ÇİFTLİKS, LANDOWNERS AND RURAL PRODUCERS:

CLASS RELATIONS IN THE BALKANS (18TH-19TH CENTURIES)

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BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2023

ÇİFTLİKS, LANDOWNERS AND RURAL PRODUCERS:

CLASS RELATIONS IN THE BALKANS (18TH-19TH CENTURIES)

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

History

by

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2023

Çiftliks, Landowners and Rural Producers:

Class Relations in the Balkans (18th – 19th Centuries)

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- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;

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ABSTRACT

Çiftliks, Landowners and Rural Producers: Class Relations in the Balkans

(18th – 19th Centuries)

This dissertation examines the rural society of the Ottoman Balkans, focusing on the districts of Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe through the central themes of çiftlik production and inequality. The analysis mainly focuses on the property and labor relations between landowners and rural inhabitants by positing the çiftlik question in the broader framework of rural class structure and labor relations in the Ottoman Balkans in the 19th century. The main sources utilized in this study consist of income survey registers *("Temettuat Defterleri"*) of the districts under study. The analysis of the large-scale dataset obtained from these sources is combined with GIS analysis to demonstrate the diversity of settlement and production forms in a large geographical area. The thesis also touches upon several issues related to the rural structure and agrarian dynamics, including restriction of peasant mobility, imposition of *corvee* on agricultural producers, peasant poverty and indebtedness, appropriation of peasant land, and the turning of villages into çiftliks through incorporation into the study a variety of historical documents. In general, this dissertation combines different sources in order to portray the organization of the agricultural economy and the structure of the rural society of the Ottoman Balkans from the late 18th to the early 20th century from as many angles as possible by focusing on a selection of three districts -Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe.

ÖZET

Çiftlikler, Toprak Sahipleri ve Kırsal Üreticiler: Balkanlarda Sınıf İlişkileri (18. - 19. Yüzyıllar)

Bu tez çalışması, çiftlik üretimi ve eşitsizlik temaları üzerinden Manastır, İştip ve Pirlepe kazalarına odaklanarak Osmanlı Balkanlarındaki tarımsal yapıyı incelemektedir. Analiz çiftlik meselesini 19. yüzyılda Osmanlı Balkanlarındaki kırsal sınıf yapısı ve emek ilişkileri çerçevesine yerleştirerek toprak sahipleri ve kırsal bölge sakinleri arasındaki mülkiyet ve emek ilişkilerine odaklanmaktadır. Mevcut çalışmada yararlanılan temel kaynaklar, incelenen bölgelerin gelir kayıtlarını ihtiva eden temettuat defterleridir. Bu kaynaklardan elde edilen geniş çaplı veri setinin analizi GIS analizi araçları ile birleştirilerek geniş bir coğrafi alanda yerleşim ve üretim biçimlerindeki çeşitlilik ve çiftlik üretiminin tarımsal ekonomi içindeki ağırlığı gösterilmektedir. Tez çalışması, farklı nitelikteki tarihsel kaynakları mevcut çalışmaya dahil ederek köylü hareketliliği üzerindeki sınırlamalar, tarımsal üreticilere angarya emek dayatılması, köylü yoksulluğu ve borçluluğu, köylü toprağına el koyma ve köylerin çiftliklere dönüştürülmesi gibi kırsal yapılar ve tarımsal dinamiklerle bağlantılı olan birçok meseleye de değinmektedir. Bu tez genel hatlarıyla 18. yüzyıl sonundan 20. yüzyıl başlarına kadar olan dönemde Osmanlı Balkanlarında tarımsal ekonominin organizasyonu ve kırsal toplumun sınıf yapısını mümkün olduğunca farklı veçhelerden tasvir etmek üzere farklı nitelikteki tarihsel kaynakları bir araya getirerek Manastır, İştip ve Pirlepe kazaları üzerine odaklanmaktadır.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research project and the ensuing dissertation would not have come to life without the support of several people. I would like to start by expressing my deepest gratitude for my thesis advisor Yücel Terzibaşoğlu, who has provided me not only with intellectual stimulation and academic guidance but also encouragement and support for the pursuit of my research interests. His courses broadened my vision of history, his advisorship shaped my research agenda, and the experience I obtained from participating in his research projects greatly fostered my research skills. I would like to send my heartfelt thanks and esteems to Socrates Petmezas, Cengiz Kırlı, Selçuk Dursun, and Tolga Cora for kindly accepting to be a part of my thesis defense committee and their invaluable feedback, comments, and suggestions on my dissertation. I would like to thank Alp Yücel Kaya and Antonis Hadjikyriacou for their participation in my PhD qualification process and the insight they provided me in the early stages of my dissertation. I would like to thank the academic and administrative staff of the Boğaziçi University Department of History for the knowledge and experience they provided me during my years as a graduate student and my work as a teaching and research assistant. Among many dear colleagues and friends I was lucky to have gotten acquainted with, I would especially like to thank Berna Kamay, Yener Koç, and Melike Sümertaş for their enjoyable company and friendship. I received a PhD Scholarship from TÜBİTAK (Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) (2211-A, 2015-2019) and research grants from Boğaziçi University Social Policy Forum (2018-2018) and Boğaziçi University Scientific Research Fund (BU/BAP) (2020-2021) and I thank these institutions for their support. I will always be grateful to my family members for their

love and understanding. I especially thank my mother and father for their generous support during my reclusive focus on preparing my dissertation. Şefik Sevgener, my best friend and soul mate, always encouraged me in my moments of distress and kindly shared his immense technical knowledge whenever needed. Last but not least, I would like to thank my late grandfather, whom I lost during my PhD journey, for his compassion mixed with a hilariously sarcastic sense of humor throughout my life, and dedicate my study to his dear memory.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the rural society of the Ottoman Balkans in the 19th century, focusing on the districts of Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe, all located in modern North Macedonia, through the central themes of çiftlik production and rural inequality. The analysis mainly focuses on property and labor relations between landowners and rural inhabitants. The thesis also touches upon several issues related to the rural structure and agrarian dynamics, including restriction of peasant mobility, imposition of *corvee* on rural producers, peasant poverty and indebtedness, appropriation of peasant land, and the turning of villages into çiftliks.

The çiftliks of the districts of Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe of the 19th century constitute the central axis of the present thesis. These forms of organization of rural production can be broadly defined as privately-owned landed estates primarily based on sharecropping arrangements having a market-oriented outlook, often under the ownership of urban-based figures from the upper classes. Furthermore, they were in close contact and interdependence with the villages of their regions. As such, çiftliks not only constituted an integral part of the rural universe at large, but also profoundly impacted the shaping of agricultural configuration. In this capacity, the significance of the çiftliks was not simply confined to these forms of rural organizations themselves but critically encompassed broader dimensions.

On a more practical level, the çiftliks often constituted complex and multi-dimensional structures. First and foremost, these estates were based on agricultural production and animal husbandry; hence, landed property constituted their raison d'etre. In terms of agricultural production, the çiftliks of the Balkans were often

confined to grains, while those of western Anatolia were mainly focused on the production of cash crops, even though variety within each region certainly existed. Fields confined to the production of various agricultural products were often complemented by areas reserved for the provision of the needs of the animals of the çiftlik, including meadows and pastures, and also by vineyards, orchards, uncultivated land, and woodland. Beyond the core area of production, the çiftliks were quite flexible formations and could display great diversity. For example, certain infrastructure was needed for production, harvest, and storage processes to continue properly and for the caring of animals. As such, çiftliks often included warehouses, granaries, barns, threshing areas, stables, sheepfolds, fountains, and wells, in addition to the occasional existence of stores, smithies, mills, and facilities for textile production. Lodgings for the çiftlik workers ("*ortakçı odaları,*" "*çiftçi haneleri,*" etc.) and sometimes accommodation facilities for household servants, gardeners, and other personae of complementary functions completed this main framework of infrastructure. These architectural features were complemented by tools of production, such as oxen, which constituted the main draught animal for the cultivation of land, and the iron plough, the essential traditional production tool. In the cases of more prominent landlords, çiftliks could also include mansions ("*köşk*") for the residence of çiftlik owners; these estates, furthermore, would often be surrounded by walls and towers for purposes of defense both in the Balkans and western Anatolia. Lastly, sharecropping, which entailed the division of the agricultural produce between the landowner and the cultivator, often turned out to be the dominant arrangement of labor for cultivation, while various forms of labor co-existed side by side, other than cases of çiftliks based solely on sharecropping, wage-

labor, and tenancy contracts.[1] The çiftliks under analysis are mainly based on the production of grains, followed by income obtained from meadows and vineyards, as well as occasional engagement in animal husbandry, often on the basis of sharecropping.

The size of these landed estates also diverged significantly, both in historical and geographical terms. While the larger examples of çiftliks were initially designated as "plantation-like farms" which mainly emerged on wasteland thanks to efforts at reclamation,[2] later studies emphasized the variety of the size of çiftliks, which often tended to be on a scale much smaller than a "plantation-like farm."[3] Furthermore, it has become visible that the general layout of the cultivable land in the çiftliks mostly consisted of multiple smaller parcels of land rather than continuous landscapes of "plantation-like" çiftliks in addition to a number of non-cultivable areas which were sometimes left unregistered in sources, such as forests and pastures.[4] In line with the size of the çiftliks, the number of workers also displayed great diversity.[5] Lastly, this diversity was complemented by the considerable variation in the economic and social positioning of the çiftlik-owners[6]. The çiftliks under study also vary significantly in terms of size and number of

[1] BOA TS. MA. d. 5913, 1181; BOA D. BŞM. MHF. d. 12808, 1191. Also see: Stoianovich, "Land Tenure and Related Sectors of the Balkan Economy, 1600-1800," 402; Nagata, *Tarihte ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, 105-106; Arel, "Ege Bölgesi Ayanlık Dönemi Mimarisi: 1986-1991 Çalışmaları," 231; Arel, "Foça Bağ Evleri ve Kule-Ev Geleneği," 51; Arel, "Ege Bölgesi Ayanlık Dönemi Mimarisi Hakkında Bir Ön Araştırma," 39.
[2] İnalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftliks: State, Landlords, and Tenants," 19-25.
[3] McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 72; Nagata, *Tarihte ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, 106.
[4] Nagata, *Tarihte ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, 124. This scattered quality of cultivable land that consisted of smaller parcels also held true for the villages: Dragonava, *Tuna Vilayeti'nin Köy Nüfusu*, 51-52.
[5] For example, see: Gandev, "L'apparition des rapports capitalistes dans l'économie rurale de la Bulgarie du nord-ouest au cours du XVIII siècle," 208, 214; Ursinus, "The *Çiftlik Sahibleri* of Manastır as a Local Elite, Late Seventeenth to Early Nineteenth Century," 251; Parveva, *Rural Agrarian and Social Structure in the Edirne Region during the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century*, 49-50.
[6]McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 152; Ursinus, "The *Çiftlik Sahibleri* of Manastır as a Local Elite, Late Seventeenth to Early Nineteenth Century," 250.

workers as well as the characteristics of çiftlik-owners. As such, these çiftliks can be mainly defined by their common quality of the complete separation between the ownership and the cultivation of land, even though their size, forms of labor, and outlook could vary.

In general, the çiftliks of the Ottoman Empire, especially concerning the forms they took in the 18th and 19th centuries, have often been treated in the dominant orthodox history-writing within the confines of the rigid framework drawn by the unchanging principle of the *miri* land regime and *çift-hane* system. The other prevailing view posited the çiftlik question through the lens of the expansion of the capitalist world market and the integration of the Ottoman Empire into this newly emerging system. When the question has come to the commercialization of agriculture in general, the dominant model has functioned under the rubric of petty-commodity production whereby smallholding peasant families would benefit from market opportunities whenever they emerged. The çiftlik debate, therefore, mainly developed within the confines of these frameworks.

The transformation of traditional agrarian structures, especially from the 18th and 19th centuries onwards, has attracted considerable attention in the debates on the development of capitalism in relation to the changing character of class relations and agricultural production in the countryside. The global transformations of this era also found their resonance in the Ottoman Empire, which experienced significant economic, social, and political changes, and witnessed the emergence of an agrarian question in the same period. In this general context, the landed estates, or çiftliks, of the Ottoman Balkans are likely to open up an important venue that can enable the addressing of the historically specific features of the Ottoman Empire with reference to the globally prevalent issues of the period from the 18th to the 19th century,

including forms of agrarian transitions, processes of rural dispossession, the separation between the owners and the cultivators of agricultural land, erosion of traditional peasant self-sufficiency, and development of a degree of market dependency. With these concerns in mind, the present thesis can be considered an attempt to transcend the conventional frameworks that either focus on the resilience of the traditional Ottoman system or the transformative impact of trade on the organization of production and posit the çiftlik question in the broader framework of rural class structure and labor relations in the Ottoman Balkans in the mid-19th century. For this purpose, the main research questions around which the framework of the present thesis has been formed with regard to the rural class structure in the region under study are as follows: What is the extent of çiftliks *vis-a-vis* villages in the countryside; what are the common characteristics of çiftliks in the mid-19th century, and what are the main axes on which these forms of organization varied; how can the property structure and internal organization of the villages be characterized; and what is the nature of the relationship between çiftliks and villages in the composition of the countryside in general?

The general structure of this thesis stands on three main footholds. Here, the first foothold centers on the relations between landowners and rural producers. As such, the first point of focus is on the class relations that were formed around the phenomenon of Ottoman çiftliks which entailed a number of implications regarding the character of the economic and social system at hand. Concerning the rural society of the Ottoman Balkans, the çiftliks have been evaluated as the most visible proxy of class relations in the countryside directly related to the disruption of the traditional peasant society. Behind the first layer of rural inequality embodied in the presence of çiftliks, the question of whether tendencies towards stratification and differentiation

can be observed among the rural inhabitants has also been raised. Accordingly, the second main foothold of the thesis centers on the relations among the "peasantry" itself. Lastly, the third foothold of the thesis centers on the question of space and geography in relation to patterns of rural organization. Accordingly, this thesis has been formed in a dialogue with the concerns of environmental and spatial history with an emphasis on the importance of space as much as the concept of temporality in historical research. Beyond the internal structures of çiftliks and villages, the rural landscape is analyzed in its entirety in order to understand the reciprocal relationships between these forms of organization in the composition of the countryside.

The main body of sources utilized in this study consists of income survey registers *("Emlak, Arazi, Hayvanat ve Temettüat Tahrir Defterleri"* or *"Temettuat Defterleri"*), which have been analyzed to draw a general portrait of the rural society, with a focus on property relations, forms of labor and inequality, in the districts of Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe in the mid-19th century. For specific issues such as the co-existence of restrictions on rural mobility and peasant flight, the content of different types of labor arrangements, and various forms of contestation over the appropriation of peasant land, a selection of archival sources, including petitions, investigation reports, and legal documents, has incorporated into the analysis to present a broader glimpse of rural society in its general structure, tendencies, and dynamics.

Chapter 2 will start with a literature survey to provide a general introduction to the çiftlik question with its crucial implications regarding the characterization of the agrarian structure of the Ottoman Empire as an economic and social system. After the main lines of the *problematique* and various studies that have engaged in

the analysis of the çiftlik phenomenon based on different theoretical frameworks and methodologies are presented, the main research questions of the thesis will be formed with reference to the relevant literature, the main aim and scope of the thesis will be drawn, an exposition of the methodology will be provided, and the area under research will be briefly introduced.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are based on the analysis of the income survey registers of Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe. Each chapter consists of three main parts formed around two distinctive yet interrelated forms of settlement in the rural context – villages and çiftliks. In each chapter, the first part provides a general portrait of the district under study through comparisons between the villages and the çiftliks to draw a broad picture of the rural landscape. Then, the second part focuses specifically on villages. After a general introduction to the villages of the district under study, the focus centers on rural inequality and economic and social differentiation among the peasantry. Lastly, the third part deals with the çiftliks of the respective district in detail. After introducing a general typology of the çiftliks, based on the forms of labor employed, a discussion on the economic and social characteristics of the çiftlik-owners, who display significant diversity, concludes the analysis. Each of these chapters also contains a general introduction to the specific sources used and a brief conclusion whereby the most significant findings of the research will be underlined. Throughout this analysis, themes of property relations and forms of labor will be the main pillars for the exposition of the data retrieved from the income survey registers. In this group, Chapter 3 focuses on the district of Manastır, Chapter 4 focuses on the district of İştip, and Chapter 5 focuses on the district of Pirlepe. Although these chapters are mainly based on the income survey registers, several supplementary sources are also incorporated into the analysis.

The analysis of income survey registers mainly focuses on the general structure of rural society in the mid-19th century. As such, the resulting picture, while a rather detailed one due to the richness of the sources under question, remains a snapshot of a complex reality in flux. In order to develop a more variegated portrayal of the rural society and enlarge the temporal limits of the study, Chapter 6 combines a variety of archival sources, including petitions, investigation reports, and legal documents, and extends the analysis into the 18th and early 20th century. As such, it is intended to transcend the potential limits that an exclusive focus on the income survey registers could create. Another purpose of the analysis in Chapter 6 is to point out crucial processes in rural society which are not visible enough in the income survey registers, such as the nature of the relationship between landowners and peasants, the content of labor arrangements, the questions of restrictions on mobility and imposition of *corvee* labor on the peasantry and çiftlik-workers in a context of rural inequality, poverty, and peasant indebtedness as well as the turning of peasant land into çiftliks, during which the resulting contestation often took the form of a clash between different property regimes. Lastly, Chapter 7 provides a general summary and discussion of all the findings.

Chapter 3, 4, and 5, utilizing income survey registers, mainly consists of quantitative analysis to present rural society's general structure in the mid-19th century. As such, it primarily focuses on the common points between phenomena organized through the central line of property relations. Nevertheless, cases of deviation from the norm can be as important and telling as the points of generality. With this concern in mind, anecdotal evidence obtained from the income survey registers has also been incorporated into the study as much as possible. Chapter 6 mainly focuses on the organization of sources through a number of themes and the

accompanying presentation of relevant cases compiled from all three districts in loosely chronological order.

Beyond the combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses, the thesis also engages in a dialogue with the recent questions raised by environmental and spatial history and utilizes the tools of digital humanities. As such, the statistical data will be combined with GIS (Geographical Information Systems) analysis to transcend the limits imposed by the relatively artificial boundaries of administrative units -such as the unit of district ("*kaza*") under study- and demonstrate the great diversity of settlement forms and patterns of production within the districts, which would be lost from sight in an exclusive focus on averages. All in all, this thesis, through the utilization of a variety of archival sources, combines quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis, statistical methods and focused case studies, general patterns and singular cases, with sensitivity to the spatial dimension of historical processes.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE OTTOMAN *ÇİFTLİK* DEBATE

2.1 Ottoman agrarian history and the çiftlik debate: An introductory overview

In the field of Ottoman economic and social history in general and rural history in particular, the Balkans -or southeastern Europe under Ottoman rule- has occupied a peculiar position. For one thing, the Balkans constituted a specific locus of interaction between the expansionist Ottoman state and an already-existing system of economy and society. The geographical location of the area, in its close proximity to the Eastern European rural universe, rendered this interaction a conflictual and complex process. The Balkans also turned out to be a central stage for the formation of an agrarian question which came forward with increasing intensity in the 19th century.

The emergence and the nature of çiftliks, or privately-owned estates engaged in production for market mainly on the basis of sharecropping, emerged as a point of controversy in relation to the economic and social characteristics of the Ottoman Empire. The historically changing meaning of çiftlik contributed to the confusion over various connotations of the concept. Initially, the term of *çift* was used to denote a piece of land that varied roughly from 70 to 150 *dönüms* according to local conditions and productivity of land.[7] At the same time, the notion of "*reaya çiftliği*" referred to a piece of land under the use of a subsistence-based peasant-family, which obtained the right as well as the obligation to cultivate it on a regular basis, authorized through an official document called "*tapu bedeli"* while a failure by the

[7] "(Has yerden yetmiş seksen dönüm ve evsat yerden yüz dönüm) ve edna yerden yüz otuz ve yüz elli dönüm yer, bir çiftlik i'tibar olunur": Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri 2*, 65-66.

cultivator to pay the agricultural tax ("*çift resmi*") or engage in continuous production ended up in the retrieval of arable land by the state or demand for the compensation of the lost revenue through "*çift bozan*" payment. Then, through the legal categories of the classical tımar system, lands categorized as "*hassa çiftlik*" were placed under the direct control of the *sipahi* who could, on his initiative, cultivate this land personally or lease it out, outside the constraints of the *miri* land system, under arrangements of sharecropping, even though total alienation was not legally allowed. According to Barkan, this category of land gradually lost its importance after the 16th century as "*tımarlı sipahi"* turned into a tax-collecting state official rather than acting as a landowner per se. An offshoot of this category was large-scale "*padişah hasları*" and "*vakıf"* lands, both of which heavily relied on the employment of sharecroppers; these forms, however, either disappeared in the midst of the overruling *miri* land system or were transformed into "*mülk arazi"* to re-emerge as some of the bigger çiftliks of the late Ottoman period. Lastly, other than a limited number of specialized çiftliks based on specific military duties and functions, the term of çiftlik itself came to imply the existence of an agrarian question ("*toprak meselesi*"), which became markedly visible from the late 18th into the early 19th century, whereby estates under the control of wealthy landowners, in conjunction with the emergence of a stratum of landless peasantry, began to sprout, especially in the Balkans, the classical explanation mainly resting on factors such as the decay of classical institutions, the weakening of state authority, the encroachments by third-parties, the development of *mukataa* and *malikane* systems of tax-collection, the unceasing state of military upheaval and turmoil in the aforementioned geography, and the resulting re-flourishing of previous feudal institutions, such as seigniorial

manor and *corvee* labour.[8] In this context, the çiftlik debate mainly focused on the concept of çiftlik as a landed estate which displayed private property-like characteristics and a commercial-orientation. This latter category of çiftliks constitutes the main focus of analysis of this thesis.[9]

During its development, the so-called "çiftlik debate" quickly gained a symbolic significance regarding the characterization of the Ottoman social and economic system. Different approaches to the çiftlik phenomenon have been largely shaped by the respective theoretical positions adopted by the parties of the debate; in turn, the debate brought forward crucial implications regarding the system of production under question.

