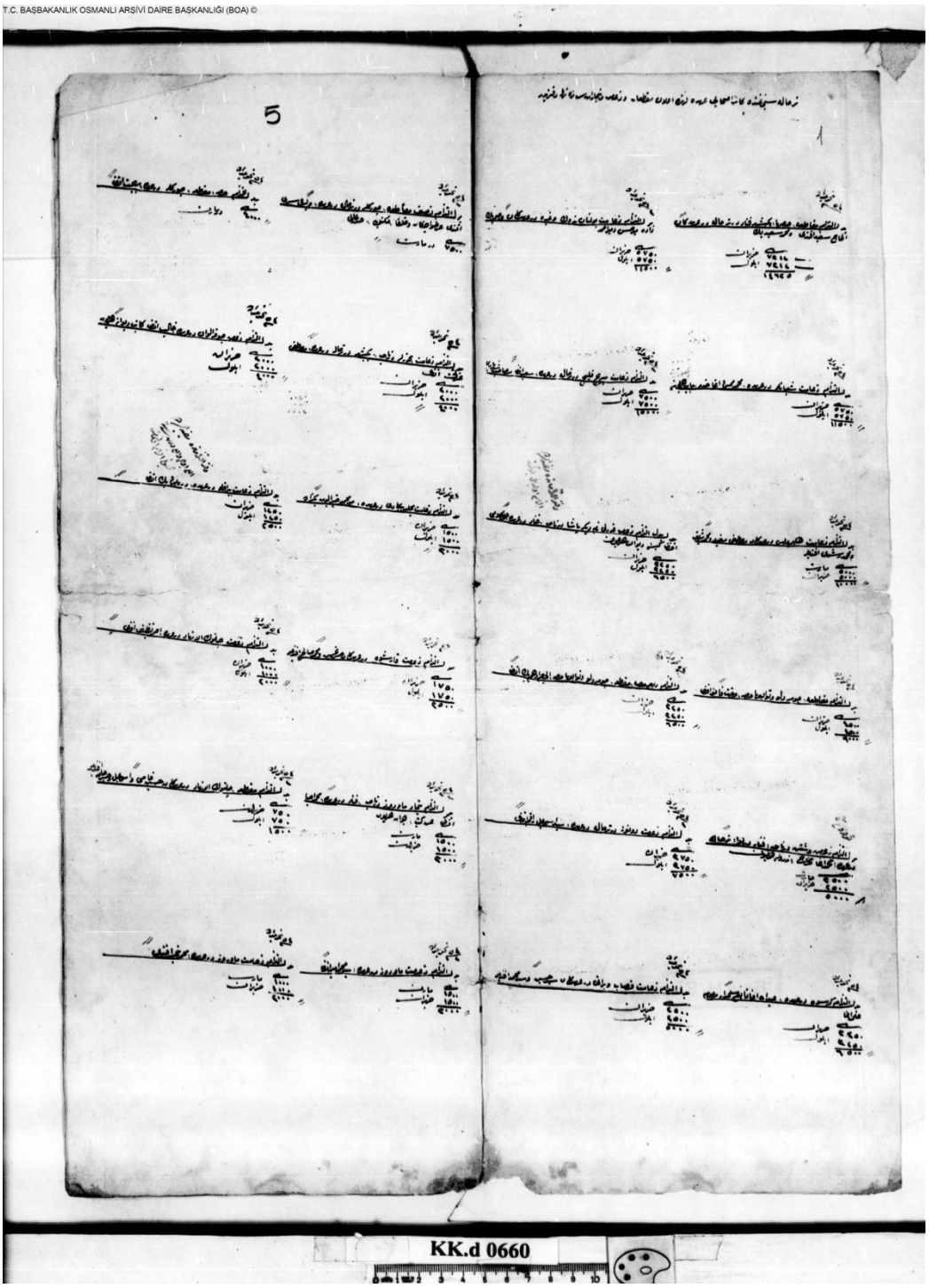


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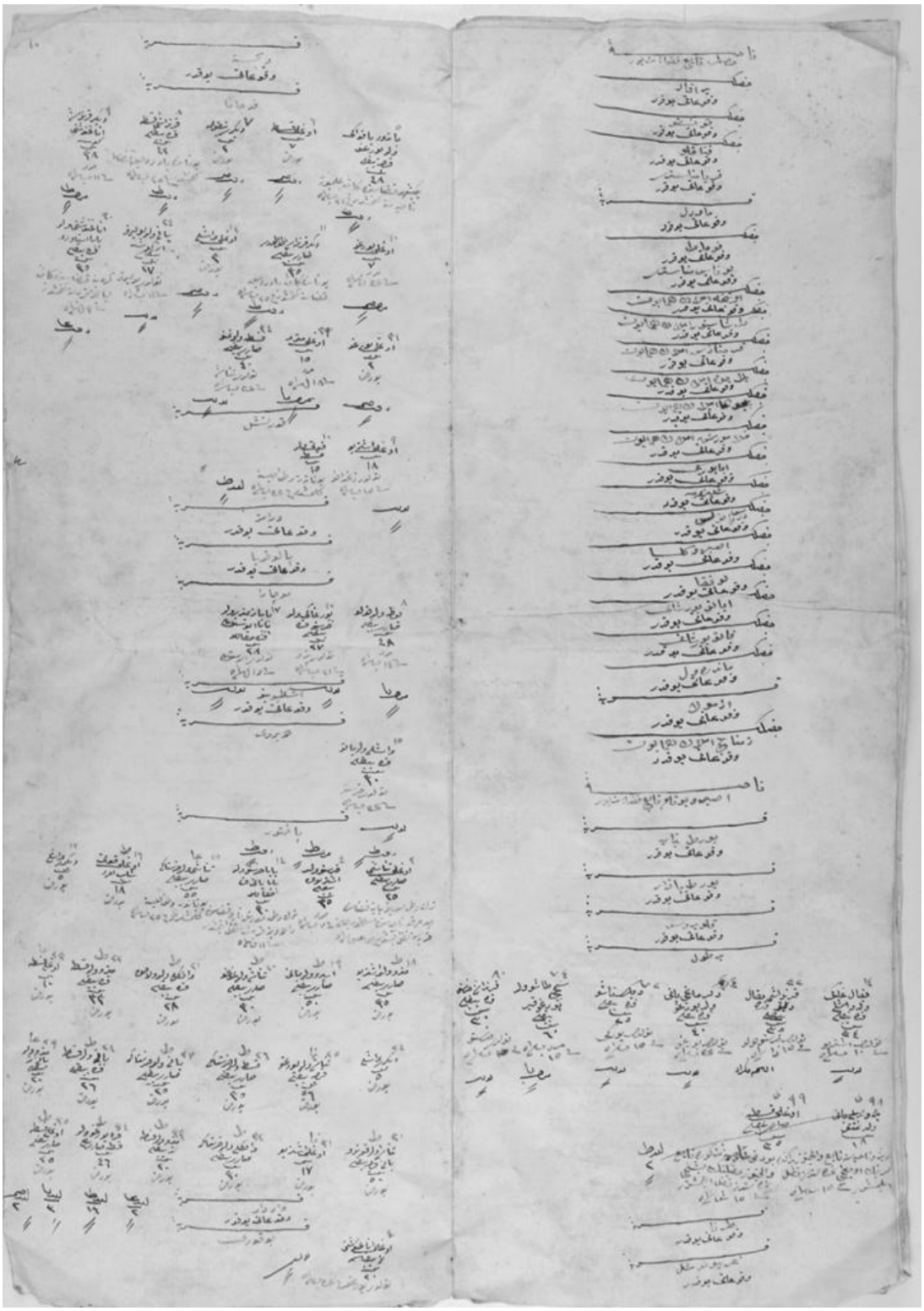