2.1.1 The classic Ottoman land regime: *Tımar* system, *miri* land, and *çift-hane* principle

If orthodox Ottoman history writing was to be summarized with reference to one defining characteristic, it would probably be "state fetishism." This general outlook did not fail to manifest itself in agrarian history either. The dominant paradigm of agrarian history was mainly characterized by the central place given to the existence of a strong state protecting a free, independent and self-subsisting peasantry against the claims and encroachments of third parties.[10] In the field of Ottoman agrarian history-writing, this canon was established mainly by Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Halil İnalcık. In general, the characterization of the Ottoman social and economic system, in the form of whether it can be defined as a feudal, Asiatic, or *sui generis* one, has

[8] Barkan, "Çiftlik," 789-797.
[9] See the Article 131 of 1858 Land Code: "beynennas çiftlik dedikleri bir takım araziyi ziraat ve hiraset zımnında inşa ve tedârik olunmuş olan ebniye ve hayvanat ve tohum ve edevat-ı çift ve müştemilatı sâire ile ol araziden ibarettir": Akgündüz, *Mukayeseli İslam ve Osmanlı Hukuku Külliyatı*, 714.
[10] Berktay, "Batı ve Türk Ortaçağ tarihçiliğinin köylülüğe bakışının temel deformasyonları", 74-77. Also see: Berktay, "The feudalism debate: The Turkish end – is 'tax – vs. – rent' necessarily the product and sign of a modal difference?"; Haldon, *State and the Tributary Mode of Production*.

constituted a central axis of the controversy over the Ottoman çiftliks the answers to which were profoundly shaped by the aforementioned state-centered view.[11]

Barkan's specific approach to the Ottoman economic and social system is exemplified in his double comparison -between the serfs of Western Europe and the "*ortakçı kullar"* of the Ottoman Empire, on the one hand, and between the Western European feudalism and the Ottoman *tımar* system, on the other hand. In the background of these comparisons, the specific model of European feudalism employed by Barkan turned out to be decisive for the results of his analysis.

The first comparison, which focuses on the serfs of Western Europe and the "*ortakçı kullar"* of the Ottoman Empire, has been developed through the similarities and differences between these cases with regard to issues such as restrictions on marriage, inheritance, and selection of occupation for the peasantry, imposition of *corvee* labor on agricultural producers, and the extent of lordly legal power, as main points of comparison. Although the "*ortakçı kullar"* of the Ottoman Empire, as Barkan argued, seem to be the Ottoman counterparts of the Western European serfs, their marginal place in the overall social composition and the distinctiveness of the *reaya*, being free and independent as it supposedly was, from this group of bonded laborers, relegated their historical importance to a limited time and space. Barkan's second comparison is a more focused analysis of the similarities and differences between Ottoman *tımar* system and Western European feudalism, mainly expanding upon the issues of peasant mobility, state ownership of land, and economic, social, and legal position of the figure of *tımarlı sipahi.* Here, two points proved decisive for the argument developed by Barkan. Firstly, *tımarlı sipahi* cannot be seen as a feudal

[11] For a discussion of the general lines of the controversy regarding feudalism and Asiatic Mode of Production in Turkey, see: Oyan, *Feodalizmden kapitalizme, Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye*, 9-15. For some works utilizing the latter concept, see: Divitçioğlu, *Asya Üretim Tarzı ve Osmanlı Toplumu*; Küçükömer, "Asyagil üretim biçimi, yeniden üretim ve sivil toplum."

landlord, on a par with the European noble landowner, who directly managed and supervised the production process on his estates on his own initiative; here, *tımarlı sipahi* instead emerged as a figure with the outlook of a state official, in the form of a tax-collector living off of his *tımar* income which essentially constituted his salary received in return for service to the state. Secondly, no matter how many periodic waves of "feudalization" could be identified in the history of the Ottoman Empire, these trends in no way constituted an integral part of the Ottoman socio-economic system; rather, they are considered as deviations from the norm of the classical Ottoman land regime.[12]

This line of argument was taken over by Halil İnalcık, who expanded upon Barkan's treatment of *tımar* system, focusing on the organization of agricultural production based on *çift-hane*. According to İnalcık, because *tımar* system rested on

[12] Barkan, "Türkiye'de "Servaj" Var Mıydı?", 717-723. Even when Barkan accepts that some degree of dependency might have actually existed for the *reaya* in relation to land as well, at the end of the day he still concludes that it was the state that had played the major part in the creation of such dependency for fiscal purposes, rather than an aristocratic landlord class *per se*: Ibid, 723-724. In the framework developed by Barkan, any possibility for the existence of feudalism in the Ottoman Empire has been ruled out from the start since the concept came to be associated with historically-specific features of the Western European feudalism, such as the dispersal of political power, aristocratic character of landlords and legal status of serfdom imposed on peasant producers: Ibid, 718-720. In Barkan's account, the culprit for certain instances that resembled to serfom and feudalism was often pre-Ottoman elements -either as remnants from the time of the pre-Ottoman feudalism or revival of some of its features which flourished during periods of distress and decentralization: Ibid, 724. This general viewpoint is not specific to the Ottoman case and Turkish scholarship though. With reference to the ardent discussion by historians on the possibility (or impossibility) of feudalism in Poland due to the historical specificities of the country, Skwarczynski underlines that "some historians of the early 19th century and later considered feudalism so contrary to the Polish spirit that they would not admit it had ever existed in that country": Skwarczyński, "The Problem of Feudalism in Poland up to the Beginning of the 16th Century, 293. For another example of the same attitude towards the past, see Alfonso who refers to "the myth of Spanish difference". Alfonso, "Exploring Difference within Rural Communities in the Northern Iberian Kingdoms, 1000–1300," 87. It seems as if each country has historians overly-fascinated by the historical specificities and particularities of their own past.In contrast to Barkan's framework, Vera Moutafchieva underlined the specificities of an Eastern variant of feudalism, which was manifested in the existence of a strong state as in the Ottoman case, and put under scrutiny the categories of *tımar* and *mülk* in order to develop a nuanced understanding of the system, with due reference to the military dynamics of the empire. In this context, Moutafchieva mainly argued that while *tımar*, which was essentially a source of revenue for the *tımar* holder, cannot be seen as perfectly identical to the fief of the Western European feudalism with its territorial connotations, and that the *tımar* holder was not on a par with the European feudal landlord, at the end of the day the system comprised of dependent and exploited peasantry as against the ruling class consisting of *tımar* holders, who were relatively small actors, and *mülk sahipleri*, who were the real big feudal landlords of the Empire: Moutafchieva, *Agrarian Relations in the Ottoman Empire in the 15th and 16th Centuries*.

the principle of *miri* land, the state acted as the ultimate landowner and heavily regulated the rules and rhythm of agrarian production to ensure the continuity and indivisibility of the "*reaya* çiftlik" whereby the peasant family could subsist and pay taxes under state protection. Here, the figure of the *sipahi* once again emerged as a state-official working for a salary rather than acting as a feudal landlord directly supervising the production process. While abuses were often encountered even in this idealized picture, such as those cases when the *sipahi* tried to impose *corvee* labor on the peasantry or tried to expand his *hassa çiftlik* at the expense of peasant land, these were defined as *abuses* after all –forms of misconduct by corrupt state-officials trying to evade the legal framework of justice established by the state. This web of inter-relationships between the fiscal needs of the state, the *tımar* as the organizing military and economic system, *miri* land as the dominant form of land tenure and the *çift-hane* as the main principle regulating peasant production, in a nutshell, constituted the underlying logic of the Ottoman economy and society, according to İnalcık.[13]

In both of these accounts, Ottoman productive base is portrayed to consist of more or less free and independent peasantry engaged in small-scale family production under the paternal protection of the Ottoman state, which prevented -or at least aspired to do so- the attempts of third party actors from exploiting the peasantry on their own account. This picture, in the end, laid the conceptual ground for the upcoming generations of historians of the Ottoman Empire and constituted the basis of orthodoxy in Ottoman agrarian history-writing, which in turn shaped the resulting conceptualization of the çiftlik question.

[13] İnalcık, "Village, peasant and empire." Also see: İnalcik, "Tanzimat Nedir?", 239-241.

In this narrative, because çiftliks do not exactly comply with the established picture of the Ottoman Empire, they are considered to be cases of deviation from the essential nature of the system under question. Here, the argument regarding the emergence of çiftliks has a strong affinity with the decline paradigm which evaluates the post-classical period in Ottoman history as a long process of decay, especially from the 16th century onwards.[14] The first foothold of this decay entailed the turning of the *miri* land by various members of the upper class into *vakıfs* and private farms. Then, the second foothold was the decline of *tımar* system and the emergence of *iltizam* system, in the context of the increasing power and prominence of the *ayan.*[15] Moreover, the transition from life-term to hereditary leasing of land -in other words, the transition from *mukataa* system to *malikane* within the framework o*f iltizam*- gave a further impetus to this ongoing trend towards "çiftlikization."[16] While state lands were occasionally leased out to influential personages starting from the earlier periods of the Ottoman Empire, it was from the 18th century onwards that external trade opportunities gave a further impetus to this already-existing practice in tandem with the increase of *ayan* power.[17] Nevertheless, the *çift-hane* system is claimed to have been mostly left untouched.[18] Also, the earlier wave of the emergence of big çiftliks, which were characterized as "plantation-like farms," has been argued to have mainly taken place "on waste or abandoned (*mevat*) lands outside the areas under the çift-hane system," mostly on the basis of "*şenlendirme"*, or "reclamation".[19] This

[14] For some critical overviews of the notion of decline in the Ottoman history, see: Quataert, "Ottoman history writing and changing attitudes towards the notion of "decline"; Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline"; Hathaway, "Problems of periodization in Ottoman history: the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries".
[15] İnalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftliks: State, Landlords, and Tenants," 19, 22- 23. Also see: İnalcik, "Tanzimat Nedir," 241-252.
[16] İnalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftliks: State, Landlords, and Tenants," 22-23.
[17] Ibid, 24.
[18] Ibid, 17-34. Also see: Veinstein, "On the Çiftlik Debate."
[19] İnalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftliks: State, Landlords, and Tenants," 19-23. According to İnalcık, "through obtaining mülk lands from mevat, Islamic Law provided a legal framework to

also held true, as İnalcık argued, for the "market-oriented large farms" of the 18th century.[20] Accordingly, what happened in the Ottoman Empire was not comparable to the developments in Eastern Europe, whereby feudal landowners increasingly resorted to estate management in response to the growing demand for grains from Western Europe.[21]

Fikret Adanır developed a similar account regarding the historical emergence of çiftliks in the Ottoman Empire. In the 16th century, he argued, "*çiftlik* farms, whether large or small, were far too few at that time to be considered in any sense characteristic of the prevailing land regime."[22] While their number increased considerably in the 17th century, these çiftliks mainly consisted of "ranches devoted primarily to stock breeding". Although abandonment of land due to peasant flight - especially in the context of the Celali revolts- turned out to be an important factor behind their emergence, Adanır still concluded that "it would be stretching the point to consider *çiftlik* formation at this stage a result of the 'usurpation' of the land of peasants."[23] He also added that the çiftliks which emerged with the increasing power of the *ayan* from the 17th and 18th century onwards still remained "modest" in extent and ambition.[24]

In the case of Macedonia, Adanır specifically emphasized that the çiftliks in this region emerged on *mevat* lands thanks to efforts at reclamation, rather than

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bring about large farms owned by individuals, and the Ottoman state, as a rule, encouraged the application of this legal device to expand the area of such lands." In this way, these çiftliks did not disrupt the existing land system: Ibid, 21.

[20] İnalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftliks: State, Landlords, and Tenants," 25-26. In this context, İnalcık pointed out the fundamental difference between the çiftliks based on tax-farming (as well as "appanage-like land grants") and "plantation-like farms." The former, he argued, "simply constituted a fiscal-administrative rearrangement in the possession of the lands, and did not necessarily bring about a change in the çift-hane system." In contrast, most of the "plantation-like farms" were mainly established on mevat land and hence, outside of the çift-hane system: Ibid, 24.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Adanır, "Tradition and Rural Change in Southeastern Europe During Ottoman Rule," 147.

[23] Ibid, 147-148.

[24] Ibid, 148-149.

through the usurpation of peasant land, by claiming that the alluvial plains of Macedonia, where çiftliks mostly concentrated, rather than being fertile areas as often supposed by the relevant literature, were actually "agriculturally the poorest in the whole country."[25] As such, the concentration of the peasantry in mountainous areas, according to Adanır, is to be explained by the conscious choice of a body of independent peasantry freely moving around the countryside to find the best prospects for themselves, in the form of migration either to uplands for engagement in cash-crop agriculture and animal husbandry or to urban centers for engagement in crafts as well as wage-labor.[26] As such, Adanır concluded that although "great changes in the West such as the emergence of the Atlantic economies or the Industrial Revolution" had certainly exerted an impact on the Ottoman Empire, in the end "they did not affect the relations of production in agriculture, the main sector of the Ottoman economy, significantly" while the changes of the Ottoman Empire from the 17th to the 18th century, he argued, "took place chiefly in the superstructure."[27]

2.1.2 Trade, capitalist world-system and the question of second serfdom: A discussion on the Balkan *çiftliks*

While the aforementioned orthodoxy on Ottoman economic history had been established by the 1950s and 1960s to a considerable extent, the following period of the 1970s witnessed the increasing impact of the Wallersteinian world-system analysis on the general outlook of Ottoman economic history. However, the role played by global trade for the emergence of çiftliks in the Ottoman Empire has been discussed not only by Wallerstein and his students, in the form of the incorporation

[25] Adanır, "The Macedonian question: the socio-economic reality and of its historiographic interpretation," 45-47.
[26] Adanır, "The Macedonian question: the socio-economic reality and of its historiographic interpretation," 47-49.
[27] Adanır, "Tradition and Rural Change in Southeastern Europe During Ottoman Rule," 155.

of the Ottoman Empire into the capitalist world system, but initially by Fernand Braudel, whose study can be counted among the first attempts to establish some links between the expansion of global trade and the emergence of Balkan çiftliks.[28]

Stoianovich and Sadat, mainly working through the framework of second serfdom and estate production, articulated the emergence of *çiftliks* and bonded forms of labor in the Balkans.[29] In this context, Stoianovich argued that *tımar* holders started to expand the land under their direct control -or "*hassa çiftlik"*- at the expense of peasant land from the 16th century onwards. This tendency, coupled by factors such as the expansion of the *malikane* system, chronic indebtedness of the peasantry, forceful acquisition of cultivable land and constant stream of peasant flight, ended up in the accumulation of land previously under peasant production in the hands of economically and politically powerful groups, such as the *ayan* and the *yeniçeri*, who treated these lands as estates under their private ownership while they, at the same time, employed armed men under their command to protect their position.[30] In this context, as Stoianovich argued, "the *çiftlik* marks the transition from a social and economic structure founded upon a system of moderate land rent and few labor

[28] In Braudel's view, the expansion of çiftlik presence in the Balkans, as "a new and important phenomenon", indicated the existence of transformations taking place in the agrarian structure. After Braudel referred to various usages of the term of çiftlik, such as "the acreage of land that could be ploughed in a day" as well as "privately owned property, whether that of the peasants … or of great noblemen", he underlined that in its latter-day usage, especially from the 17th century onwards, the term of çiftlik started specifically to refer to "the large estate of modern times, a sort of colonial plantation or Gutsherrschaft": Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 724. These estates were, according to Braudel, mainly engaged in production of grain for export trade. Most importantly, as "large proprietors put to use the depopulated land whose possibilities had never been fully explored by previous generations of nobles and peasants," they simultaneously "created ... the conditions leading to the 'new serfdom' observable in Turkey." In this context, Braudel specifically underlined that there were important parallels between the large estates of Eastern Europe and the Ottoman çiftliks, both of which, he argued, came into existence as a response to the increasing demand for grain from the Western Europe, while the end result turned out to be large-scale enserfment of agricultural producers. Most importantly for the theoretical implications of the argument, Braudel concluded that "the existence of these tyrannically organized but productive modern estates would indicate that when considering the evolution of the Turkish nobility, other factors besides the social and political must be taken into account": Ibid, 725.

[29] Stoianovich, "Land Tenure and Related Sectors of the Balkan Economy, 1600-1800"; Sadat, "Rumeli Ayanları: The Eighteenth Century."

[30] Stoianovich, "Land Tenure and Related Sectors of the Balkan Economy, 1600-1800," 398-401.

services to one of excessive land rent and exaggerated service" and in this capacity, it refers to the emergence of a particular form of serfdom.[31] In this picture, the expansion of export trade was critical -this is visible, according to Stoianovich, in the fact that "the institution of the *çiftlik*, as an enterprise of colonization … expands along the arteries of communication: the coastal plains and interior basins."[32] As such, he underlined that "the simultaneous development of serfdom and large quasi-private properties"[33] was not a phenomenon exclusive to the Balkans, but it was evident in a large geography, including Eastern and Southern Europe as well as Russia.[34]

The theme of the integration of the Balkan economies into the expanding system of global trade has also been discussed by Sadat with reference to the changing outlook of the local ruling elite, or the so-called *ayan*, who had initially acted as elected local intermediaries with an urban and "semi-official" outlook in the 17th century, while they increasingly accumulated land, especially after the acquisition of *iltizam* rights, by appropriating the *tapu* titles of the indebted peasantry, started to engage in commercial agriculture and turned effectively into a "landed aristocracy" by the 18th century.[35] As such, Sadat concluded that the ascendance of this group marked "the emergence of a seigneurial regime in the Balkans."[36] With reference to long-term economic development, Sadat argued that the change in the system of land tenure, in the form of the expansion of çiftlik agriculture, did not lead to "internal

[31] Stoianovich, "Land Tenure and Related Sectors of the Balkan Economy, 1600-1800," 402.
[32] Ibid, 403. These arteries of communication included "Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, the Marica Valley, Danubian Bulgaria, the Kosovo-Metohija basins, the coastal plains of Albania, and parts of Bosnia": Ibid, 402-403.
[33] Ibid, 407.
[34] Ibid, 407-411. The historical specificity of the Balkans compared to other regions in the Eastern Europe with similar developments, according to Stoianovich, was to be found "in its emphasis upon the use of thousands of armed guards to protect the estate of one landlord from the intrusions of another and to keep the peasant on the land": Ibid, 409.
[35] Sadat, "Rumeli Ayanları: The Eighteenth Century," 346-353.
[36] Ibid, 346.

economic development" in the form of increase in productivity, as happened in Western Europe.[37] Rather, the extraction of surplus was realized through the burdening of the peasantry under heavy exactions, not only in the form of rent in kind and rent in money, but also in the form of rent in labor, while the resulting tendency towards peasant flight ended up in the imposition of ever-increasing restrictions on their mobility and the related emergence of bondage to land.[38] Just like Stoianovich, therefore, Sadat drew parallels between the emergence of the Ottoman *çiftlik* phenomenon and the development of estate agriculture on the basis of serfdom in Eastern Europe, in both of which "the peasants lost not only their land but also their mobility."[39]

The general lines of the Braudelian framework, with its focus on the transformative impact of trade on the existing relations of production and the consolidation of large landholdings organized on the basis of serfdom, was later employed and utilized by Wallerstein, who posited the problematique through the formation of a global capitalist system from the 16th century onwards. In this narrative, the Ottoman Empire, which constituted "a classic case of a world-empire", started to get in increasing engagement with the "capitalist world-economy" through commercial relations, during which the former gradually lost its relatively independent position and merely turned into, according to Wallerstein, "one more state located within the boundaries of the capitalist world-economy."[40] In this context,

[37] Sadat, "Rumeli Ayanları: The Eighteenth Century," 348.
[38] Ibid, 353-354.
[39] Ibid. Sadat underlined that attempts at immobilizing the peasantry were not usually successful as many managed to escape to the mountainous areas and reverted to a semi-pastoral form of subsistence. Others, both Muslim and Christian, joined robber bands, named klephts in Greece and haiduks in Serbia, which were prevalent throughout the Balkans, due to peasant dispossesion: Ibid, 354.
[40] Wallerstein, "The Ottoman Empire and the Capitalist World-Economy: Some Questions for Research," 391. Also see: Hopkins & Wallerstein, "Capitalism and the incorporation of new zones into the world-economy"; Kasaba, "Incorporation of the Ottoman Empire, 1750-1820". Historically, Wallerstein argued that "in the period 1750-1873, the capitalist world-economy included in its ambit

the corollary of the integration of the Ottoman Empire into the capitalist world-system turned out to be the process of its "peripherialization" whereby the Ottoman economy "came to play a particular role within a capitalist mode of production, and be governed by the pressures for capital accumulation *per se*, as mediated by the supply-demand curves of the world market, and by the capital-labor relations that were reflected in the political compromises of the Ottoman state."[41] In historical terms, the integration of the former world-empire into the newly emerging capitalist world-system as a part of its periphery was accompanied by "the disappearance of the classical prebendal system and its effective replacement by *çiftlik* agriculture"