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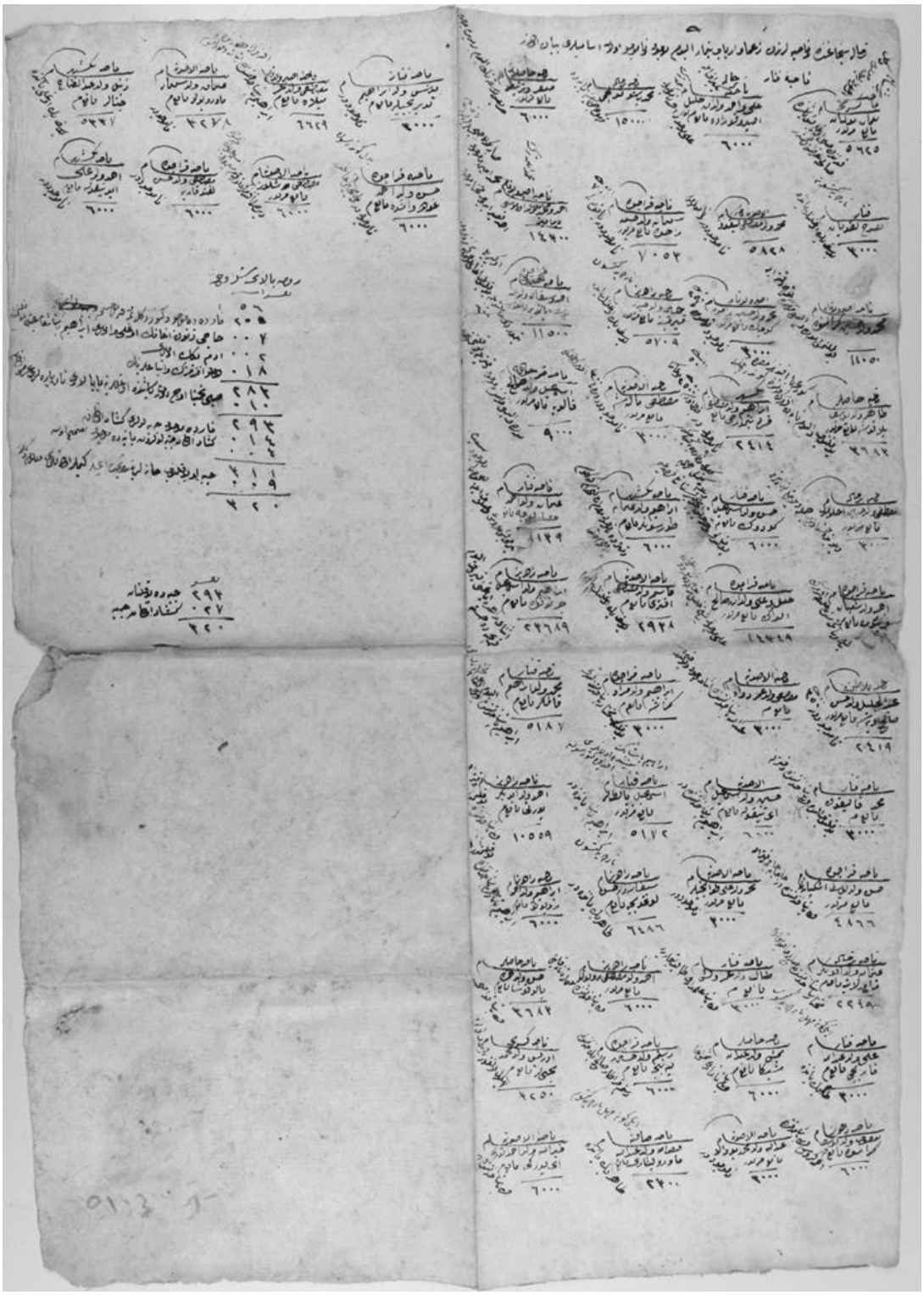