Russia, the Ottoman Empire, India, West Africa, and perhaps other areas as peripheral zones." Wallerstein, "The Ottoman Empire and the Capitalist World-Economy: Some Questions for Research", 392. Kasaba underlined that the integration of the Ottoman Empire to the world economy had started by the 18th century. Nevertheless, it was the 19th century that witnessed the culmination of these processes of integration as it was the time when "the power of the Ottoman state was effectively harnessed both internally by the groups who were benefiting from the expanding relations with Europe and externally by the interstate system": Kasaba, "Incorporation of the Ottoman Empire, 1750-1820," 806. In other words, "from the 1750s the western provinces of the Ottoman Empire were structurally integrated into the axial division of labor of the capitalist world economy" while "between ca. 1750 and ca. 1815 the Ottoman Empire as a whole was incorporated into the capitalist world economy": Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the world economy: The nineteenth century*, 35. Then,"the period that extended from the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 to the end of the mid-Victorian boom in about 1876" turned out to be the "period that the Ottoman Empire was peripheralized": Ibid, 38. In this context, Kasaba further distinguished between three phases of the 19th century peripherialization: Here, the first period from the end of Napoleonic Wars to 1840 was characterized by increases in import vis-a-vis export, relative scarcity of foreign investment, Britain's dominant position and liberalization of trade in 1838; the second phase from the mid-19th century onwards witnessed an increase in Ottoman export to Britain, increase in foreign investment as well as loans and and capital transfer to the Ottoman Empire; and in the last phase towards the end of the 19th century, imports became more important as the Ottoman Empire turned into a market being an integral part of global capital by that time: Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the world economy: The nineteenth century*, 47-48. Pamuk also identified in the 19th century similar sub-periods regarding the relationship between the Ottoman economy and foreign markets through external trade. In this framework, in the period from 1820 to 1853, Ottoman economy was increasingly opened to foreign trade through English influence and export-oriented production increased while non-agricultural sectors recessed due to the decline in the prices of industrial goods thanks to technological advances in the West; from 1854 to 1876, Ottoman foreign trade continued to develop due to increasing demand from the world market, specialization in agriculture increased while crafts further deteriorated, foreign debts and investments enabled entry of foreign capital into the country while trade deficit increased. As such, Pamuk defined the period from the 1820s to the 1870s as a period of the integration of the Ottoman Empire into the capitalist world economy. Then, the period from 1880 to 1895 witnessed a decline in foreign trade, exports as well as urban manufactures while specialization in agricultural production and foreign debts increased; this was also the period when France and Germany started to display increasing presence in the Ottoman Empire. Lastly, Pamuk identified the period from 1896 to 1914 as the further integration of the Ottoman hinterland into the global capitalist system in tandem with further commercialization of agricultural production directed towards external market: Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme 1820-1913*,152-159.

[41] Wallerstein, "The Ottoman Empire and the Capitalist World-Economy: Some Questions for Research," 391.

especially in the Balkans and the Western Anatolia.[42] In this framework, therefore, the process of "çiftlikization," especially from the 18th to the 19th century onwards, can be understood with reference to the "peripherialization" of the Ottoman Empire. As such, capitalist world-market and engagement in trade created çiftliks, which, in turn, created relations of dependency.[43]

2.1.3 Commerce, tax-farming, and *çiftlik*-ownership: Sources of wealth

The question of the increasing power of the *ayan*, hand in hand with the themes of "decentralization" and "decline" that occupied considerable space in the history-writing of the Ottoman Empire, greatly affected the vocabulary employed by another line of discussion in the çiftlik debate. Here, the main line of contestation was formed around the assessment of the relative weight of estate management and the capacity of the *ayan* as çiftlik-owners against the significance of tax-farming for the development of this group as a new type of economic, political, and social actor.[44] As such, the discussion focused mainly on the relative weight of the political and economic activities they were involved with - tax-farming, landownership, administrative activities, *vakıf* management, usury, and trade, out of which the focus often turned out to be *iltizam* arrangements and transition from *mukataa* into *malikane* system, especially from the 17th century onwards.[45]

The question of çiftliks, furthermore, constituted an important point of intersection between the debates on the question of estate production and second

[42] Kasaba, "Incorporation of the Ottoman Empire", 823.
[43] "Çiftlik formation had changed the status of the peasantry and their relationship to the production processes as well. They were transformed from being peasant producers whose freedom and protection was institutionally guaranteed to the status of, at best, sharecroppers -but more commonly, indebted tenants or dispossessed wage laborers": Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the world economy*, 26.
[44] Nagata, *Tarihte ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, 1-5.
[45] Nagata, "Ayan in Anatolia and the Balkans During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Case Study of the Karaosmanoğlu Family", 270-273; Nagata, *Tarihte ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme,* 5.

serfdom in the Balkans and the aforementioned discussion on the economic and political character of the *ayan* as çiftlik-holders. In this context, the existing legacy of the "Braudelain" explanation, as well as the growing popularity of Wallerstein's treatment of commerce and global capitalism in the 1970s and 1980s, both of which have explained the increasing wealth and prominence of the *ayan* with reference to the expansion of trade and the accompanying formation of çiftliks, created a reaction in the form of a line of critique that advocated for a more politically-focused approach.[46] In this context, whereby the nature of the relationship between the *ayan* and the çiftliks turned out to be a primary focus and the main question was raised with reference to the extent of the contribution of çiftlik management to the increasing wealth and political prominence of the *ayan*, a consensus was gradually formed around the contention that "the sources of these men's fortunes were political rather than economic."[47] In the Ottoman Empire, it was argued, in sharp contrast to Europe, the state had never lost its independence in the face of a thriving landlord class. As the power of the *ayan* originated from their bureaucratic position, they were never able to turn into a distinct class of powerful economic actors directly organizing production in their estates and as such, they were never able to severe the intimate relationship between the state and the free peasantry.[48] Most importantly, even when this group managed to take hold of "large appanages", they mostly remained "in a position of absenteeism" and left the organization of production, i.e. *çift-hane* system, intact.[49] From this position, İnalcık, with reference to the famous Western Anatolian *ayan* family, the Karaosmanoğlu, underlined the importance of

[46] Nagata, *Tarihte ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, 1-5; Nagata, "Ayan in Anatolia and the Balkans During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Case Study of the Karaosmanoğlu Family," 270-271.
[47] Faroqhi, "Indebtedness in the Bursa area, 1730-1740," 205.
[48] Keyder, "Introduction: Large-Scale Commercial Agriculture in the Ottoman Empire," 5-11.
[49] İnalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftliks: State, Landlords, and Tenants," 24.

tax-farming and usury as against their capacity as estate-managers for their economic and political prominence.[50] Similarly, in the context of the Western Anatolia of the late 18th century, Veinstein found the real source of *ayan* power in their political and financial activities, rather than their capacity as big landowners[51], suggesting further that one should approach with caution to the existence of a direct relationship between çiftliks and trade since "the impact of trade was not enough by itself to provoke structural changes before the necessary historical preconditions would have allowed them" - the main "necessary historical preconditions" being, not surprisingly, the impressively resilient and immutable *çift-hane* system.[52]

However, this specific evaluation of the Karaosmanoğlu family does not constitute the sole perspective on the issue. Nagata argued that actual historical processes were much more complex than a simple choice between internal as against external factors, politics as against economy, or tax-farming as against estate-management.[53] In this context, his detailed study on the Karaosmanoğlu family in the context of the Western Anatolia of the 18th and the 19th centuries demonstrated the complex co-existence of "*iltizam, çiftlik, vakıf*" activities with "administrative offices such as *voyvodalık*, *mütesellimlik* and *muhassıllık*" as they acted upon and fed one another while they cumulatively created long-term tendencies.[54] In his study, Nagata argued that starting from the earliest point in the history of the family, *iltizam* power

[50]İnalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftliks: State, Landlords, and Tenants," 32-34.
[51] Veinstein, "Ayan de la region d'İzmir et commerce du Levant," 71-83.
[52] Veinstein, "On the Çiftlik Debate," 51.
[53] Nagata, *Tarihte ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, 5.
[54] Nagata, "Ayan in Anatolia and the Balkans During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Case Study of the Karaosmanoğlu Family," 273. From the appointment of Hacı Mustafa Ağa to *mütesellimlik* of Saruhan in 1743 to the death of Karaosmanoğlu Hacı Hüseyin, the *mütesellim* of Saruhan and the *muhassıl* of Aydın, in 1816, this family controlled a considerable part of the Western Anatolia. During this lengthy process, there was continuous conflict between the state and the family, a picture colored by many a number of *müsadere*. This process of conflict ended up with the state gaining the upper hand after 1816 and following the centralization policies of Mahmud II, in most areas, the members of family came to resemble more to state officials rather than the members an ayan family at its apogee, even though they continued to hold certain posts of *mütesellimlik, muhasıllık* etc. See: Nagata, *Tarihte ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, 23-24, 52-58, 191-193.

was used not only for administrative purposes, but specifically for the collection of agricultural lands, which included not only lands newly opened to agriculture, but *tımar* land and commons as well, paving the ground for the large-scale establishment of çiftliks in and around Manisa.[55] In this way, the so-called "political" factors were indeed at work for the establishment of çiftliks by prominent families. This quality regarding origins, however, not only from a historical but also from a logical perspective, does not detract anything from the possible significance of the "economic" aspects of the process. Therefore, Nagata underlined that the nature and the degree of the influence exercised by the members of the family differed decidedly in Aydın and Saruhan regions as against Manisa: In the former region, the family had mainly political influence, originating from their positions as administrators and tax-farmers, which limited the general extent of their exercise of power in these regions considerably; in Manisa, however, their engagement in çiftlik activity, hand in hand with the establishment of *vakıfs*, significantly extended the scale of their influence in general, no matter how much their "political" position might have contributed to the flourishment of this "economic" power in the first place. Similarly, the fact that the policies of Mahmud II considerably curbed the political influence of the Karaosmanoğlu family in Saruhan and Aydın, while the members of the family were able to keep their social and economic position in Manisa, at least until the broad-scale transformations brought about by the Tanzimat era, further demonstrated the significance of their engagement in *çiftlik* activities in

[55] Nagata, *Tarihte ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, 191-192. As Nagata further adds, "the case of *çiftlik*s reclaimed from pasture land … demonstrates a strong inter-relationship between the exercise of tax-farming rights and the emergence of *çiftliks*": Nagata, "Ayan in Anatolia and the Balkans During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Case Study of the Karaosmanoğlu Family," 280.

the latter region for their functioning as *ayan* from the late 18th into the early 19th century.[56]

As for the Balkans, the specific critique of the trade-centered theories developed by Bruce McGowan, who focused on the Macedonian çiftliks from the 17th to the 18th century with an emphasis on their origins, general characteristics, and geographical distribution to re-assess the presumed existence of direct causality between the expansion of external commerce and the increasing degree of "*çiftlikization,*" made lengthy reference to the question of the sources of *ayan* power. As such, McGowan put under question the view of çiftliks as large-scale estates producing mainly for the European markets as he referred to the transformation of taxation practices, the development and expansion of the *iltizam* system, and the transformation of the relationship between the state and the *ayan* as the main factors behind the expansion of çiftlik production.[57]

With reference to Weber, McGowan argued that the classic Ottoman regime was characterized by "prebendalism" in the form of *tımar* system, which was, in turn, based on "appointment from the center with a minimum local control," "retrievability of the prebend (the *timar*) in case of default of duty" as well as "adjustment of the responsibility of each prebendary (*timarlı*) in proportion to the income expected from his living."[58] According to McGowan, this prebendal system, which characterized the Ottoman Empire during its classical period[59], started to lose its vigor due to the European-wide phenomenon of inflation from the 16th century onwards, which caused considerable pressure on the incomes of the Ottoman state

[56] Nagata, *Tarihte ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, 193.
[57] McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800,* 1-79.
[58] Ibid, 47.
[59] Ibid, 47-56.

officials, who in turn resorted to tax-farming for compensation[60], by forming a system that branched into "a network of primary, secondary and tertiary contractors"[61], and it was in this context that "the campaign aimed at the conversion of the land regime for private purposes" in the form of "the *chiftlik*-building process" commenced.[62]

In this context, McGowan questioned the existence of a "relationship between export oriented agriculture in Ottoman territories (i.e. *chiftlik* agriculture) and export oriented agriculture elsewhere."[63] Although McGowan acknowledged the fact that the majority of the çiftliks of Manastır indeed were located in the alluvial plains around the central Crna River, he still concluded that it would be presumptious to assume that "all river valleys or coastal plains were equally or simultaneously affected."[64] Furthermore, focusing on the çiftliks of Manastır from the 17th into the 18th century, McGowan argued that the size of the majority of the çiftliks in this region, which is known for its relatively high level of "*çiftlikization*," were actually smaller than it was once thought.[65] While McGowan acknowledged the existence of bigger çiftliks, especially "in export oriented zones," he underlined that these remained to be "most untypical" at the end of the day.[66] In this context, McGowan argued that these larger çiftliks did not necessarily emerge due to the impact of external trade in all cases, but rather, they could flourish in relation to internal trade as well.[67] McGowan's general conclusion is that "the average Balkan *chiftlik* was a rental operation, far closer in its character and its scale to the *Grundherschaft* past

[60] McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800,* 56-58.
[61] Ibid, 58.
[62] Ibid, 59.
[63] Ibid, ix.
[64] Ibid, 74.
[65] Ibid, 72.
[66] Ibid, 79.
[67] Ibid, 135

from which it evolved, than to the *Gutsherrschaft* character which has frequently been imagined for it"[68] while with an implicit reference to the *ayan*, he concluded that "*chiftlik*s were not generally, or not yet, a primary means of becoming wealthy."[69]

The recent history-writing on *ayan* and tax-farming employed a more dynamic approach compared to the framework of the earlier controversy, which had almost exclusively focused on the sources of *ayan* wealth, and problematized the nature of the relations between state, local notables and peasantry, trying to draw a variegated picture by going beyond the overarching role attributed to the central Ottoman state and the political order created by it in the orthodox Ottoman history-writing.[70] As such, divisions within local communities as well as various backgrounds, methods, activities, and networks of tax-farmers came to the fore and rural actors were conceptualized as active agents in the making of their own histories. In this context, an important correction to the traditional view that had initially conceptualized the members of the non-Muslim communities only as the tax-paying subjects of a centralized Muslim empire, often presuming the existence of a perfect correspondance between class positions and religious/ethnic/national identities, extended the issue of tax-farming to the question of stratification within local communities themselves. In this context, Ianeva addressed the existence of non-Muslim tax-farmers who not only gained considerable wealth through their engagement in *iltizam* whereby they functioned as intermediaries between the state and their local communities, but also acted as money-lenders to the state, got involved in commercial activities and eventually obtained their own çiftliks,

[68] McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 79.
[69] Ibid, 171.
[70] For example: Yaycıoğlu, P*artners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions.*

especially from the mid-19th century onwards.[71] Petmezas, in his study of the relations between the local communities and the central state, focused on the "fiscal and administrative transformations" of the empire and the increasing need of the state to co-operate with local institutions and actors especially from the 18th century onwards, referring to the emergence of a "new powerful class of Christian 'notables cum merhant-financiers'" who enriched themselves through participation in the new fiscal arrangements.[72] Accordingly, the existence of non-Muslim tax-farmers, as they constituted the new "elite" of their communities, confirmed that there was a certain degree of stratification among the members of the non-Muslim communities. In this context, the question of "whether the Muslim and Christian elites should be treated as a unified or two independent power groups" was raised by Anastasopoulos.[73] Through these empirical studies, which got directly engaged with dynamic facets of historical reality, it has become possible to incorporate a notion of economic and social background into the analysis of tax-farmers going beyond religious and ethnic divisions *between* communities and delve into the lines of divisions that run *within* them as well as class positions of respective groups.[74]

Initially, the class character of merchants and their historical role in the development of capitalism in the Balkans had already constituted an axis of controversy in itself.[75] In the more recent literature, the nature of the relationship

[71] Ianeva, "The Non-Muslim Tax Farmers in the Fiscal and Economic System of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century."
[72] Petmezas, "Christian communities in 18th and early 19th century Ottoman Greece: Their fiscal functions," 71-72.
[73] Anastasopoulos, "The mixed elite of a Balkan Town: Karaferye in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century," 259.
[74] See: Terzibaşoğlu, "Land Disputes and Ethno-Politics: North-western Anatolia, 1877-1912"; Cora, "Osmanlı Taşrasındaki Ermeniler Üzerine Olan Tarihyazımında Sınıf Analizinin Eksikliği."
[75] In the Balkan context, Stoianovich initially focused on the relationship between the emergence of nationalist movements and the formation of a bourgeoisie in the form of an evolving merchant class. Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant." As such, Stoianovich identified evolutionary stages whereby the Balkan Orthodox merchants transformed from "muleteers" or "peddlers" into "commission agents", then into "independent merchants", then into "bankers", then into "statesmen" and hence, coming to occupy a solid position within their communities from the 18th

between merchants, tax-farmers and çiftlik-owners also came into the picture. In this context, while one major aspect of the question turned out to be the existence of socio-economic stratification among the members of non-Muslim communities, as mentioned above, the other aspect was, by extension, related to the diversity among the outlooks of merchants themselves. In this context, Lyberatos focused on the relationship between "the Ottoman political and economic networks" and "the rise of the Bulgarian national elites" demonstrating "the gradual, complex and contradictory" character of the latter process.[76]

With reference to the relationship between tax-farming and commerce, Ianeva focused on the changing outlook of tax-farmers, especially from the mid-19th century onwards. As the role of the Ottoman Empire as an exporter of grain to the world market became more clearly defined[77], the involvement of this group in international commerce has turned out to be a crucial part of their capacity as tax-farmers.[78] In tandem with this process, the impact of global markets on tax-farmers and by extension, on the state treasury, displayed a considerable increase[79] as "business and especially commercial experience and connections became extremely important for the tax-farmers' profits and accumulation of wealth."[80] Furthermore, Ianeva referred

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century onwards: Ibid, 312. In this account, we see a very linear view of the development of the bourgeoisie solely on the basis of the expansion of mercantile activity. While this view may be in line with a crude form of Marxism, Stoianovich further argued, in a somewhat Weberian fashion, that what took place in tandem with the development of capitalism was a transition from "the imperial and estate society", which characterized the Ottoman Empire, into "a society of classes and non-Ottoman nation states": Stoianovich, "Factors in the Decline of Ottoman Society in the Balkans," 625. As the Ottoman state declined, it was this native merchant or middle class that ended up accumulating wealth and gaining prominence in the Balkans, setting out to establish the groundwork for the newly-emerging nation states: Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," 313.

[76] Lyberatos, "Men of the sultan: the beğlik sheep tax collection system and the rise of a Bulgarian national bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Plovdiv," 57.

[77] Ianeva, *Ottoman Economic Practices in Periods of Transformation: The Cases of Crete and Bulgaria*, 261.

[78] Ianeva, "Financing the State? Tax-Farming as a Source of Individual Wealth in the Nineteenth Century," 223.

[79] Ianeva, *Ottoman Economic Practices in Periods of Transformation: The Cases of Crete and Bulgaria*, 261.