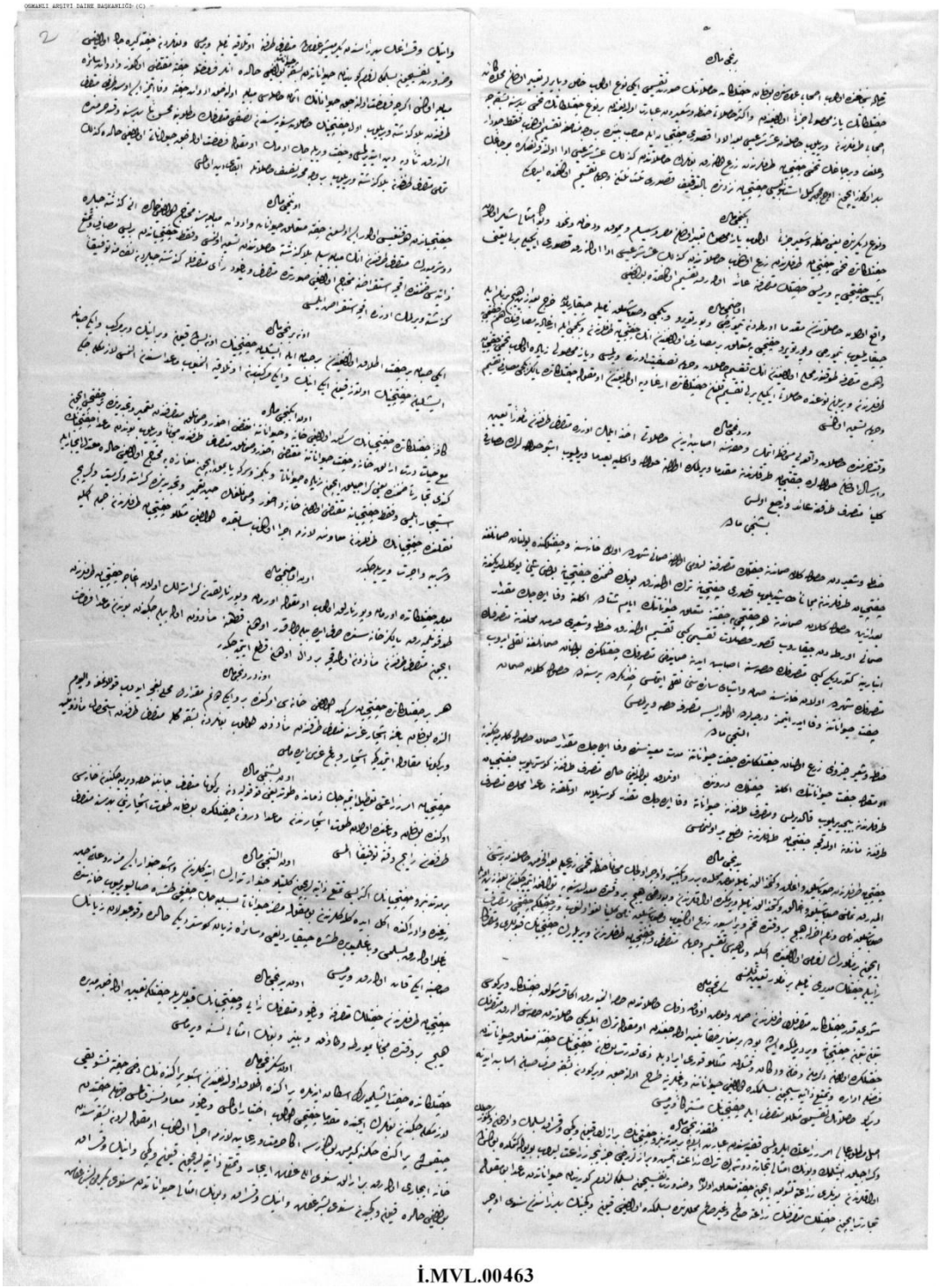


Figure B18. Sample page from BOA. C. TZ. 81/4015



İ.MVL.00463