[80] Ianeva, "Financing the State? Tax-Farming as a Source of Individual Wealth in the Nineteenth

to the increasing significance of the involvement of local merchants from the Balkans in the commercial relations between Ottoman Empire and Western Europe in the 19th century: As such, Ianeva defined this group as "the most dynamic social strata of the period" who turned out to be "not passive but active participants" in the economic life[81], getting engaged in a wide array of activities.[82] As such, Ianeva argued that the old-school tax-farmers who tended to isolate themselves from commerce and acted exclusively as traditional tax-farmers, gradually lost their importance[83] while, in sharp contrast, it was the new and dynamic group of tax-farmers who were more directly engaged in economic activities that kept the interest in tax-farming alive well into the 1870s, when arrears started to get common due to international context.[84]

With reference to the question of the involvement of çiftlik-owners in commercial activities, Demetriades underlined that "the chiftlik-owners were not also the exporters of their products"; rather, it was the non-Muslim merchants of the Ottoman Empire who were directly dealing with commerce, especially in the Balkans. Furthermore, these merchants eventually "started to buy their own chiftliks from their Turkish owners, thus becoming both producers and exporters."[85] With

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Century", 223.
[81] Ianeva, *Ottoman Economic Practices in Periods of Transformation: The Cases of Crete and Bulgari*a, 134.
[82] Ibid, 136.
[83] Ibid, 261.
[84] Ibid, 260-263. In some cases, political posts made crucial contributions to the turning of tax-farmers into merchants: With reference to a tax-farmer/merchant from Bulgaria of the 19th century, Ianeva argued: "We can only speculate to what extent his service as a *kaza* official was directly helpful or profitable for this transformation, but we can be almost sure that his connections and the networks of which he became part must have been decisive": Ianeva, "Financing the State? Tax-Farming as a Source of Individual Wealth in the Nineteenth Century," 209-210.
[85] Demetriades, "Problems of Land-Owning and Population in the Area of Gazi Evrenos Bey's Wakf", 53. In this context, Ianeva emphasized the involvement of not only foreign traders, but also local non-Muslim as well as Turkish merchants in external trade as well: Ianeva, *Ottoman Economic Practices in Periods of Transformation: The Cases of Crete and Bulgari*a, 135. İnalcık had also emphasized the last point as he referred to "the mistaken view that these merchants and bankers were non-Muslims, and that Muslims entered only the profession of arms and the administration", especially in the period prior to the 18th century: İnalcik, "Capital formation in the Ottoman Empire," 138.

reference to İzmir, Frangakis-Syrett underlined that "both local and western entrepreneurs were active in all sectors of the local economy, cooperating and fiercely competing with each other at all times, succeeding at best to dominate a sector but not to completely monopolize it" as neither side could get rid of the other completely.[86] Kasaba also developed a similar argument with reference to Western Anatolia as he focused on the economic and social role played by the intermediaries between peasantry and foreign merchants[87] hand in hand with their engagement in activities of tax-farming, money-lending, usury, money changing and speculation as much as commerce[88], referring to the fundamentally "conflicting interests of foreign merchants and local intermediaries"[89] and defining the general picture as one of "competition rather than cooperation" around the mid-19th century.[90]

The importance of these so-called intermediaries, especially when they were engaged in activities of finance and money-lending, was also visible in the financial operations of the *ayan*. While the *iltizam* system promised to beget considerable amounts of profits, the tax-farmers had to make an advance payment to the state before the collection of taxes. This, in turn, led to the development of a direct relationship between the *ayan* and the *sarrafs* whereby the latter acted not only as

[86] Frangakis-Syrett, "Western and Local Entrepreneurs in İzmir in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries," 88.
[87] Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the world economy: The nineteenth century*, 28-32.
[88] Kasaba, "Was There a Compradore Bourgeoisie in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Western Anatolia," 216-219.
[89] Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the world economy: The nineteenth century*, 73. Kasaba underlined that when the foreign merchants arrived, they entered into a alliance with the central government. Because an orderly Ottoman state would be beneficial for their operations in Western Anatolia, they soon came into conflict with the local non-Muslims intermediaries as the interests of both sides diverged greatly. In contrast, this group of intermediaries "reproduced the conditions of anarchy and uncertainty that had originally been the main source of their wealth and influence": Kasaba, "Was There a Compradore Bourgeoisie in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Western Anatolia," 219-220.
[90] Ibid, 224. While Kasaba argued that non-Muslim intermediaries cannot be seen as examples of a "comprador bourgeoisie" in full alliance with foreign imperialist powers (Ibid, 225-226), he concluded that "it was local intermediaries who shaped the content and direction of social change in the Ottoman Empire toward peripheralization": Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the world economy: The nineteenth century*, 114. Accordingly Kasaba concluded that "their rise should be seen as an incipient development of a capitalist class in the Ottoman Empire": Kasaba, "Was There a Compradore Bourgeoisie in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Western Anatolia," 226.

kefils, but also as money-lenders to the former, which created a situation of indebtedness for the *ayan*. Furthermore, these figures often acted as bankers as well and they helped the *ayan* for the marketing of their agricultural products.[91] The resulting networks of indebtedness, therefore, were quite complex –it was not only the rural producers who were at times heavily indebted to çiftlik-owners, local notables and financiers, but the members of the higher echelons of the Ottoman society were also enmeshed in such relations.

2.1.4 The question of capitalist agriculture in the Ottoman Empire: A debate of many angles

The transformation of agrarian class relations in the form of a transition from feudalism to capitalism in the rural Balkan setting emerged as an axis of debate mainly raised by the Marxist historians of the Balkan countries.[92] For the purposes of the present discussion on the çiftliks, the main *problematique* concerns the development of capitalist agriculture hand in hand with the transformation of rural class relations in the Ottoman Balkans, especially from the 18th into the 19th century, while the historical background of such a transformation is to be found in the development of commercial agriculture in tandem with the emergence of a class of landless rural laborers originating from the dispossession of the peasantry, on the one hand, and the creation as well as refurbishment of various forms of dependency, on the other hand.

One of the seminal accounts which has centered on various economic and social dynamics behind the emergence of çiftliks is Matkovski's study on *mühimme* registers and *sijils* of Manastır from the late 17th to the 19th century. Here, Matkovski

[91] Nagata, *Tarihte ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, 86-88; Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the world economy: The nineteenth century*, 75-83.
[92] For an overview of the literature, see: Daskalov, *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans: Historiography of the Bulgarian Reviva*, 57-98.

underlined that the constant stream of peasants fleeing from heavy obligations, including debt, tax, and rent, pushed the state towards severely restricting peasant mobility through official decrees. Nevertheless, such attempts were rarely successful and peasant flight remained to be a constant phenomenon. As rural inhabitants, privately or collectively, continued with their migration to cities or to different *tımars* and çiftliks, they gradually turned to a body of urban and rural wage-laborers as well as sharecroppers.[93]

Historically, Matkovski argued that the majority of the çiftliks of Macedonia were located on the fertile alluvial plains of the region. In these areas, although the rate of exploitation was higher than that of *sipahi* lands, this higher fertility increased the absolute share the producer was able to obtain from agricultural production, especially in cases of sharecropping, and this prospect created an important incentive for the peasantry to abandon their time-honored villages, with their accompanied burden of taxation, rent and indebtedness, and to flee into the çiftliks located in more fertile areas.[94] In the long run, their constant movement proved to be an important factor for the further expansion of çiftliks as lands left vacant behind the fleeing

[93] Matkovski, "La resistance des paysans macedoniens contre l'attachement a la glebe pendant la domination ottoman." In this context, the time period allowed to the *tımar* owner to catch and return a fugitive tohis place of registration after flight was extended from 10 to 40 years and various forms of *çift-bozan* was imposed, in addition to efforts to create incentives for the peasantry to return though annullement or cancelling of debts and taxation. Furthermore, on *has* and *vakıf* land, the time period allowed to bring back a fugitive was indefinite. Lastly, collective debt was also employed as a means of mobility control: Ibid. While some amelorations came about with regard to the aforementioned time period in the mid-17th century, the official demand for the return of fugitives to place of origin and payment of a compensation to the original *tımar* holder remained in place: McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 146. Peasant flight was not a phenomenon of the Balkans only. In the 17th century context of the Celali revolts in Anatolia, peasants had also left their villages en masse while "members of the military class, particularly Janissaries, occupied these deserted lands and made them into ranch-style grazing grounds for stock- raising": İnalcik, "Capital formation in the Ottoman Empire," 129. Also, İnalcık referred to a document which described the conditions surrounding this earlier flight: "Powerful people among the population of the province have occupied the villages from which the original peasantry have fled and treat them as if they were inherited property. They have built houses and stables in the places abandoned by the peasantry and brought in oxen, slaves, servants, sheep and cattle, and set up independent farms; the former peasantry of these lands are too afraid of them to return to their old holdings": Ibid.

[94] Matkovski, "La resistance des paysans macedoniens contre l'attachement a la glebe pendant la domination ottoman," 704.

peasants could be easily converted into private property and agglomerated into estates.[95]

The long-term consequences of these movements, as Matkovski underlined, were nothing less than ground-breaking: On the one hand, with reference to the practical challenging of bondage to land in the face of constant peasant flight, Matkovski argued that the emergence of çiftliks was directly affected by the anti-feudal struggle of the peasantry ("*lutte antifeodale des paysans*"), which took the form of illegal peasant mobility in this instance; on the other hand, the migration of the peasantry into the urban centers ended up in the emergence of a class of town-dwelling artisans and merchants while their dominance in the economic life of the city eventually increased.[96]

In general, with regard to the appropriation of agricultural land, the emphasis was often placed on the higher segments of the society, such as the *ayan*, *sipahi* or members of the ruling family. There was, however, another side to this picture. As Gandev referred to the existence of various mechanisms behind the emergence of çiftliks rather than a singular and direct evolution from feudal *sipahi* land,[97] he emphasized that it was not only "*les feudataires grands ou petits*" who appropriated

[95] Ibid, 707-708.
[96] Ibid.Cvetkova pointed out another aspect of this long-term process of peasant flight as she related the expansion of the lands under the control of the bigger sipahi at the expense of smaller ones to the movements of the peasantry away from their previous tımar villages. In this process, bigger landowners were able to concentrate increasing amounts of agricultural land under their control while they simultaneously tended to increase the rate of exploitation in their domains. With the further aid of various arrangements of *iltizam*, including both *mukataa* and *malikane*, that they got engaged in, these bigger landowners started to treat their ever-expanding lands as private property while they constantly increased the weight and extent of their demands from the peasantry, who in turn ended up completely tangled in debt-bondage, leading to their dispossession and further expansion of çiftliks: Cvetkova, "Quelques problèmes du féodalisme ottoman à l'époque du XVIe au XVIII siècle." McGowan also argued that before the turning of the town of Manastır into a real alternative of haven, the fugitives were usually obliged to settle in çiftliks the owners of which would protect them against the claims of traditional *tımar*-holders for want of labor; alternatively, they could return to their villages if they were absolved of their tax obligations and debts for some period of time –and most importantly, if their villages were not claimed by a çiftlik-owner in the meantime: McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 138-140.
[97] Daskalov, *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans: Historiography of the Bulgarian Revival*, 70.

agricultural land and turned it into their private property in northwestern Bulgaria, but also the lower segments of the society, including "*commerçants, usuriers, rentiers, artisans, fonctionnaires, membres du clerge, etc*." who became increasingly involved in this activity.[98] This extension of the profile of çiftlik-ownership from the wealthiest and most powerful families to the figures in the middle grounds as well as to the lower segments of the population proved crucial for Gandev's following analysis of the emergence of capitalist agriculture in the form of çiftlik production.

In his study mainly based on *kadı sijil*s, Gandev argued that the çiftliks of Vidin, in the context of the expansion of commercial relations due to the increasing European demand for grain from the mid-18th century onwards, gradually started to display the characteristics of a capitalist form of production and exploitation whereby agricultural land gradually turned into private property as it was put under production for market on the basis of a class of landless peasantry which was effectively turning into a proletarianized rural labor force.[99] While the impact of trade found its place in this account as well, the main theme of the story centered on the gradual transformation of the existing relations of production in the rural society through the emergence of a private form of landownership and the creation of an expropriated peasantry turning into a rural labor force –in other words, the focus is on the question of transition from feudalism to capitalism in a rural setting.

Theoretically, Gandev started by differentiating between two main views regarding the character of exploitation in the Balkan çiftliks. Here, the first view held that çiftliks originated from the feudal *tımar* system whereby *tımar* holder appropriated the peasant land turning it into his *de facto* private property; as such, the

[98] Gandev, "L'apparition des rapports capitalistes dans l'économie rurale de la Bulgarie du nord-ouest au cours du XVIII siècle," 209.
[99] Gandev, "L'apparition des rapports capitalistes dans l'économie rurale de la Bulgarie du nord-ouest au cours du XVIII siècle."

majority of the Balkan çiftliks were considered to be feudal in character, and only rarely as semi-feudal and capitalist. The second view, however, argued that a certain part of the Balkan çiftliks eventually came to display capitalist characteristics. As such, Gandev differentiated the çiftliks with older feudal forms from the novel capitalist ones.[100]

In the case of Vidin, Gandev referred to the predominance of "*has*" property rather than feudal *tımar* holdings whereby the practice of land transfers was welcomed by the royal owners of agricultural land due to the revenue that could be obtained from such transactions. In this context, the extent of the agricultural land which was treated as private property started to expand at the expense of villages and commons in the region. This situation created a double burden on the peasantry, in the form of tax coupled by rent, especially in seigneurial villages where *ağas* appropriated the peasant land and often resorted to the use of "feudal" methods of exploitation, including sharecropping coupled by various obligations, which increased in time even further as a response to prospects of market sale. In this context, the peasantry of such seigneurial villages tended to flee and move to other villages and farms to work as rural wage laborers. Most crucially, as Gandev underlined, the character of villages and farms to which this peasant flight was directed, displayed completely different characteristics from the seigneurial ones.[101]

The processes of land acquisitions that had started piecemeal thanks to legal loopholes (under the pretext of renting of pasture or mills, for example) eventually turned into more systematic and large-scale operations of ever-increasing appropriation of cultivable land for commercial cereal production in the region.[102]

[100] Gandev, "L'apparition des rapports capitalistes dans l'économie rurale de la Bulgarie du nord-ouest au cours du XVIII siècle," 207-208.
[101] Ibid, 212-213.
[102] Gandev, "L'apparition des rapports capitalistes dans l'économie rurale de la Bulgarie du nord-ouest

Here, as mentioned above, a crucial point Gandev underlined is the fact that it was not only traditional feudal echelons of the society who appropriated agricultural land and turned it into their private property in northwestern Bulgaria, but also people from various origins who were effectively getting hold of agricultural land. Most importantly, Gandev emphasized that çiftliks that emerged on the basis of such processes in Vidin were not feudal, mainly because there was no background of feudal obligations that could be imposed on the cultivators, in addition to the fact that agricultural land was effectively transformed into private property by various segments of society and not only by the traditional landowning classes.[103] In other words, because of the absence of a properly feudal background in Vidin, the owners of these çiftliks could not benefit from bonded forms of labor and hence, they had to hire landless peasantry and wage workers ("*des paysans sans terre ou proletarises de la region*") who abounded due to the ongoing appropriation of their lands and commons, and their turning into çiftliks.[104] Furthermore, as the value of land increased, these farms gradually turned into outlets of investment by commercial companies whereby heritable farms under the control of the owners of commercial capital came to be directly related to activities of banking and usury.[105]

In this picture of capitalist agriculture, direct management of estates does not seem to be a *sine-non-qua* for Gandev to define a çiftlik as capitalist in nature. In the cases under Gandev's study, the owners of çiftliks remained to be mostly absentee

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au cours du XVIII siècle," 209. Gandev added: "Ces nouvelles proprieties foncieres recurrent officiellement le nom de "tchiftliks"... Mais ce term etait bien improprement applique a ces exploitations agricoles d'un type nouveau, don't l'etendue atteigneait des dizaines et des centaines d'hectaires": Ibid.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid, 211-212. The expansion of the lands under çiftliks caused the rate of çiftlik growth to exceed the rate of village development. This çiftlik expansion, in turn, further exacerbated the ongoing trend of the creation of young, landless groups of peasants due to divisions of inheritance, restricting the possibility of finding land to cultivate even further, and pushing them towards migration to farms and cities to work as wage-labourers in ever-increasing numbers: Ibid.

[105] Ibid, 210-211.

landowners who lived in urban centers where they were often involved in commerce, artisanship, administrative positions and public offices, when they did not choose to rely on their income from çiftliks alone. In this way, the profile of the çiftlik-owner at hand does not seem to be one who is actively and directly engaged in the management of his agricultural estates.[106] For Gandev, the factors that rendered these novel forms of çiftliks as capitalist were "private … land property; then the working of the land -characterized as capitalist, with extensive use of wage labor; the marketing of the produce -commodified and market-oriented."[107] Historically, Gandev argued that this system of capitalist farming gradually developed in the Balkans during the course of the 18th century and gained a more definitively capitalist character by the 19th century.[108] Most interestingly, Gandev did not only underline the coexistence of feudal and capitalist çiftliks in his account, but he also argued that the emergence and extension of seigneurial villages actually contributed to the development of the capitalist çiftliks, mainly by furthering the dispossession of peasantry which would come to constitute the main source of labor for the latter. From another perspective, the emergence of this new group of çiftlik owners, having no military obligations to the state -unlike their traditional feudal counterparts- and acting as a new group of private property owners, indicated the demise of the feudal system in general.[109] As such, Gandev emphasized the coexistence of different forms of landholding -capitalist and feudal property- in this specific historical context while

[106] Gandev, "L'apparition des rapports capitalistes dans l'économie rurale de la Bulgarie du nord-ouest au cours du XVIII siècle," 211. The practice of employing "subaşı" in charge of *çiftliks* was also encountered: Ibid.
[107] Daskalov, *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans: Historiography of the Bulgarian Revival*, 70.
[108] Gandev, "L'apparition des rapports capitalistes dans l'économie rurale de la Bulgarie du nord-ouest au cours du XVIII siècle," 214-215.
[109] Ibid, 215.

capitalist exploitation gradually became more important and supplementary feudal forms lost their significance.[110]

Just as Gandev distinguished the novel çiftliks of the 19th century from the traditional ones, Oyan also referred to the second wave of çiftlik formation of the late 18th and early 19th centuries whereby çiftlik production started to gain a capitalist character in contrast to the first wave of the 16th century.[111] Nevertheless, Oyan concluded that even this second wave was displaying, in addition to some "capitalist" traits, not only some of the general characteristics of the first wave of the 16th century, but also certain tendencies comparable to the flourishment of second serfdom in the Central and Eastern Europe from the 16th to the 19th century.[112] As such, the co-

[110] Gandev, "L'apparition des rapports capitalistes dans l'économie rurale de la Bulgarie du nord-ouest au cours du XVIII siècle," 215-216. Gandev argued that due to the existence of rent in the form of taxation, state ownership of land cannot be simply considered as legal fiction: Ibid, 215. Such coexistence of different forms of land-tenure, however, was not specific to Turkey; on the contrary, Gandev argued that the transformation of land-tenure in England had followed quite a similar pattern: Ibid, 216-217. Also see: Daskalov, *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans: Historiography of the Bulgarian Revival*, 70.

[111] Oyan, *Feodalizmden kapitalizme, Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye*, 312.

[112] Oyan, *Feodalizmden kapitalizme, Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye*, 314. In contrast to Gandev, Oyan argued that this process was different from the English case of transition to capitalism: Ibid, 314-315. In the context of Western Anatolia, Orhan Kurmuş related the integration between Ottoman Empire and global capitalism, especially in the 18th and the 19th centuries, to the transformation of the existing relations of production through the emergence of English-owned farms: Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi,* 14. Kurmuş's main focus of analysis is İzmir where the already-existing level attained with regard to external trade and commercialization of the economy had rendered this city a convenient entry point for the English capitalism into the Ottoman Empire: Ibid, 28-29. According to Kurmuş, the construction of railroads, and later the Port of İzmir, drastically changed the relations between the Ottoman producers and the European -and especially English- merchants in the 19th century by enabling the movement of commodities and labor-force as well as making the entrance of merchants into the hinterland possible: Ibid, 36-39. In this context, Kurmuş singled out production for market as one of the main pillars of capitalist agriculture. In Anatolia, he argued, the marketing of grain remained relatively low compared to commercial production on the basis of horticulture and industrial crops, and especially cotton which was produced on large English farms and as such, functioned to create relations of market dependency in and around İzmir: Ibid, 86-87, 100-101. In this context, it was production for market that marked a transition fromthe production of traditional to industrial crops in tandem with the transformation of land use and landholding patterns: Ibid,104. In Western Anatolia, as Kurmuş argued, the initial reason behind the turning of formerly feudal lands into private property had been the drastic population decline in the region mainly due to war-making while the resulting scarcity of labor ended up offering three possible strategies for the landowners: Firstly, large tracts of lands could be simply left uncultivated; secondly, slave labor could be employed; thirdly, excess lands could be sold out, especially to English merchants who would, in turn, make the development of capitalist farming possible: Ibid, 107-112. This last strategy of land transfer was further enabled when foreigners obtained the right to own property from 1866 onwards and English merchants and investors increasingly resorted to purchasing land in and around the region in order to establish commercial farms: Ibid, 114-115. Relatively low levels of land prices further

existence of different forms of labour created a situation of high degree of complexity in the rural structure of the Ottoman Balkans from the 18th to the 19th century.

2.2 Forming research questions

The transformation of traditional agrarian structures, especially from the 18th and 19th centuries onwards, has occupied a critical place in the literature on agrarian history as well as the development of capitalism. As such, the transformation of rural configuration and related processes have not only been discussed with reference to the changing class relations in the countryside and the developments in agricultural techniques but also in relation to the changing character of the relationship between urban and rural sectors in tandem with the development of industrial capitalism.[113] This epoch of wide-scale agrarian transformations, which begot various developments in the global context, in terms of the transformation of economic systems, changing political configurations, and the development of a capitalist market also witnessed considerable economic, social, and political changes in the Ottoman Empire. In this context, the landed estates of the Ottoman Balkans open up a venue whereby an analysis that encompasses the historically specific aspects of the

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enhanced this trend. In this context, Kurmuş argued that at least 1/3 of all cultivable land around İzmir was owned by the English by 1868; then, by 1878, almost all cultivable land around İzmir was held by forty-one English merchants: Ibid. In relation to the development of capitalist farming in the Western Anatolia, therefore, Kurmuş emphasized the importance of English farms with their pioneering -albeit limited- role in the use of modern machinery and relative willingness to resort to the use of wagelabor by expropriating the peasantry: Ibid, 120-129. Kurmuş also underlined that international demand for cotton, especially during the American Civil War, was crucial for the transition to production of cash crops in western Anatolia: Ibid, 105. As such, Kurmuş argued that it was the English farms that played the major role in the development of capitalist agriculture in the Western Anatolia: Ibid, 106-107. Most important for the purposes of the present discussion is Kurmuş's emphasis that while these farms did not wipe out the existing system of production all at once, they still managed to shake it to a considerable extent creating a complex structure in the region: Ibid, 121-122. Accordingly, the early 19th century was, as Kurmuş underlined, defined by the coexistence of capitalist and feudal relations in the Western Anatolia whereby wage-labor was not generalized, çiftlik-owners only occasionally managed the working of their farms, and sharecropping, sometimes coupled by older feudal burdens, generally predominated: Ibid, 135-136, 315.

[113] For the positing of the term "agrarian question" in the form of an "agrarian transition" with different connotations of the concept, see: Bernstein, "Agrarian questions then and now."

Ottoman Empire and relates them to globally prevalent issues such as the development of capitalism, the nature of various forms of agrarian transitions, processes of peasant differentiation, and rural dispossession can be developed.

2.2.1 Rural inequality and peasant differentiation

In this general context, one of the central projections of the agrarian question has been the class differentiation of the peasantry. As the issue of differentiation has often been considered as "a central, indeed definite, dynamic of the transitions to capitalism in the countryside," the debates on the development of capitalist agriculture and industrialization have often been conducted in relation to the question of the class character of the so-called pre-modern and modern peasantry.[114]

The notion that pre-capitalist in general, and feudal in particular, peasant communities were stratified, conflict-ridden structures, albeit with important limits to a full-scale socio-economic differentiation, was studied by Rodney Hilton and his students with an emphasis on the contribution of such stratification to the development of capitalism in the English countryside, paving the ground for the critical part played by the enclosures and the formation of large estates through the dispossession and expropriation of the previously self-sufficient peasantry.[115] In his analysis of feudalism, Hilton defined the feudal peasant society as based on smallholding and subsistence-oriented peasant households on the basis of family labour.[116] These units of production, however, far from being homogeneous and autonomous entities and thus creating a *sui generis* peasant society regulating itself in a Chayanovian sense, were organized along the lines of certain structural features

[114] Bernstein, "V.I. Lenin and A.V. Chayanov: looking back, looking forward," 55.
[115] See: Byres, "Rodney Hilton (1916–2002): In Memoriam"; Byres, "Differentiation of the Peasantry Under Feudalism and the Transition to Capitalism: In Defence of Rodney Hilton"; Duchesne, "Rodney Hilton and the peasant road to 'Capitalism' in England."
[116] Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and The English Rising of 1381,* 24-27.

that defined it as a specifically feudal class society in the first place.[117] As such, the historical specificity of the various peasantries and peasant communities is to be found in the social relations of production between the agricultural producers, often under varying degrees and types of dependency, and the landowners, in a system based on the production of surplus by the former and its appropriation by the latter, in the form of rent in labour, kind or money.[118]

In the pre-capitalist context, the main class contradiction in rural society was to be found between peasant producers and landowners. Nevertheless, this did not mean complete homogeneity and equality among the peasants. On the contrary, village stratification and a certain level of socio-economic differentiation had come into existence in these communities long before the development of a market economy.[119] As such, "it was a structural feature of feudalism at its very inception."[120] With regard to the internal configuration of the peasantry, "the most important distinction lay between those with larger holdings who produced a surplus, sold produce, hired labour, and tended to occupy official positions; and the smallholders who bought food, earned wages, and lacked much status."[121]

In the context of late medieval English villages, practices such as the hiring of the labour of poorer peasants by wealthier peasants, as well as instances of significant differences among villagers in terms of wealth and patterns of

[117] Hilton, "A Crisis of Feudalism," 122-124.
[118] Ibid, 127-128.
[119] Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and The English Rising of 1381,* 31-37. Nevertheless, it should also be underlined that "Hilton ... carefully avoided the assumption that peasants had a natural disposition or compulsion to maximize returns on exchange", as peasant production continued to be primarily subsistence-oriented until the late medieval period: Duchesne, "Rodney Hilton and the peasant road to 'Capitalism' in England," 139-140. Also see: Kosminsky, *Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century*, 197-255.
[120] Byres, "The landlord class, peasant differentiation, class struggle and the transition to capitalism: England, France and Prussia compared," 36.
[121] Dyer, "The English medieval village community and its decline," 418.

landholding, were all evident.[122] Furthermore, such stratification in pre-capitalist villages was not specific to any single place. In the context of France, Bourin referred to the existence of a village "elite" and rural stratification.[123] The question of stratification, furthermore, gained another dimension in the context of landlord economies. In the context of Spain, Alfonso referred to the relationship between "diverse forms of lordship and internally divided communities"[124] whereby the latter displayed a "tripartite social structure of peasants with large, medium and small holdings."[125] This, in practice, not only indicated "the existence, even in small rural communities, of a sector of the population dependent on other peasants"[126], but also the fact that differentiation among rural producers could and did take place in seigniorial domains as well. In this case, the use of wage labour took the form of a system whereby labour services, heavily disliked by the peasantry, were performed by a network of "sub-dependents" of feudal tenants.[127] As such, it was not only landlords who employed the labour of the landless peasantry, but also the tenants themselves in proportion to factors such as "size of their holdings, cyclical necessities, and/or seigneurial pressure."[128]

A similar case also holds true for the realm of Eastern European feudalism whereby a relatively stratified society, even under the conditions of *Gutsherrscahft,* where the expected model is one of a clear-cut dichotomy between the noble landlord and the enserfed peasant family burdened under labour services, the latter often

[122] Müller, "A Divided Class? Peasants and Peasant Communities in Later Medieval England"; Dyer, "The ineffectiveness of lordship in England, 1200–1400"; Kosminsky, *Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century*, 205-208.
[123] Bourin, "Peasant Elites and Village Communities in the South of France, 1200–1350."
[124] Alfonso, "Exploring Difference within Rural Communities in the Northern Iberian Kingdoms, 1000–1300," 88.
[125] Ibid, 89.
[126] Ibid, 100.
[127] Ibid, 91-92.
[128] Ibid, 98. With reference to the relationship of the landless villagers to wealthy peasants, Alfonso underlines the specific "character of this dependency which appears to have excluded them from a direct seigneurial relationship, and also to have deprived them of communal rights": Ibid, 100.

having been portrayed as a "relatively undifferentiated population of unfree peasants living on small farmsteads," could and did emerge.[129] In this case, we have a highly differentiated rural composition, consisting of various shades of servility and freedom, especially with reference to mobility and feudal obligations.[130] Here, just like in the Spanish case, "both peasants and seigniors were direct employers of hired labour"[131] whereby "the full peasant", who was positioned "at the top of the village social ladder,"[132] resorted to hiring of the members of the landless population in order to transfer onto them the feudal labour obligations he was burdened under.[133] In general, "between the full peasants and the landless hired hands there existed an intermediate stratum of smallholders"[134] while both upward and downward mobility remained to be possible for all the groups under question.[135]

[129] Melton, "Gutsherrschaft in East Elbian Germany and Livonia, 1500–1800: a critique of the model," 328-329. In this case, the emergence of a landless population, due to war, famine and outright expropriation by the nobility, was behind the emergence of a group of rural wage workers in the 18th century: Ibid, 329-330.
[130] Ibid, 330-341. As such, Melton underlines that "it is probably better to view the entire rural population below the level of full peasant as a single, highly graduated continuum, rather than look for an illusive threshold that separated the fieldhand from the smallholder": Ibid, 340.
[131] Ibid, 335.
[132] Ibid, 330. As such, "servile peasants, many of whom worked holdings of above average size, could accumulate considerable quantities of goods, both livestock and equipment for the farm, and household goods, furniture and clothing": Dyer, "The Ineffectiveness of Lordship in England, 1200–1400," 75.
[133] Melton, "Gutsherrschaft in East Elbian Germany and Livonia, 1500–1800: a critique of the model," 335-336.
[134] Ibid, 338-340
[135] Ibid, 340-341. Also see: Kamiński, Neo-Serfdom in Poland-Lithuania; Klíma, "Agrarian class structure and economic development in pre-industrial Bohemia"; Topolski, "Continuity and discontinuity in the development of the feudal system in Eastern Europe (Xth to XVIIth centuries)"; Hagen, "How mighty the Junkers? Peasant rents and seigneurial profits in sixteenth-century Brandenburg"; Cerman, "Demesne lordship and rural society in early modern East Central and Eastern Europe: Comparative perspectives." In the context of communal forms of organization in the Russian countryside, Mironov underlined that "despite the high degree of intra-communal mobility, the commune gradually developed groups of hereditary poor and rich, a process that became increasingly marked as time passed" while it was often the case that "these extreme groups abandoned the commune and departed for the city, industry, trade, and the army, since they found it difficult to get along inside the commune": Mironov, "The Russian peasant commune after the reforms of the 1860s," 457- 458. As such, the commune itself by no means remained completely stable as "the reforms of the 1860s intensified bourgeois tendencies of development" due to "the strong growth of commodity-monetary relations and a degree of involvement of the peasantry in the country-wide market" which ended up with "an increase in social inequality" as well as the formation of "a new minority, which aspired to a bourgeois path" alongside with the more traditional Russian peasantry: Ibid, 240-461, 465. As such, even when the issue comes to the village commune, it is not always possible to talk about complete homogeneity either. As Mironov underlined: "The peasant economy

The main lesson that can be taken from the discussion on the question of peasant homogeneity and stratification is, for one thing, the complex and multi-faceted nature of historical reality. As such, an exclusive focus on the juxtaposition of an undifferentiated peasantry and an oppressive other, no matter how centrally critical such a separation remains to be for any proper understanding of the property relations operating in rural societies with regard to the extraction of agricultural surplus, carries with it the potential peril of overlooking certain potentially significant processes that might have been unfolding in the midst of the peasant society itself. In other words, the main focus on the pre-capitalist class society whereby relations of production revolved around the main line of division between the owners of agricultural land and rural producers, in the form of feudal landowners and various economic and social groups that can be subsumed under the descriptive title of "peasantry," should benefit from, especially in transitional contexts, from an extension of the focus of study towards the potentially significant lines of division among the members of this latter group as well.[136]

One of the main counter-arguments against the significance of estate production in the Ottoman Empire has been concerned with the degree of involvement of the peasantry in the market and the prevalence of petty commodity production. In this context, İslamoğlu argued that commercialization of agricultural

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formed a continuum from dispossessed households (families without land, sometimes without livestock and farm tools, subsisting as hired laborers and beggars) to prosperous ones (households with several thousand rubles income per annum, with commercial and nonagricultural enterprises using hired labor)-in other words, stretching from the proletarian to the semi-proletarian to the capitalist economic form": Ibid, 452.

[136] "There was a clear absence of struggle within the feudal peasantry. Yet, differentiation might deepen within feudal limits. Such deepening needs close attention": Byres, "The landlord class, peasant differentiation, class struggle and the transition to capitalism," 36. When the issue comes to the study of peasant societies, it should also be underlined that the "rich" and "poor" peasants are related to each other through their engagement in relations of production, rather than the former being an absolute capitalist and the latter being the completely dispossessed labourer: Ennew & Hirst & Tribe, " 'Peasantry'as an economic category," 305-306. In other words, it is not "the simple characteristic of individual enterprises" that define them, but rather "the ensemble of relations which dictate their conditions of existence and reproduction as individual enterprises": Ibid, 306.

production in the Ottoman Empire was not necessarily achieved in large estates; instead, she underlined that the role played by the free, independent, small-holding peasant producer in commercial agriculture was crucial for the gradual integration of the economy to the global market.[137] Likewise, Keyder referred to the capacity of small peasant producers for commercial agriculture and engagement in external trade.[138] Pamuk also referred to the resilience of peasantry by underlining that the greater part of commercial agriculture was performed by small-scale peasant enterprises that were heavily involved in both internal and external markets.[139] Accordingly, market production led by the initiative of the small-holding peasantry has been presented as a model of commercialization alternative to large-scale estate production in the Ottoman Empire.[140]

However, an important point left relatively neglected in these arguments is the fact that historical developments that created çiftliks in the first place did not leave the peasantry untouched either. With reference to the period from the 16th to the 18th century, Cvetkova referred to the importance of the interaction of the peasantry with the market for the emergence of the tendencies towards increasing rural inequality -and specifically, inequality among the members of the *reaya*.[141] In the context of rural Edirne of the 17th century, Parveva referred not only to the existence of differentiation among the peasantry, but also to the employment of wage

[137] İslamoğlu-İnan, "Peasants, Commercialization, and the Legitimation of State Power in Sixteenth-Century Anatolia."
[138] Keyder, "Introduction: Large-Scale Commercial Agriculture in the Ottoman Empire," 12.
[139] Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme 1820-1913*, 162.
[140] See: Schilcher, "The Grain Economy of Late Ottoman Syria and the Issue of Large-Scale Commercialization"; Khoury, "The Introduction of Commercial Agriculture in the Province of Mosul and its Effects on the Peasantry, 1750-1850."
[141] "La liaison avec le marche contribua a renforcer les differences dans la condition materielle et sociale du raya. A partir du XVIe s., les sources mentionnent des personnes des milieux du raya, devenues percepteurs d'impots, voire affermataires d'impots, celeps etc., qui placaient probablement dans de pareilles entreprises l'argent qu'elles avaient ammasse dans les affaires commerciales et usuraires": Cvetkova, "Quelques problèmes du féodalisme ottoman à l'époque du XVIe au XVIII siècle," 720.

labour, often of other villagers, by the members of the richer peasantry.[142] Regarding commercialization of agricultural production, while Parveva underlined the limits on peasant access to market as it was the members of the higher echelons of the society, appropriating a part of the agricultural surplus, that mainly benefited from commercial agriculture[143], she nevertheless emphatically concluded that "in spite of their limited access, it was the market which could ensure the accumulation of capital in the hands of individual peasants. This capital was obviously invested in land, seeds, livestock and the hiring of additional farmhands."[144] As such, as early as the 17th century, certain localities witnessed the existence of "advanced property differentiation among the village inhabitants of the *reaya* category" whereby "thin layer of prosperous peasants who could afford to amass and cultivate land several times larger than the scope of the statutory *raiyet çiftlik*."[145] Dragonava's focused study on the vilayet of Tuna of the 19th century demonstrated the existence of social stratification among the peasantry, which consisted of poor, middle, and rich segments.[146] Likewise, Ianeva referred to the "deepening economic and social differentiation in the countryside" in relation to the "increasing regional specialization, market orientation and dependence on international market conjunctures of agricultural production and stockbreeding," especially from the mid-19th century onwards.[147] As such, what is at stake here is not simply a question of

[142] Parveva, "Villages, Peasants and Landholdings in the Edirne Region in the Second Half of the 17th Century," 35-41.
[143] Ibid, 41-42.
[144] Ibid, 42.
[145] Ibid, 51. Also see: Gradeva, "Villagers in international trade: The case of chervena voda, seventeenth to the beginning of the eighteenth centuries."
[146] Dragonava, *Tuna Vilayeti'nin Köy Nüfusu*, 54.
[147] Ianeva, *Ottoman Economic Practices in Periods of Transformation: The Cases of Crete and Bulgaria,* 139. Ianeva further elaborated this point: "With the legalization of the possibility of pledging land for debts and selling the lands of indebted peasants, the commercial transfer of land plots became more common and as a result the prices of land dropped and economic differentiation among the peasants increased. Not only the *çiftlikçis*, but also wealthy peasants who sold part of their production to the market, were employing wage labor on their farms. Their economic positions were further reinforced by money-lending and by taking financial and social advantages of participation in

rural inequality and a case of undifferentiated commercializing peasant family anymore; rather, the central problem concerns the existence of certain tendencies towards socio-economic differentiation in tandem with the formation of class relations between different segments of the peasantry and as such, the transformation of the very rubric of the peasant society itself during the course of the 19th century. Accordingly, even when the peasantry numerically predominated in the rural economy, as was often the case in the Ottoman Empire, their capacity to subsist independently came under serious erosion. In this context, not only market-dependency but also class relations between the members of the peasantry was making their entrance into the heart of rural society, creating a situation where completely landless "peasants" laboring under sharecropping arrangements, hand in hand with sharecroppers holding only minuscule amounts of land, came to constitute the backbone of the agrarian composition.[148] In this context, the importance of evaluating the Ottoman çiftliks with reference to the transformations taking place in the broader agricultural economy, beyond the immediate confines of the çiftliks themselves, posits itself with renewed significance.

2.2.2 Class relations in the Ottoman çiftliks

While the theme of peasant differentiation constitutes an important aspect of the analysis this thesis develops, the main focus still remains on the çiftliks themselves as they are considered to be the most crucial manifestation of inequality and class relations in the rural context. In the analysis, the forms of labour employed in the

tax collection as they were also local notables. On the other hand, some of the peasants holding the smallest land plots and members of their households had to supplement their incomes by working as wage labourers, on a seasonal or permanent basis, or were even forced to migrate from mountain areas to more fertile and prosperous regions, or even abroad, or to try to make a living from additional economic activities. In the central Rumelian lands regional differences in the size of peasant landholdings can also be observed": Ibid, 118.

[148] Oyan, *Feodalizmden kapitalizme, Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye*, 368-369.

çiftliks provide a central framework for the organization of the data. As the most common type of labour arrangement, sharecropping will constitute the main focus of interest.[149]

Sharecropping, as a specific form of labour arrangement in the organization of agricultural production, has sprouted in a great variety of geographies and ages, displaying an impressive degree of historical resilience and attracting academic and practical attention due to its prevalence.[150] In the initial studies on sharecropping, the allegedly contradictory character of this form concerning the development of capitalism and modernization of agriculture has pushed the proponents of developmental agenda towards shunning it as an archaic form failing to reach the levels of efficiency often associated with the use of wage labour in modern, capitalized farms. This view of sharecropping as an inefficient form of labour

[149] This widespread employment of sharecroppers in çiftliks has already emerged as a part of the controversy over the nature of the socio-economic system under question. Furthermore, concerning the relationship between forms of labour and transformation of agrarian structures, the prevalence of sharecropping has been treated as an indicator not only of economic backwardness but also that of a failure on the side of capitalist agriculture to develop in the Balkans properly. For example, Lapavitsas and Çakıroğlu, in their study focusing on "the region of Mount Vermion, comprising three towns: Naoussa (Ağustos), Veroia (Karaferye), and Edhessa (Vodina)," examined the development of industrial capitalism in textile production against a background of rural landscape dominated by smallholding peasantry and çiftliks relying on sharecropping and extra-economic methods of coercion such as *corvee* and debt bondage: Lapavitsas, & Cakiroglu, *Capitalism in the Ottoman Balkans: industrialisation and modernity in Macedonia*, 2. Here, the authors underlined that "industrial capitalism in provincial Ottoman Macedonia emerged in towns that lay in the uplands and did so despite the lack of capitalist transformation in agriculture": Ibid, 108. In this context, they specifically argued that "the çiftlik was neither a feudal estate in the manner of medieval Europe, nor a capitalist farm ... the acquisition of çiftlik in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries often involved the use of political power and even outright force. The management of the çiftlik and the forms of land tenure on the estate, furthermore, involved non-economic processes": Ibid, 90-91. As such, the lagging in generalized employment of wage labour is identified as the central reason behind the failure of capitalist agriculture to develop in the Ottoman Balkans: Ibid, 92. However, beyond the lengthy discussion on the predatory methods employed during the original development of capitalism as well as the complexity of transitional forms, the relationship between modern capitalism and the reproduction of unfree forms of labor has been largely addressed in the literature. See: Brass, *Labor Regime Change in the 21st Century: Unfreedom, Capitalism and Primitive Accumulation*; Brass, "Capitalism and bonded labour in India: Reinterpreting recent (re-) interpretations"; Brass, "Why Unfree Labour is Not 'So-Called': The Fictions of Jairus Banaji"; Banaji, *Theory as History: Essays on modes of production and exploitation*; Perelman, *The Invention of Capitalism: Classical Political Economy and the Secret History of Primitive Accumulation*; Stanziani, *Bondage, Labor and Rights in Eurasia from the Sixteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries*.

[150] For a general overview of the historical instances of sharecropping, see: Byres, "Historical perspectives on sharecropping."

arrangement failed to explain its widespread occurrence and set the stage for the upcoming critique of the later line of neoclassical school which set out to prove that sharecropping was, in fact, efficient.[151] In turn, the latter's focus on the framework of sharing of risk and transaction costs among the parties of the sharecropping agreement and the potential efficiency of this form significantly shaped the following literature.[152] As the growing impact of peasant studies in the 1960s and 1970s gave another impetus to the discussion, various critiques of the neoclassical framework were developed.[153] The main line of the critique directed towards the aforementioned evaluation of sharecropping came from Marxism which criticized the neoclassical school for its general foundering when the issue at stake is "to explain or come to terms with any theoretical understanding of circumstances which might produce relationships based on an unequal distribution of economic power."[154] As such, the

[151] As such, initial studies mainly focused on "the dynamic rationale underlying alternative wage and tenure forms and the problems of resource allocation and productive efficiency": Pearce, "Sharecropping: Towards a Marxist View," 49.