Figure B19. Sample page from BOA. I. MVL. 463/20920

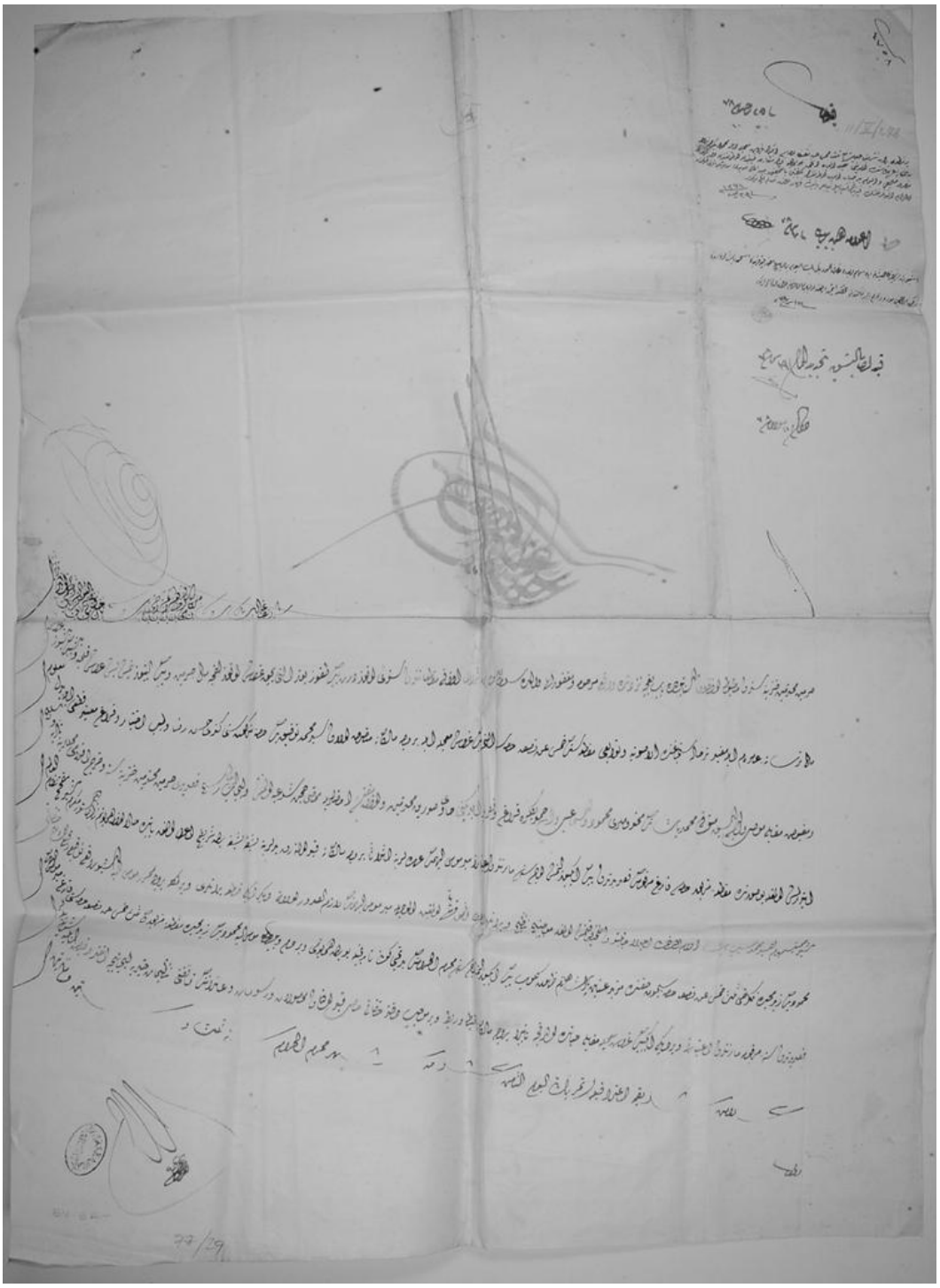


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