[152] There exists a large corpus of studies dealing with sharecropping within this framework, albeit with considerable variations. Sharecropping has been compared to wage labour often with reference to the absence of transaction costs in the former: Martínez-Alier, "Sharecropping Some Illustrations"; Stolcke & Hall, "The introduction of free labour on São Paulo coffee plantations." Concerning the United States, it has been argued that "sharecropping was desirable because sharecropped farms could be more productive than owner-operated farms and perhaps more productive than rented farms": Garrett & Xu, "The efficiency of sharecropping: evidence from the Postbellum South," 578. In this context, it has been argued that the absence of supervision is balanced, from the perspective of efficiency, by the sharecropper's interest to work efficiently: Caballero, "Sharecropping as an efficient system: further answers to an old puzzle." Similarly, in an environment where peasant families need tools of production and landowners need labour force, it has been argued that sharecropping is likely to be more efficient than use of wage labour since cultivating families would likely be willing to expend their maximum effort and hence everyone would get the highest yield possible: Pertev, "A new model for sharecropping and peasant holdings." In India, it has been argued that higher levels of certainty created a tendency towards sharecropping and lower levels of certainty towards fixed rents, which in turn effected preferred land size: Rao, "Uncertainty, entrepreneurship, and sharecropping in India," 578. Although individual studies greatly vary in their focus, the general framework remains one of efficiency and sharing of transaction costs and risks.

[153] For a general overview: Thorner, "Semi-Feudalism or Capitalism? Contemporary Debate on Classes and Modes of Production in India." Also: Chandra, "Farm efficiency under semi-feudalism: A critique of marginalist theories and some Marxist formulations. Economic and political weekly."

[154] Pearce, "Sharecropping: Towards a Marxist View," 51. Bagchi underlines that the absence of theoretical or conceptual understanding of sharecropping turns the neoclassical studies into a compilation of special cases whose inadequacy is further amplified due to their general failure to examine pre-capitalist forms of labour: Bagchi, "Cropsharing Tenancy and Neoclassical Economics," 81. Also see: Patnaik, "Classical theory of rent and its application to India: Some preliminary propositions, with some thoughts on sharecropping."

main focus of the Marxist studies has turned out to be agrarian class relations whereby the discussion was conducted with reference to concepts such as forms of ground rent, formal and real subsumption of labour, and development of capitalist agriculture.[155] Several studies also tried to synthesize class relations and concepts such as supervision costs and estate management techniques, whereby lower-level concepts were set against the broader economic and social background.[156]

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[155] The alternative proposed by Marxism has been greatly influenced by discussions that were conducted in the context of the debates on the development of capitalism in "underdeveloped" countries such as India, as well as the question of rural stratification as well as the development of class relations among the members of the peasantry in the 1970s: Gupta, "Formal and real subsumption of labour under capital: the instance of share-cropping"; Banaji, "Capitalist domination and the small peasantry: Deccan districts in the late nineteenth century." In a critique of the argument of efficiency proposed by the neoclassical school, it has been suggested that sharecropping could hinder technological development and, by extension, the development of capitalism: Bhaduri, "A study in agricultural backwardness under semi-feudalism." Against the association of sharecropping with usury and debt bondage, often in relation to feudalism, it has been argued that the prevalence of this form of labour arrangement did not necessarily signify the failure of capitalism to develop: Bardhan & Rudra, "Terms and conditions of sharecropping contracts: an analysis of village survey data in India." In this context, it has been questioned whether sharecropping can be seen as a relic from the past, or rather it made a considerable contribution to the development of capitalist farming while the long-term trend still remained to be the proletarianization of former sharecroppers: Keegan, "The Sharecropping Economy on the South African Highveld in the Early Twentieth Century." In addition, there have been many attempts to develop geenral models while a number of local studies have also been produced: Bardhan & Srinivasan, "Cropsharing tenancy in agriculture: a theoretical and empirical analysis"; Bardhan & Srinivasan, "Cropsharing tenancy in agriculture: Rejoinder"; Halim, "The major mode of surplus labour appropriation in the West Malaysian countryside: The sharecropping system"; Mandle, "Sharecropping and the plantation economy in the United States South."

[156] In contrast to the narrow focus of neoclassical studies, "the use of marginal productivity and marginal revenue concepts would not be out of place if they could be clearly seen as just minor building blocks in the edifice, as low-level structures, rather than the structure of explanation itself": Bagchi, "Cropsharing Tenancy and Neoclassical Economics," 79. In this framework, it has been argued that sharecropping was preferred by absentee, urban-based landlords of Italy who did not want to sacrifice their trading activities for direct management on their farms. In this context, "the use of sharecropping to lower costs associated with agricultural production must be considered in the context of the Tuscan political economy": Emigh, "The spread of sharecropping in Tuscany: the political economy of transaction costs," 423. In a similar vein, it has been argued that absentee landlords often preferred sharecropping due to the lower transaction costs compared to wage labour. As such, even though the ideal for the landlord remained to be fixed rent, sharecropping turned out to be also advantageous as it constituted a middle-ground for the parties of the arrangement in its distribution of the risks. Concerning France, it has been argued that the prevalence of sharecropping could be explained by the desire of the absentee landlords to minimize supervision costs in the context of rural poverty and the ongoing land grab of the former peasant land whereby "the increase in sharecropping (relative to wage labor) was … a result of the transfer of peasant property into the hands of absentee landlords": Hoffman, "The economic theory of sharecropping in early modern France," 318. As such, sharecropping took the form of "a way of administering property in areas where overburdened peasants had lost their farms to absentee owners, a contract undertaken with tenants who possessed little or no land or capital": Ibid, 318-319. With regard to the widespread use of sharecropping in the large estates of Catalonia from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, the focus has been on the entrepreneurial choice of the landowners based on lower supervision costs associated with sharecropping: "By renting out their land on a sharecropping basis, Catalan landowners managed to

Methodologically, the present thesis treats sharecropping not as a simple, voluntary contract of equal parties who can enter or exit such agreements freehandedly, but rather "as a particular *method of surplus appropriation*; a method through which surplus labour is transferred to the landlord in the form of surplus product."[157] In this sense, sharecropping contracts are evaluated "as instruments of surplus labour appropriation rather than mere technical arrangements facilitating the allocation of productive resources."[158] In a context of unequal access to economic, political, and legal resources[159], sharecropping can be considered to be embedded in "a web of dependency" whereby extra-economic forms of compulsion are employed to increase the rate of exploitation, such as restrictions on rural mobility, resort to corvee labor and debt bondage.[160] In this sense, "the line of causality … runs from class relations of production and their determination to the particular method of facilitating."[161] Accordingly, it is the broader background of the rural class structure

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acquire the labour necessary to cultivate their estates and to reduce supervision costs without either losing their control over the property, weakening their contractual powers, or diminishing their capacity to intervene in order to improve agricultural practices": Garrabou, Planas & Saguer, "Sharecropping and the management of large rural estates in Catalonia, 1850–1950," 96.

[157] Pearce, "Sharecropping: Towards a Marxist View," 53. As such, "concentrating on sharecropping merely as a formal rental contract between two neutral parties is a rather sterile approach": Cooper, "Sharecroppers and landlords in Bengal, 1930–50: The dependency web and its implications," 245.

[158] Pearce, "Sharecropping: Towards a Marxist View," 43.

[159] "The sharecropper-landlord relationship existed in a complex political structure which tended to empower the landlord vis-a-vis the sharecropper. Social and religious hierarchies inclined to parallel economic structures, sanctioning the landlord's authority and validating the sharecropper's dependency": Cooper, "Sharecroppers and landlords in Bengal, 1930–50: The dependency web and its implications," 245.

[160] Ibid, 228. "Given the unequal distribution of property and absence of alternative sources of income, the majority of tenants do have no choice but to seek leases and in the prevailing circumstances, the landlords (certainly the big ones) exercise the decision to whom to lease out, in what parcels to lease out and on what terms and conditions": Bharadwaj & Das, "Tenurial conditions and mode of exploitation: A study of some villages in Orissa," 225.

[161] Pearce, "Sharecropping: Towards a Marxist View," 53. This economic and social view of sharecropping is also the main reason why sharecropping displayed great historical variety. For one thing, sharecropping families could be completely landless or have varying amounts of land, while their status might have ranged from bonded labor to relatively well-doing smallholding peasant farmers. A sharecropper could also depend on a single landowner or lease from multiple landholders: Ibid, 45-46, 50; Bharadwaj & Das, "Tenurial conditions and mode of exploitation: A study of some villages in Orissa," A49. This variety created another line of studies that have focused on the anthropological investigation of rural communities and the particular characteristics of sharecropping practices. Here, instances of wealthier sharecroppers and poorer landowners have been emphasized in a critique of the studies focusing on the advantageous position of landowners vis-a-vis sharecroppers.

of the Ottoman countryside whereby technical aspects of sharecropping arrangements took shape in the context of çiftlik economy.[162]

In addition to sharecropping, instances of bonded labor will also be addressed in the analysis. Regarding the çiftliks of Bosnia, Güran and Uzun referred to the existence of certain tendencies towards feudalization, in the form of "çiftlikization"[163] and the increasing power of local landholders due to accumulation of land in their hands, especially from the late 18th to the19th century, at the expense of the old *tımar* system, as a process which was especially visible in Rumelia where the Muslim landowning class, or "*eshab-ı alaka*", resorted to usurping the land of the peasantry or offering protection to local inhabitants in return for a part of their agricultural produce hand in hand with imposition of arbitrary obligations.[164] While the general contours of this narrative shares elements with the accounts of Barkan and İnalcık, Güran and Uzun raised the critical question of the possibility that bonded forms of labor, such as *angarya,* and forms of "agrarian question," similar to the ones in Vidin and Bosnia, might have existed in other geographies of çiftlik concentration as well.[165] Behind the emergence of a group of sharecroppers as well

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See: Moßbrucker & Watt, "Sharecropping: traditional economy, class relation, or social system? Towards a reevaluation," 54-55; Lehmann, "Sharecropping and the capitalist transition in agriculture: some evidence from the highlands of Ecuador," 342. The main problem with these accounts is their almost complete omission of the content of such contracts in favor of the form and the construction of their critique on the basis of the concept of sharecropping as a technical arrangement. As such, it is the cartoonishly simple and one-sided duality expected of sharecropping in these accounts that actually betrays its historical variety.

[162] Also, even when peasant farms produced more grains than the farms of landlords, "the most important point is that the development of the landlords' farms ensured the big landowners of a very large slice of the incomes of the peasant farms": Zytkowicz, "The Peasant's Farm and the Landlord's Farm in Poland from the 16th to the Middle of the 18th Century." As such, the relationship between the two cannot be simply reduced to a numerical balance. Also see: Żytkowicz, "An investigation into agricultural production in Masovia in the first half of the 17th century"; Rosdolsky, "The distribution of the agrarian product in feudalism."

[163] Güran & Uzun, "Bosna-Hersek'te Toprak Rejimi: Eshab-ı Alaka ve Çiftçiler Arasındaki İlişkiler (1840-1875)," 868-872. For Vidin, see: İnalcık, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi.*

[164] Güran & Uzun, "Bosna-Hersek'te Toprak Rejimi: Eshab-ı Alaka ve Çiftçiler Arasındaki İlişkiler (1840-1875)," 868-872.

[165] Ibid, 871-875. Also see: Terzibaşoğlu & Kaya, "19. Yüzyılda Balkanlar'da Toprak Rejimi ve Emek İlişkileri," 91-92; Kaya & Peker, "Parga Çiftliği Kararnâmesi (1875): Çiftlik Sahipleri ve Çiftçi 'Ahâli' Arasında Mücadele"; Kaya, "Were Peasants Bound To The Soil in the 19th C. Balkans.

as bonded forms of labour, there lurked processes of rural poverty and peasant indebtedness, which will also be incorporated into the analysis. Lastly, the ultimate point of culmination for all the aforementioned processes, in the form of the embodiment of rural class conflict, will be addressed with reference to the cases of controversy over land, especially in relation to the appropriation of peasant land, and the turning of villages into çiftliks.[166]

The forceful turning of villages into the de facto private property of a group of landowners who did not cultivate it directly, as unfolded through various mechanisms, was a phenomenon of neither the 19th century nor the Ottoman Balkans only. In the 17th century context of the Celali revolts in Anatolia, İnalcık underlined that the land abandoned by the peasants fleeing en masse was taken over by the members of the upper class.[167] In the context of the Balkans, Stoianovich argued that *tımar* holders gradually expanded the land under their direct control -or *hassa* çiftlik- at the expense of peasant land from the 16th century onwards.[168] Likewise, Cvetkova pointed out the tendency of the expansion of the *sipahi* land through taking over of

[166] See: Kırlı, "Tyranny Illustrated: From Petition to Rebellion in Ottoman Vranje"; Kolovos, "Riot in the village: Some cases of peasant protest around Ottoman Salonica"; Aytekin, "Peasant protest in the late Ottoman Empire: Moral economy, revolt, and the Tanzimat reforms"; Kokdaş, "Janissaries and Conflicts Over Rural Lands in the Vidin Region (1730-1810)"; Yıldız & Kokdaş, "Peasantry in a Well-protected Domain: Wallachian Peasantry and Muslim Çiftlik/Kışlaks under the Ottoman Rule"; Şahin, "Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl'da Samsun'da Çiftlik sahibi Hazinedarzadeler ile Kiracı-Köylüler Arasındaki Arazi ve vergi İhtilafı Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler ve Sorular"; Şahin, "The Economic Power of Anatolian Ayans of the Late Eighteenth Century: The Case of the Caniklizades." For other recent studies on Ottoman çiftliks, see: Laiou, "Some Considerations regarding Çiftlik Formation in Western Thessaly, Sixteenth-Nineteenth Centuries"; Kokdaş, "Osmanlı Çiftliklerinde Tek Tip Bir Demografik Yapı Var Mıydı? 19. Yüzyıl Teselya Çiftliklerinde Sosyo-Ekonomik Dinamikler ve Nüfus Yapıları"; Yıldız, "Politics, Economy, and Çiftliks: The History of Four Çiftliks in Larissa (Yenişehir-i Fener)"; Çiftçioğlu, "XIX. Yüzyilda Tırhala Sancağı'nda Çiftlikler"; Karademir, "Statüleri ve Mahiyetleri Açısından Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Büyük Çiftlikler (18. Yüzyıl)"; Öncel, *Agrarian relations and estate (çiftlik) agriculture in Ottoman Thessaly (c. 1780 – 1880)*.

[167] İnalcik, Capital formation in the Ottoman Empire, 129.

[168] Stoianovich, "Land Tenure and Related Sectors of the Balkan Economy, 1600-1800," 398. This tendency, coupled by factors such as the expansion of the malikane system, chronic indebtedness of the peasantry, forceful acquisition of cultivable land, and constant stream of peasant flight, ended up in the further accumulation of land previously under peasant production in the hands of economically and politically powerful groups, such as the *ayan* and the *yeniçeri*, who treated these lands as estates under their private ownership while they, at the same time, employed armed men under their command to protect their position: Ibid, 398-401.

peasant land.[169] In his study on Manastır, McGowan referred to the formation of çiftliks through processes of "the usurpation … of land from the treasury, the dispossession of the peasantry who had formerly worked the land, and the reorganization of consolidated estates for commercial production."[170] In this context, McGowan underlined that both the encroachment of lands left vacant by peasant flight and the so-called actual or physical dispossession of peasant producers were positioned at the root of the emergence of çiftliks in Manastır. As such, McGowan has identified this ongoing separation between the owner of the land and the actual cultivator as a crucial angle to understand the çiftlik phenomenon, whereby the result turned out to be a situation where "all good land was under legal control, whether cultivated or not, while at the same time many good men had no land and were obliged to labor."[171] There were also many comparable cases in and around the Balkans whereby whole villages were turned into çiftliks and former villagers, now landless, became the cultivators of these large estates, such as the lands of the *vakıf* of Gazi Evrenos Bey.[172] A number focused studies have also clearly demonstrated the extent of the chronic dispute between peasants and landowners over the appropriation of peasant land as well as claims imposed upon the former by the

[169] Cvetkova, "Quelques problèmes du féodalisme ottoman à l'époque du XVIe au XVIII Siècle," 714.
[170] McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 60. Also see: Ibid, 60-73. With reference to the dispossession of the peasantry, McGowan has identified two main forms. Here, "titular displacement of peasant" entailed "the decision to take over the 'deed' (*tapu*) of the cultivator in order to dispossess him of customary rights under the prebendal system" while "physical dispossession" literally meant "physically to dispossess the peasant, drive him off the land and replace him with a sharecropper or a wage laborer": Ibid, 64.
[171] Ibid, 72.
[172] Demetriades, "Problems of Land-Owning and Population in the Area of Gazi Evrenos Bey's Wakf," 44. As Demetriades further added: "The accumulation of great wealth was leading to the increase of the influence of the great estate-owners and to the danger of their becoming more independent and diminishing the power of the central government. Nevertheless, the measures taken bore no results and villages continued to turn into chiftliks in every part of the Ottoman empire": Ibid, 52.

latter.[173] Similarly, this thesis will incorporate some of the processes behind the emergence of çiftliks into the analysis as well.

2.2.3 Geography and patterns of rural economy

Lastly, this thesis will be in dialogue with the concerns of environmental and spatial history.[174] This engagement will be crucial not only for the spatialization of historical data, but also for a proper appreciation of the possibilities and restrictions of the units of analysis -districts - under question for the objectives of the research at hand.[175] For purposes of the visualization of large-scale historical data, GIS (Geographical Information Systems) analysis will be incorporated into the study.[176] Furthermore, the spatialization of the historical data will make it possible to address the tremendous geographical variety of the organisation of rural production, which gains an even more important quality when rural industries enter the picture. In this context, Palairet emphasized the existence of regional specialization with reference

[173] See: Güran & Uzun, "Bosna-Hersek'te Toprak Rejimi: Eshab-ı Alaka ve Çiftçiler Arasındaki İlişkiler (1840-1875)"; İnalcık, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi*; Pinson, "Ottoman Bulgaria in the first Tanzimat period-the revolts in Nish (1841) and Vidin (1850)"; Terzibaşoğlu & Kaya, "19. Yüzyılda Balkanlar'da Toprak Rejimi ve Emek İlişkileri."

[174] For a survey of environmental and spatial history, see: White, "What is Spatial History?"; Isenberg, "Introduction: A New Environmental History"; Carey, "Beyond Weather: The Culture and Politics of Climate History"; Kelly & Ó Gráda, "Debating the Little Ice Age"; White, "The Real Little Ice Age*";* Parker, "Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered."
For the incorporation between environmental/spatial history and Ottoman studies, see: Dursun, "The history of environmental movements and the development of environmental thought in Turkey, 1850-1980"; Dursun, "A call for an environmental history of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey: Reflections on the fourth ESEH conference"; Dursun, "Çevresel (Ekolojik) Tarih Lensinden Osmanlı Tarihine Yeniden Bakmak"; Dursun, "Çevresel Bağlantılar: Tarihi Yeniden Düşünmek"; Hadjikyriacou, "Economic Geographies"; İnal, "Environmental History as an Emerging Field in Ottoman Studies: An Historiographical Overview"; White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*; Mikhail, "Ottoman Iceland: a climate history"; Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt: An Environmental History*; Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean*.

[175] Lewis & Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography*; Middell & Naumann, "Global history and the spatial turn: from the impact of area studies to the study of critical junctures of globalization."

[176] For the integration of GIS analysis and historical studies, see: Owens, "Toward a geographically-integrated, connected world history: Employing geographic information systems (GIS)"; DeBats, Gregory, & Lafreniere, "Introduction: Spatial History, History, and GIS; Gregory & Geddes, "Introduction: From Historical GIS to Spatial Humanities: Deepening Scholarship and Broadening Technology"; Ayers, "Turning toward Place, Space, and Time"; Gratien, Polczynski, & Shafir, "Digital Frontiers of Ottoman Studies"; Petmezas, "Land Tenure and Land Settlement in Vostizza from Ottoman to Venetian Rule: G.I.S. Mapping of the Venetian Cadastro of 1700"; Hadjikyriacou & Kolovos, "Rural Economies And Digital Humanities: Prospects And Challenges."

to Bulgaria, where the generalized "rural insecurity" and the resulting escape of the peasantry to mountainous areas contributed to the emergence of "non-agricultural labor" and the turning of "hill towns" into "small centers of industry"; extensive agriculture, in contrast, expanded in the Bulgarian lowlands due to low population density while the raw material -wool- for the rural manufactures was supplied by the pastoralists.[177] The complex network between settlements with different characteristics was highlighted by Petmezas who, in his focused study on the rural industries of Thessaly, integrated into the picture of rural economy the factor of geography and topography, emphasizing the existence of "smaller homogeneous regions that were complementary to each other" in the area.[178] As such, the question of the interaction between agricultural production and rural manufactures will be crucial to understand the development of the division of labour, not only between town and countryside but also between different forms of rural settlements, and by extension, to properly assess the çiftlik question against the broader rural background.

2.3 Aim and scope of the thesis

As discussed in the previous parts, the çiftliks of the Ottoman Empire, especially with reference to the forms they took in the 18th and the 19th centuries, have been treated in the dominant literature either as marginal phenomena through which powerful echelons of the Ottoman society would set out to usurp economic, social,

[177] Palairet, *The Balkan Economies,* 358.

[178] Petmezas, "Patterns of Proto-industrialization in the Ottoman Empire: The case of eastern Thessaly, ca.1750-1860." In his study on Thessaly, Petmezas underlined that there was an intimate relationship between agricultural production of the plains and the activities of the pastoralists of Pindus. In this context, pastoralists left their summer pasture in the winter and rented winter pasture from landlords or village communities in the plains: Ibid, 578. The plains, on the other hand, where population density was low, was characterized by "sharecroppers' villages" engaged in "surplus cereal extensive agriculture ... having rudimentary communal institutions and being dominated by the great Muslim landowners and notables living in the cities." The picture was dramatically different in the "Eastern Thessalian littoral mountain range" as this was "a zone of high demographic pressure and intensive, but deficient, cash-crop agriculture of small owners with strong communal institutions, dominated by class of Christian communal notables and merchants": Ibid, 580.

and political power or as a result of the expansion of global trade and the resulting incorporation of the Ottoman economy to this newly emerging system. Here, the former approach has operated within the confines of the rigid framework drawn by the unchanging principle of *miri* land regime and *çift-hane* system; the second approach, while heavily referring to the literature on the second serfdom and estate production in Eastern Europe, ended up giving priority to the determining impact of global trade and commercialization at the expense of the potentially much more fruitful discussion that could be conducted with reference to forms of bonded labour. When the question came to the commercialization of agriculture in general, a model of commercialization through the efforts of small-holding peasant families engaged in petty commodity production, in line with the orthodox view of Ottoman history writing, turned out to be the dominant paradigm.

The present thesis shall attempt to locate the çiftlik phenomenon in the broader framework of rural composition, class structure, and relations of production in the Ottoman Balkans in the mid-19th century. As such, the çiftlik phenomenon will be treated as the most visible proxy of inequality and class relations in the rural setting due to the almost complete separation between landowners and landless producers embodied in its existence. Behind the first layer of inequality observed through the çiftlik presence, furthermore, there lurked processes of stratification among rural inhabitants, who comprised a large umbrella including peasants owning large tracts of land and employing hired labour, relatively self-sufficient and small-holding peasants, peasants having almost a cottager outlook with only minuscule amounts of land and obliged to resort to activities including wage labour and craftsmanship, completely landless rural wage workers, artisans, traders, etc. In this context, the questions of to what extent the Ottoman peasantry was self-subsisting

and to what extent it relied on non-agricultural activities and food market for survival will be raised. As such, the present thesis will try to draw a general picture of the rural landscape as a space of inequality, stratification, dispossession, and class relations while positing the central theme of the çiftlik question in this broader context.

The region under study comprises the districts of Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe, as they were administratively defined around the mid-19th century. This area constitutes an almost continuous line, lying southwest to northeast, which was formed around river basins extending into hilly regions, as can be observed in Figure 1. Accordingly, it has been possible to examine not only various forms of çiftliks and village formations in the area but also the main topographical features with their impact on the distributional patterns of settlements. As such, one of the main objectives became transcending the limits of the relatively artificial administrative boundaries of units of analysis, such as districts, and demonstrating the problems that an exclusive focus on averages could potentially create in cases of great diversity by simplifying the complexity of rural structures. Furthermore, each of these districts was characterized by a different level of çiftlik formation and rural inequality. Through this selection of three districts, it is intended to develop a comparative framework whereby individual characteristics of the units of analysis can also be integrated into the discussion.

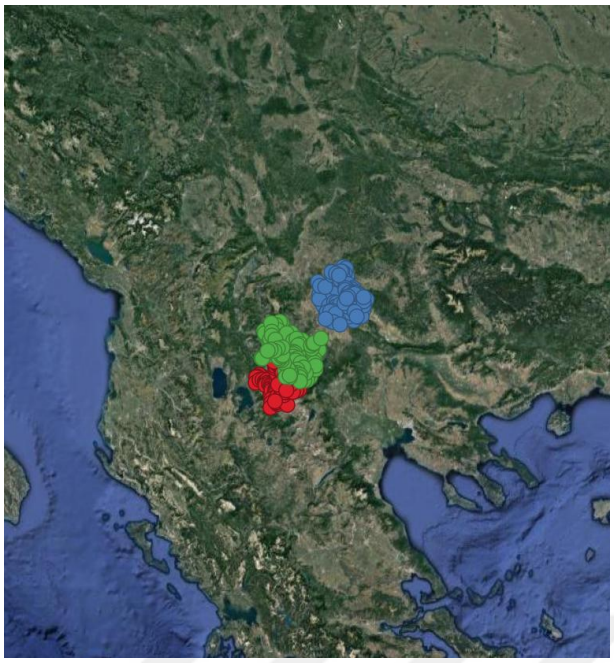

Figure 1. The districts of Manastır, Pirlepe, and İştip. The settlements of Manastır are indicated in colour red, Pirlepe in green, and İştip in blue.[179]

In the analysis, one of the main questions will be whether a certain degree of inequality and stratification can be identified among the rural inhabitants, including villages and çiftliks alike, residing in the districts of Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe in the mid-19th century. By extension, the nature of such rural stratification will be questioned. First and foremost, the çiftliks, where producers are already landless and houseless to a large extent, will be evaluated as the pinnacle of the separation between property owners and rural producers. Here, the characteristics of different forms of çiftliks, especially with reference to the dominant form of labor on the basis of which production is organized, as well as the economic-social position of the

[179] All the maps in this thesis are prepared with the software of QGIS. Sources consulted to locate the settlements include: 3rd Military Mapping Survey of Austria-Hungary / A Monarchia III. katonai felmérése (available online at http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/digkonyv/topo/3felmeres.htm and https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:3rd_Military_Mapping_Survey_of_Austria-Hungary); GeoNames Geographical Database (available online https://www.geonames.org/); Index Anatolicus (available online at https://nisanyanmap.com/). The settlement information of the districts under study has been mostly retrieved from the income survey registers. When other sources are consulted, they are indicated specifically. When real historical maps rather than GIS images are used to indicate the location of specific settlements, the source is "3rd Military Mapping Survey of Austria-Hungary / A Monarchia III. katonai Felmérése."

çiftlik-owners, will be crucial for the analysis. Then, the villages will provide another locus of entry into the rural structure of the region under study. The internal composition of the villages will be analyzed to understand the general characteristics of the village society in the mid-19th century. Here, the distribution of property and the practices of employment among the villagers will be the main focus of analysis to understand the internal composition of village inhabitants. An important question in this context will concern the nature of the relationship between the upper strata of the peasantry and the çiftlik-owners with rural origins with reference to the long terms tendencies of differentiation within the rural society. Lastly, as a general wrap-up, various dynamics behind the emergence of different forms of rural organization will be examined.

2.4 Archival Sources and Methodology

The main archival sources for this endeavor will be the income survey registers ("*Emlak, Arazi, Hayvanat ve Temettüat Tahrir Defterleri*" or "*Temettuat Defterleri*") compiled by the central Ottoman state, now preserved in the collections of *Maliye Nezareti Varidat Muhasebesi Temettuat Defterleri* (ML.VRD.TMT.d) in the Ottoman State Archives. These surveys, which were conducted in the mid-1840s in the areas under Tanzimat reforms for the replacement of the multitude of traditional taxes with a single general tax in relation to the income of each household, include information on the patterns of land use, agricultural production and animal husbandary, and most importantly for the purposes of the present dissertation, various labour arrangements between the çiftlik-owners and rural producers in terms

of the share of the respective parties in the agricultural produce and the distribution of farmers, craftsmen and wage-laborers within çiftliks.[180]

The systematic studies on the income survey registers have a history of about 40 years. Tevfik Güran's empirical studies on income survey registers and his use of these sources to analyze the social and economic characteristics of the Ottoman Empire had a pioneering effect on the route to be taken by historians of later generations.[181] Nevertheless, a large portion of the studies that followed often consisted of general descriptions of the specific areas under question. Also, the greater part of these works focused on the central towns of the districts rather than getting engaged with the rural society. Yet, a number of studies that were prepared lately considerably enlarged the previous scope incorporating into the analysis the questions of rural income inequality, commercialization of peasant production, and the relationship between economy and geography, often on the basis of statistical analysis.[182]

The present thesis explicitly combines the analysis of the çiftlik economy with the broader background of rural society through these sources. As such, it goes beyond the confines of the çiftliks and tries to analyze the rural configuration as a whole. While the concept of inequality constitutes a central concern of the present

[180] For a general introduction to the capacity as well as the limits of the temettuat surveys for the studies on the economic history of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, see: Güran, "19. Yüzyıl Temettuat Tahrirleri"; Kütükoğlu, "Osmanlı Sosyal ve İktisadi Tarihi Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri"; Öztürk, "Türkiye'de Temettuat Çalışmaları"; Yükçü, Fidancı, & Soysal, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Temettuat Defterleri'nin Önemi ve Vergisel Açıdan Değerlendirilmesi: Tire Kazası Örneği"; Adıyeke, "Temettuat sayimları ve bu sayımları düzenleyen nizamname örnekleri"; Efe, "1845 Temettuat Sayım Sonuçları Ne Oldu"; Bizbirlik, & Atar, "XIX. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarihinde Temettuat Defterlerinin Yeri: Saruhan Sancağı Mütevelli Çiftliği Temettuat Defteri Örneği"; Bilirli, "Temettuat Defterlerinin Hazırlanmasında İmar Meclisleri'nin Rolü."

[181] See: Güran, "Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Ortalarında Ödemiş Kasabasının Sosyo-Ekonomik Özellikleri."

[182] Karaduman, & Tabakoğlu, "19. Yüzyıl Temettuat Defterleri'ne Göre Üsküp/Koçana Kazası'nın Lorenz Eğrisi ve Gini Katsayısı ile Gelir Dağılımının Analizi"; Yereli, Köktaş, & Selçuk, "Sorgun Kazası XIX. Yüzyıl Temettüat Defterleri Üzerinden Gelir Dağılımı ve Göreli Yoksulluk Üzerine Bir İnceleme"; Koyuncu, & Küçükkalay, "Global market orientation of the Ottoman agriculture sector: An interregional comparison (1844)"; Işık, "Tarihsel Coğrafya Açısından Temettuat Defterlerinin Değerlendirilmesi ve Aşağı Akçay Havzası Örneği."

thesis as well, it is fashioned in the form of inequality in access to land in relation to the question of class relations, property structures as well as the concentration of means of production rather than income inequality per se. Also, the geographical scope under study is quite large as it consists of the rural inhabitants and landowners of three Balkan districts. Lastly, the large-scale data and the resulting statistical analysis are combined with GIS analysis to develop a broad-scale portrayal of rural society. As such, this thesis utilizes the income survey registers in a novel way to develop an analysis of the rural class structure in the Ottoman Balkans, including çiftliks and villages in their spatial dimension.

As these registers have revealed not only the existence of considerable çiftlik activity but also a complex network of property and production relations in the region, the main objective of the research has been two-fold. Firstly, the organization of production in the çiftliks and the composition of labour within them have been the main foci of interest. Secondly, the relationship between the çiftliks and the broader rural setting has come into the picture in relation to the question of whether these çiftliks, which are units of production consisting of landowners and mostly landless rural producers who work on the land, can be considered as part of an ongoing process of rural differentiation and dispossession accompanied by a separation between the owners of means of production and the rural producers themselves. As such, the analysis will include both the çiftliks and the villages in the region under study.

With regard to çiftliks, a general typology will be identified on the basis of forms of labour and evaluated with reference to factors such as the size of holding, type of produce, and social origins of the çiftlik-owners. In a similar vein, villages will be categorized with regard to not only their type of production, but also the

degree of respective inequality and stratification among the inhabitants with regard to landholding, income as well as relations of labour. As such, not only the çiftlik-owners from the higher echelons, but also those from lower socio-economic positions will be included into the picture and they will be compared to the richest segments of the peasantry holding significant tracts of land and hiring wage labourers and sharecroppers. The spatial distribution of different types of çiftliks and villages, the relationship between specialization of production and topographical conditions, and the reciprocal relations between different settlements in different topographies, such as lowlands and highlands, will be addressed.

While their enormous scope and detail make the income survey registers an invaluable source for Ottoman history-writing, like all archival material, they come with their own problems. First and foremost, one of the main handicaps of these sources is the absence of information on expenditure which would make an analysis of the net revenue of various production units possible; as such, they are not the best sources to consult for the purposes of an accounting perspective.[183] However, the existence of information on immovable and some forms of movable property, the distribution of different forms of labour as well as the related information on wages, rents and sharecropping arrangements within the çiftliks and villages alike make up for the aforementioned handicaps of the income surveys by providing a rather broad-scale analysis. Accordingly, it is possible to draw the general contours of the rural landscape through these sources going beyond the confines of the çiftliks themselves.[184]

[183] As such, these sources contain information on inflow (in terms of income and production) within a year (as well as the guesses for the following year) without much regard to the outflow (expenses), with the exception of taxes. It is only in rare instances that some expenses, such as "*vakıf mesarifi*", or rent paid for agricultural land, are mentioned. These cases remain to be, however, exception rather than rule.

[184] As such, the real strength of these sources is to be found on a relational level.

Another possible problem with the income survey registers is that they were produced by the state for specific purposes. As such, beyond the well-known problems with these sources already well-expounded in the literature, the particular mode of registration which defined a household with an identifiable patriarch as the main unit of economic activity and taxation, as a rule, ignores various forms of communal relations and activities long-established in the rural context; the standardization of the registration through the monetary expression of all calculations of economic activity, whereby the real-life difference between kind and cash becomes obscured, the so-called extra-economic relations between landowners and cultivators, between the wealthier peasants and the landless labourers, are lost from sight to a considerable extent, and maybe the most critical question -the question of the historical origins of the differentiation between "çiftliks" and "villages"- are left unanswered.[185] Also, the large geographical scope of these sources is compromised by their temporal limitation. In order to enrich the resulting picture and include in the analysis the dynamics at work in rural society, a selection of additional archival sources, such as legal/administrative texts, petitions, and investigation reports, from an extended time period, will be combined with the analysis of the income survey registers of the mid-19th century. As such, various dynamics of the rural society, which were obscured in the income survey registers, such as restrictions on peasant mobility, instances of bonded labour, rural poverty, peasant indebtedness, appropriation of peasant land and turning of villages into çiftliks, and some instances of communal forms of land use, will be integrated into the analysis. As such, the present thesis can be seen as an attempt to portray the rural society of the Ottoman

[185] In this way, the existing reality is organized and structured through the registration procedure and it is through the lens of such organization and structuring that the information on rural life reaches to the researcher. In other words, the data obtained from the income survey registers can be seen as a curious mixture of fact and fiction –which remains to be, in the end, the truth for almost all historical documents, even more so for those produced by official establishments.

Balkans from as many angles as possible by focusing on a selection of three districts -Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe.[186]

The analysis of the income survey registers constitutes a significant part of this thesis. Therefore, the research on the income survey registers started with structuring the data obtained from the sources. In the registers, the central division was based on settlement units; then, households were registered one by one in each settlement. For example, the part apportioned to the settlement of Bukovo in the relevant defter started with the general introductory statement of "*kaza-yı mezbur kurasından Bukovo karyesinde mütemekkin reayanın emlak ve arazi ve hayvanat ve temettuatları mikdarı*". Entries of information for each household in the settlement followed this introduction.

Because a general coding system whereby all of the entries, i.e., households, could be indicated based on unique IDs was needed to prepare a master dataset, the following procedure was followed. Since settlement units are registered in big chunks of defters, a system of coding whereby each settlement is identified with reference to the defter it is registered in has been developed. For example, the settlement of Bukovo is registered in the defter titled ML.VRD.TMT.d.11445. Accordingly, the code of this defter (11445) constituted the beginning of the settlement code. Then, the order of the settlement in the defter it is registered in is added to the code of the defter. For example, Bukovo is the 34th settlement in the defter titled ML.VRD.TMT.d.11445. Thus, the general settlement code for Bukovo is 11445.34.

[186] Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe were defined as districts ("*kaza*"), part of the *eyalet* of Rumelia in the income survey registers of the mid-19th century. These districts are located in North Macedonia today. For a brief overview of the geography, climate, and administrative division of "Vardar Makedonyası": Hacısalihoğlu, "Makedonya." Also see: İnalcık, "Rumeli"; Prifti, "Manastır"; Stoyanovski, *XVII. Yüzyılın Sonuna Kadar Makedonya'nın Osmanlı Hakimiyeti Devrinde Idarî Taksimatı*; Kiel, "İştip"; Kiel, "Pirlepe."

During the research, it was observed that there were often multiple forms of rural organization in each settlement. Being in the rural universe, these "settlements" were almost always defined as villages ("*karye*"). In some cases, these settlements were perfect "villages" where only "independent" peasants resided, and no specific çiftlik-related activity existed. In other cases, a settlement perfectly corresponded to a çiftlik; in other words, the settlement itself constituted a çiftlik per se. Sometimes, multiple çiftliks coexisted within the same settlement. In the remaining cases, however, single or multiple çiftliks existed side by side with a body of "independent" peasants. As such, a settlement could be a pure village, a pure çiftlik, or a mixture of the two, while the majority of the çiftliks were embedded in villages and identified as part of a village in the districts under study. Accordingly, all of these forms of rural organization are broadly defined as "rural settlements," and referred to in the remaining of the thesis simply as "settlements."[187] In order to differentiate between these different forms of organization within the same settlement as well as across settlements, village, and çiftlik formations have been identified with reference to the relations of property and labor they are engaged. For settlements with multiple sub-divisions, the households which displayed no relationship to a çiftlik-owner -whether it takes the form of sharecropping, wage labour, or renting out of land and house- have been assigned to the category of the village -which indicates, in this context, a certain degree of independent activity in terms of agricultural production and labour relations. In other words, the main division has been between çiftlik and non-çiftlik categories in rural society. In this sense, the rural landscape has been divided into çiftlik and non-çiftlik spheres of existence, the latter having been defined as "villages"

[187] In "settlements" consisting of multiple forms of organization, some of the formulations of the settlement explanation are as follows: "Kaza-yı mezbur kurasından X karyesinin sahib-i alakasının arazisi ile mütemekkin reaya"; "kaza-yı mezbur kurasından X karyesi çiftliği sahib-i alakası"; "kaza-yı mezbur kurasından X karyesinde mütemekkin reayasıyla sahib-i alakası"; "kaza-yı mezbur kurasından X karyesi çiftliği emlağı ve mütemekkin reayası."

for practical purposes.[188] As such, the specific figures of çiftlik-owners, all of whom were landowners who utilized the productive capacity of their land under various forms of labour arrangements and resided in places other than their çiftlik, have been utilized as the main line of organization to identify the specific çiftliks of the districts.[189] As such, a total of 1300 çiftliks have been identified with reference to the figures of çiftlik-owners in the three districts under study.[190] Out of 400 settlements under analysis, 89 consisted solely of çiftliks, 142 were pure villages[191], and the remaining settlements contained both forms. The settlement information of all the districts is indicated Table 1.

Table 1. Settlements of Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe: Number of Çiftliks and Villages

Manastır		İştip		Pirlepe	
Number of settlements	104	Number of settlements	152	Number of settlements	144
Number of çiftliks	587	Number of çiftliks	361	Number of çiftliks	352
Pure çiftliks (Çiftlik settlements)	27	Pure çiftliks (Çiftlik settlements)	40	Pure çiftliks (Çiftlik settlements)	22
Pure villages (Village settlements)	25	Pure villages (Village settlements)	53	Pure villages (Village settlements)	64
Mixed settlements (Çiftliks and villages)	52	Mixed settlements (Çiftliks and villages)	59	Mixed settlements (Çiftliks and villages)	58

[188] "*Karye* (mostly but not exclusively) referred to independent cultivator settlements, whereas *çiftlik* referred to settlements of tenant cultivators. As such, usually the term *karye* referred to free villages, and *çiftlik* referred to bonded/tenant cultivators": Terzibaşoğlu, "Landed Estates, Rural Commons and Collective Agriculture in Ottoman Niş and Leskofçe in the Nineteenth Century," 356.

[189] For some examples of the income survey registers, see: Appendix A.

[190] In some cases, the çiftlik-owners were engaged in ownership of multiple çiftliks. Furthermore, a çiftlik-owner could own two çiftliks in the very same settlement, one of which being based on sharecropping and the other being based on wage-labour as specifically defined as distinct çiftliks in the registers. Accordingly, all of these çiftliks have been calculated as individual çiftliks. A considerable degree of interaction and permeability also existed between villages and çiftliks, as will be discussed in the following chapters. A number of odd figures, who fit in neither the çiftlik nor the village category, have been left out. However, it should be noted that this group often included landowners who resided in the town centre as well as in other districts, and obtained an income from their landholdings on the basis of various forms of arrangements of labour and as such, they can be considered to be, de facto if not de jure, çiftlik-owners themselves, as long as the focus of analysis remains on the property and labour relations, and not on legal categories. Nevertheless, for the purposes of definitional clarity and standardization of the usages during the course of comparison between different districts, this group has been treated separately from the legally defined çiftlik-owners of the region. As such, the greater part of the figures in this category represents forms of labour relations rather than smallholding peasant farmers. Lastly, a small number of registers of land and property owned by religious endowments have been excluded from the analysis. Nevertheless, these cases constitute a minority and do not change the overall picture.

[191] These are pure villages in the sense that they did not contain any "çiftliks" or "çiftlik-owners". As such, these are non-çiftlik settlements which occasionally included landownership by outsiders or property ownership of religious endowments. When these are excluded, the number of pure village settlements is further reduced to 115.