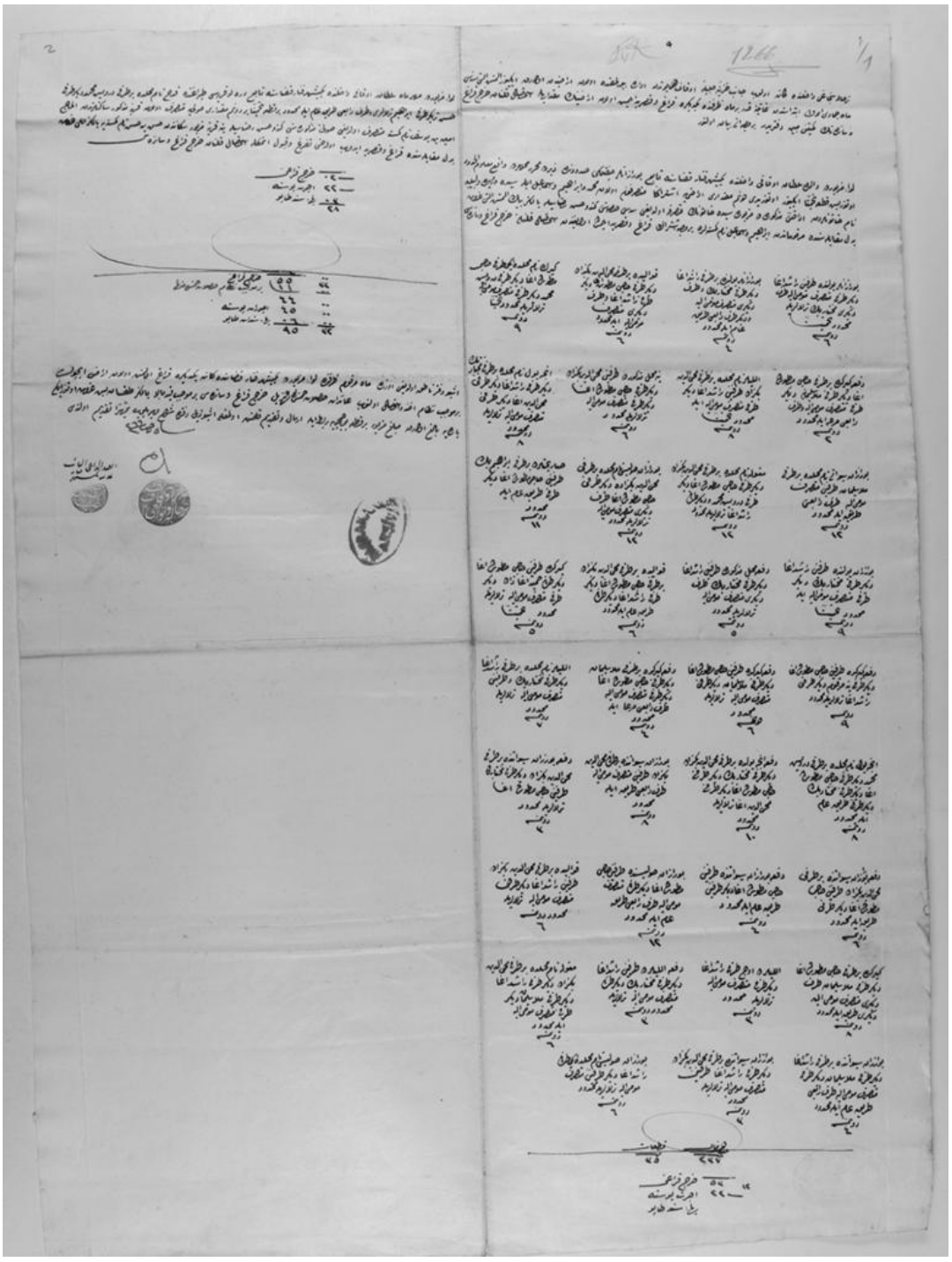


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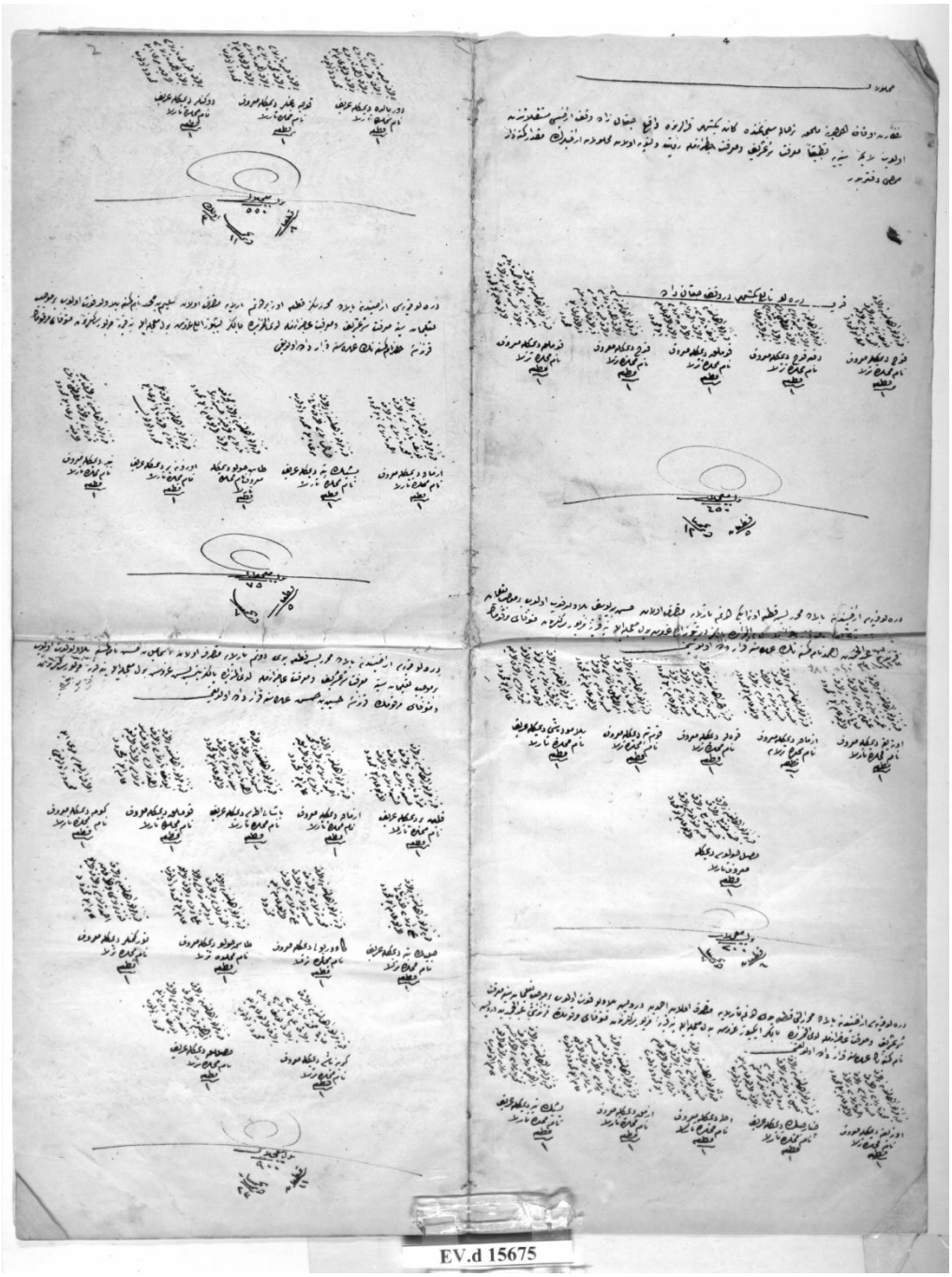


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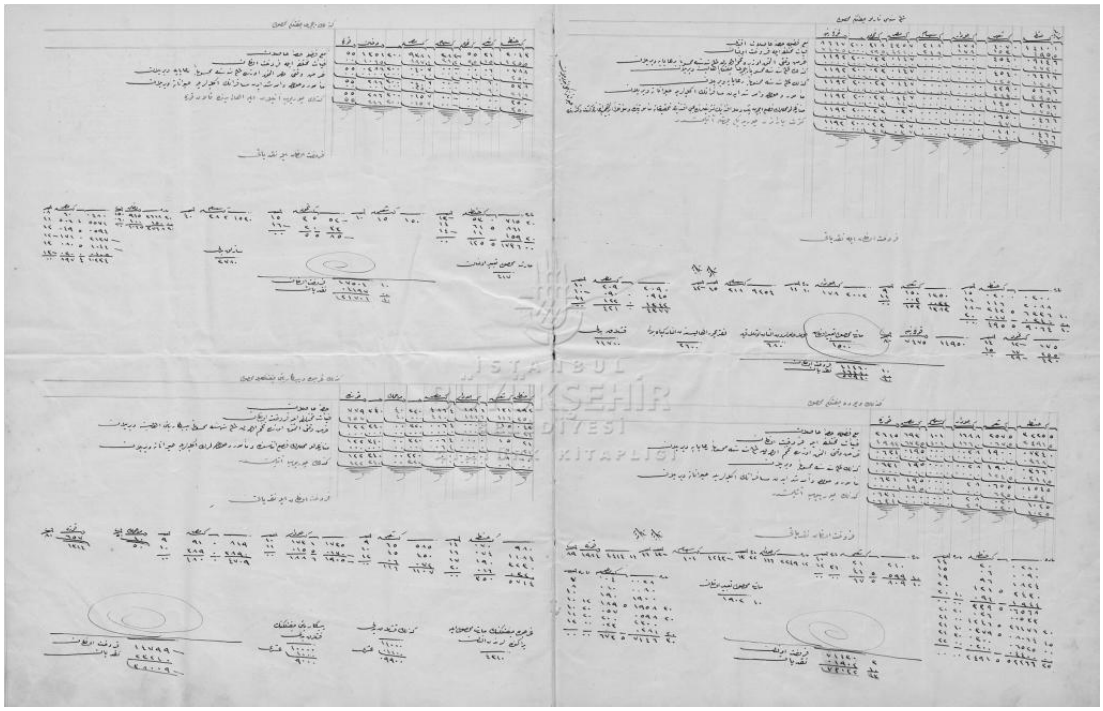


Figure B23. Sample page from AK. Pvs. Evr. 4063

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