In order to indicate these different forms of settlements in the organization of the data, a letter is added to the general settlement code. For example, Bukovo is a pure village, and 11445.34a is the specific settlement code assigned to this village. After the establishment of this general rule of organization, the settlement type is indicated for each household with the letter V (for village) and Ç (for çiftlik).[192] Table 2 displays the information on a household resident in settlement of Bukovo, which is the 34th settlement in the defter titled ML.VRD.TMT.d.11445. Bukovo is a pure village and hence, contains only one form. Therefore, the settlement code of the village of Bukovo is 11445.34a.[193] In this village, the unique ID assigned to the 21st entry (or household)[194] is indicated as 11445.34a.N21, with the settlement type of this household being a village (the letter V). Table 3 displays a sample of the resulting ordering of the dataset.

Table 2. The Coding System of Settlements and Households (Income Survey Registers)

The code of the defter	ML.VRD.TMT.d.11445
General Settlement Code	11445.34
Settlement Code	11445.34a
ID	11445.34a.N21
Settlement type	V

[192] The çiftlik-related households have been further categorized based on the type of labor employed, as will be discussed in detail in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.
[193] If there was a çiftlik registered after this village, it would be labeled as 11445.34b.
[194] The households under question seem to be at least extended families. The problem with the registers in relation to population calculation is: In the cases where all the members of a registered peasant household are engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry, then only the existence of the household patriarch is indicated; it is only when other sources of income, such as engagement in wage-labour, transportation or crafts, enter the picture, then the existence of various members of the households under question, including sons, grandsons, sons-in-law, nephews etc., become visible. Accordingly, the household has been taken as the main unit of analysis.

Table 3. Example of the Coding System of Settlements and Households (Income Survey Registers)

ID	Settlement Code	Settlement Type
11445.34.N21	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N22	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N23	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N24	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N25	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N26	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N27	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N28	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N29	11445.34a	V

In the dataset, each entry -or row- constitutes a household, and the relevant data is registered accordingly. Therefore, the categories of information are organized in columns (a column for the number of oxen, a column for the rent obtained from leased-out stores, etc.). After the organization of the master dataset, the calculations mostly took the form of retrieving the dataset that will be used in the specific calculation, re-ordering of entries, and summing of columns. After the results are displayed in tables, charts and graphs have been created for a better visual representation.[195] The resulting framework has constituted the backbone of the organization of the data retrieved from the income survey registers. The same procedure was repeated for the analysis of all three districts.

The following *defters* of income survey registers contain the information on the rural settlements of Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe: For Manastır, the *defter*s titled ML.VRD.TMT. d.11445 (1321 pages) and ML.VRD.TMT.d.17545 (818 pages), containing information on around 6300 households and 104 settlements with various subdivisions of villages and çiftliks; for the district of İştip, the *defters* titled ML.VRD.TMT.d.11422 (806 pages), ML.VRD.TMT.d.11423 (780 pages) and ML.VRD.TMT.d.11424 (696 pages), containing information on around 5300

[195] In order to show how the raw data in the temettuat registers is processed, step-by-step examples of the calculation processes are provided in Appendix B.

households and 152 settlements with various subdivisions of villages and çiftliks; for the district of Pirlepe, the *defters* titled ML.VRD.TMT.d.11448 (184 pages), ML.VRD.TMT.d.11449 (463 pages), ML.VRD.TMT.d.11450 (427 pages), containing information on around 4800 households and 144 settlements with various sub-divisions of villages and çiftliks. The resulting dataset contains information on around 16500 households and 400 settlements with various sub-divisions of villages and çiftliks. Therefore, the transcription, standardization, and analysis of these *defters* have constituted the main body of archival research and the main pillars of the design of the present analysis.

Lastly, the following discussion on the dynamics of rural processes has been conducted based on a wide range of archival materials. A compilation of sources, including legal cases, investigation reports, and bureaucratic correspondence, have been brought together and organized thematically with reference to the common processes going on in all three districts under study with varying degrees.

CHAPTER 3

AGRARIAN CLASS RELATIONS IN THE OTTOMAN BALKANS: *ÇİFTLİKS* AND VILLAGES, LANDOWNERS AND RURAL PRODUCERS IN MANASTIR (MID-19TH CENTURY)

The analysis of the district of Manastır, a *kaza* of the *eyalet* of Rumelia in the mid-19th century[196], centers on the *defters* titled ML.VRD.TMT. d. 11445 and ML.VRD.TMT. d. 17545, which contain information on the rural settlements of the district.[197] These two *defters*, comprising 2139 pages and containing information on more than 6000 households residing and producing in more than 100 settlements with various sub-divisions of villages and çiftliks, have been analyzed with the main focus being on patterns of ownership and forms of labour to develop an analysis of economic and social relations prevalent in the district of Manastır in the mid-19th century.

[196] For a brief introduction to Manastır: Prifti, "Manastır." For the classic study on the question of çiftliks of Manastır, see: McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800*. For a discussion on the economic and social characteristics of the çiftlik-owners of Manastır, see: Ursinus, "The *Çiftlik Sahibleri* of Manastır as a Local Elite, Late Seventeenth to Early Nineteenth century"; Atuk, "Manastır Vilayetinde Yönetim ve Yerel Meclisler." Also see: Çayırlı, "Osmanlı İdaresinde Manastır (Bitola)"; Çağ, *16. ve 17. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Hakimiyetinde Manastır*; Alimoski, *Temettüat Defterlerine Göre Manastır Merkez Kazasının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu;* Öztunç, *Tanzimat Döneminde Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yönleriyle Manastır Şehri*; Demirkol, *XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Manastır*. For a number of cases including inheritance, sale and transfer of property as well as land disputes in the *sijils* of Manastır in the 17th and 18th centuries, see: Özcan, *8 Numaralı Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin (65-120 Varak) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi*; Erikçi, *8 Numaralı Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin (1-64. Varak) Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi (H.1050- 1051/M.1640-1642);* Gözcü, *25 Nolu Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi (H.1050- 1051/M.1640-1642)*; Kavgacı, *63 Numaralı Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi (1778-1782)*; Coşkun, *103 Numaralı Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi (1835-1837)*.

[197] While the first defter is located in the volume 7 of the ML.VRD.TMT.d collection, which contains registers of districts from Rumelia and remains to be the proper place for the registers of Manastır, defter 17545 has been found among the *muhtelif* section of the collection. This latter defter, however, has turned out to be very important for the research as it is the one that contains the majority of çiftlik entries of the district.



Figure 2. Dragor River, Manastır[198]

This chapter will start with a general introduction to the district, focusing on a series of comparisons between the çiftliks and villages of the region to draw a general portrait of the rural landscape. Then, the villages of the district will be examined in detail. Lastly, a general typology of the çiftliks will be introduced based on the forms of labour employed, to provide a detailed exposition of each type in a comparative perspective. Throughout this analysis, themes of property ownership and forms of labour will be the main pillars for the exposition of the data retrieved from the temettuat registers of the district of Manastır.

[198] "Vue de Dragor a Monastir = Manastır'da Dragor Deresi boyu / edit: Anastase G. Zalli": AK. KRT. 78/1906.

3.1 Çiftliks and villages: The socio-economic landscape of rural Manastır in the mid-19th century

3.1.1 Rural population and patterns of settlement

Figure 3 displays the distribution of rural population, calculated based on the number of households due to the nature of the survey registers, between çiftliks and villages. In the calculations, only local rural producers are taken into account while çiftlik-owners, who mostly reside in the central town of Manastır as well as in other districts, have been excluded. As such, this chart displays the distribution of the rural residents themselves.

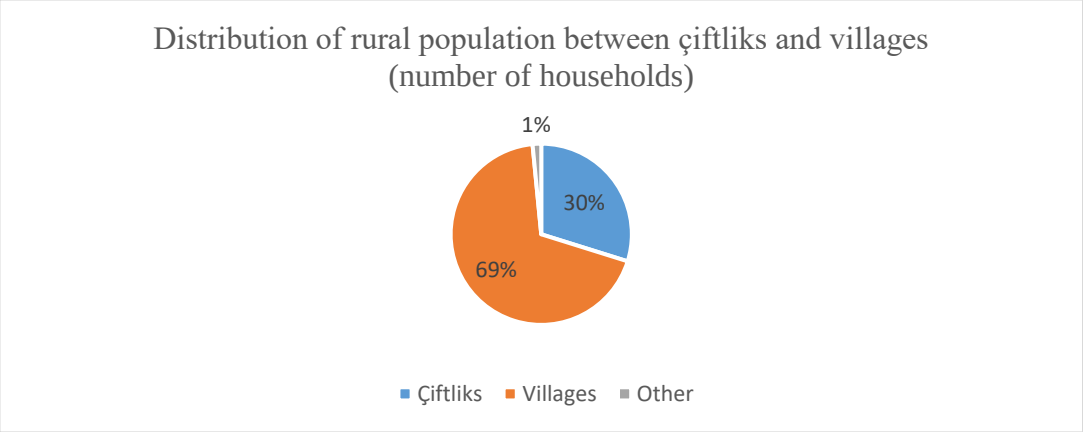

Figure 3. Distribution of rural population between çiftliks and villages of Manastır

The temettuat registers display that around one-third of the whole rural population (1722 households) resided in 587 çiftliks in the district of Manastır in the mid-19th century.[199] In contrast, 3962 households, constituting 69% of the rural population,

[199] Ursinus estimates that "by 1710, at the very least, almost a third of the adult male population must already have been living on çiftliks … rather than in 'free' … villages": Ursinus, "The *Çiftlik Sahibleri* of Manastır as a Local Elite, Late Seventeenth to Early Nineteenth century," 251. For 1710, Demirkol estimates the existence of 1247 non-Muslim çiftlik residents as against 2097 non-Muslim village residents under the obligation to pay taxes: Demirkol, *XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Manastır,* 39. In 1721, 285 çiftlik-owners are identified in the city-registers: Ibid, 41. In 1728, 426 çiftliks and 1005 çiftlik-residing families have been identified: Ibid, 198. In 1734, 1087 families working in 454 çiftliks have been identified: Ibid, 206. In general, the total number of çiftliks (240) in the beginning of 1700s seems to have almost doubled up to 450 by the 1750s: Ibid, 215.

lived in the villages. As will be discussed in detail below[200], because the group residing in the çiftliks consisted of mostly landless and often houseless rural producers[201] - beyond the existence of a landless labour force in the villages - it seems safe to argue in the beginning that more than one-third of the rural population resident in the district of Manastır was dispossessed of their main tool of production, i.e. land, and are engaged in relations of labour arrangements different than those of small peasant farming which is ideally based on the exclusive use of family-labour and has a self-sustaining character. As such, the group of çiftlik-owners, as the holders of the main means of production, i.e. land, in an agrarian economy, directly controlled the labour-capacity of one-third of the district population which lacked such means.[202]

While the previous calculations of distribution of rural households among çiftliks and villages treated the data as totalities and the region as a spatially homogeneous entity, this is in fact far from the truth. On the contrary, specific loci of concentration regarding village and çiftliks formations in each settlement can be identified.

Table 4 demonstrates the relative weight of çiftliks, on the basis of the ratio of households engaged in production for çiftliks (i.e. number of çiftlik households / total number of households) within each settlement as indicated in a value range

[200] See: Section 3.3.

[201] With regard to landholding, this position of producers is especially striking concerning fields where grain production is conducted while most of the rural residents hold a small parcel of vineyard, mostly ranging from 0.5 to 1 dönüm. A detailed exposition of the patterns of landownership will be provided in the following parts. With regard to housing, of the 1722 households residing in the çiftliks, around 1500 have been found to have been specifically mentioned to dwell in the houses of their çiftlik-owners ("ağası hanesinde mütemekkin, X hanesinde mütemekkin etc.) while around 55 of these households are indicated to rent their houses. The tenants of houses are mostly wage labourers rather than sharecroppers in the case of which provision of free lodging seems to be the norm. Lastly, 133 households have been additionally noted to own no land, house or property whatsoever. Also, about 75 households residing in the villages are noted to dwell in the houses of other villagers or landowners working for the latter while around 500 households are noted to own no land and/or a house.

[202] The mechanisms and processes behind the emergence of such dispossession will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

from 0 to 1. Here, 0 indicates non-existence of çiftliks and a "perfect" village while 1 indicates all-embracing çiftlik-activity and utter absence of independent farmers.[203] The results of the distribution of these different types are displayed in detail in Figures 4, 5, and 6.

Table 4. Number of Settlements and Resident Households by the Level of Çiftlik Formation in Manastır

Level of çiftlik formation	Number of settlements	Percentage	Number of households	Percentage
1	27	26%	603	10%
0.5 - 0.97	30	29%	1034	18%
0.02 - 0.47	22	21%	1393	24%
0	25	24%	2781	48%

Figure 4 demonstrates the specific place assigned to each settlement in the district with regard to the level of çiftlik formation whereby perfect villages, perfect çiftliks and areas of transition in between are displayed. Figure 5 displays the distribution of settlements on the basis of their level of çiftlik formation. In the district of Manastır, 26% of all settlements can be defined as perfect çiftliks and 29% as çiftlik-dominated formations while 24% of them can be defined as perfect villages and 21% as village-dominated settlements. Figure 6 shows the distribution of the population among the settlements with different levels of çiftlik formation. In the district of Manastır, 10% of the rural population resided in perfect çiftliks and 18% in çiftlik-dominated

[203] Even though the present calculations on çiftlik residents were made on the basis of number of households who were directly attached to a specific çiftlik-owner, there were some registers of çiftlik-owners which did not indicate any related sharecroppers' or workers' households. In such cases, the sharecroppers or wage-workers must have resided in the nearby villages and their labour relation must have had a subsidiary character to farming on their own land. Or they could have been engaged with other çiftlik-owners and could have been employed in more than one çiftlik. While this complexity of relations made the district very interesting in terms of configuration of class relations, it has made seemingly simple calculations -such as household distribution- much more difficult. As such, ignoring single-entry çiftliks as a whole would carry the peril of losing from sight a portion of çiftlik activity in the region, which would be especially problematical for its spatial representation. As a solution, such çiftlik-owner registers are counted only as çiftlik-owners in the calculations on the general distribution of çiftliks and villages while these entries are treated as single-household çiftliks in spatial representation in order to indicate the existence of çiftlik activity in a specific settlement. The observation that such entries were rather rare vis-a-vis proper çiftlik entries and they were mostly small operations performed by a single sharecropping household also enforced this choice of calculation. This procedure has been repeated for all the districts.

settlements while 48% resided in perfect villages and 24% in village-dominated settlements.

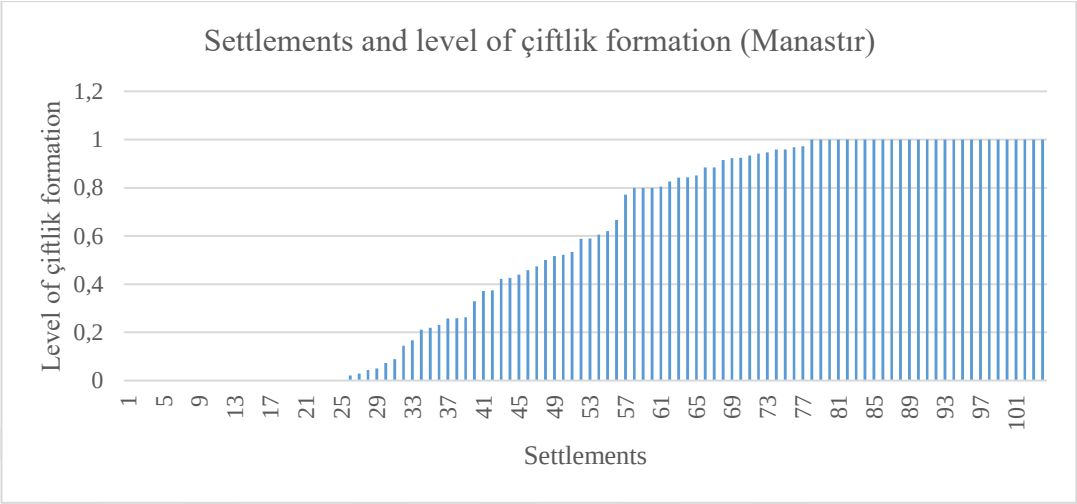

Figure 4. Distribution of settlements by level of çiftlik formation (number of households) in Manastır.

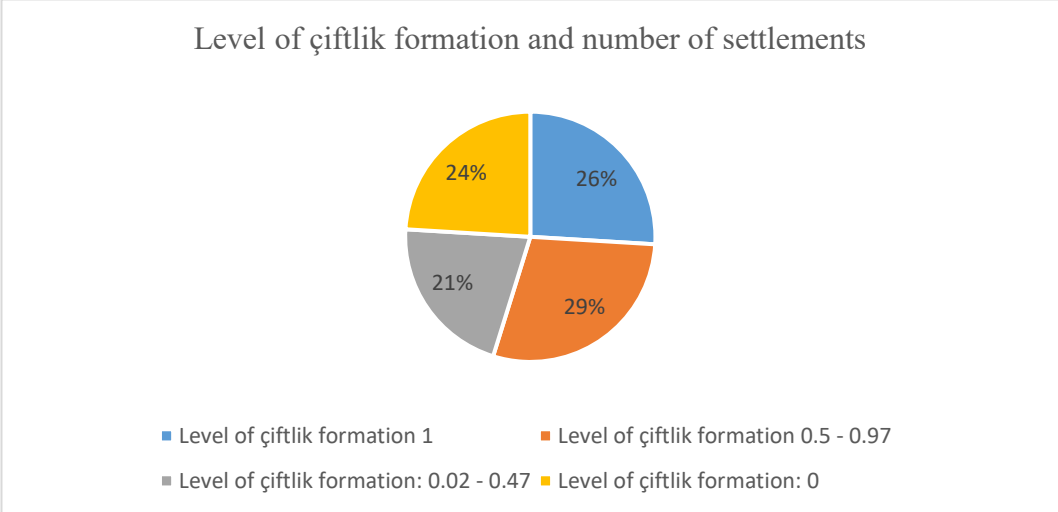

Figure 5. Level of çiftlik formation (number of households) and the settlements of Manastır.

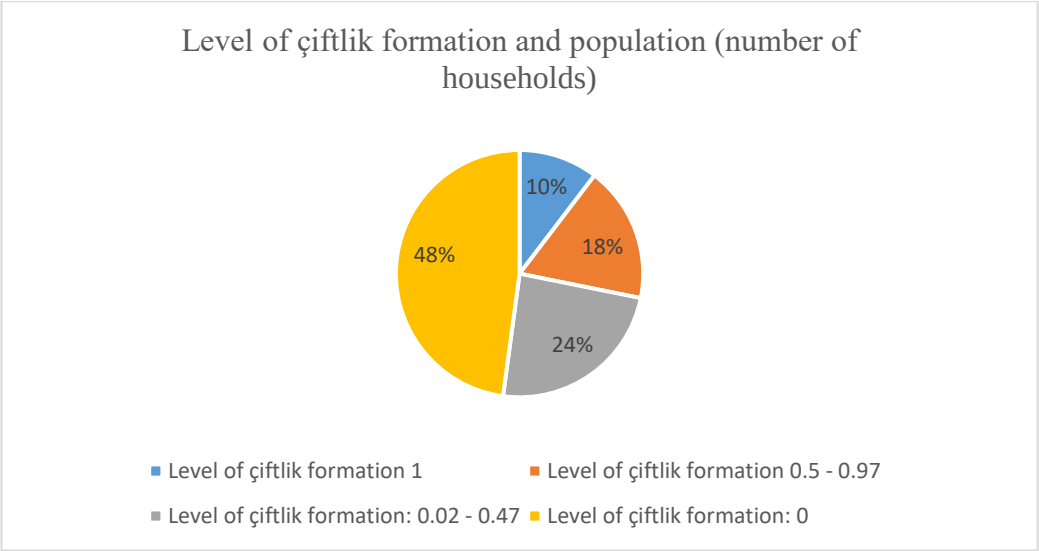

Figure 6. Level of çiftlik formation (number of households) and the population of Manastır.

Regarding all of the calculations so far, the coexistence of different types of rural residents -villagers and çiftlik workers- within the same settlement raises the question of the processes of acquisition of land and çiftlik formation. Furthermore, the data under study indicates that there is a certain degree of polarization between village and çiftlik-dominated settlements in addition to the existence of a transitional area which displays mixed features of both forms. In the face of such polarization, generalizing on the basis of a whole district by taking averages can be misleading to understand the dynamics at work. This, in turn, raises the question of whether these settlements can be shown to cluster topographically in specific places following a pattern. To answer this question and indicate the geographical distribution of different categories of settlements, their level of çiftlik formation has been used as the main index. Table 5 displays the level of çiftlik formation of each settlement while Table 6 displays the colour-coding system used in the preparation of the map

in Figure 7, which indicates the locations of different types of settlements in the district of Manastır in the mid-19th century.[204]

Table 5. Level of Çiftlik Formation (Number of Households) in the Settlements of Manastır

Level of çiftlik formation	Settlement	Level of çiftlik formation	Settlement	Level of çiftlik formation	Settlement	Level of çiftlik formation	Settlement
0	Malovista	0.02	Veluşina	0.50	Kanina, Kanino	1	Rahotin, Rotino
0	Srpce-yi sagir, Srptsi malko	0.03	Mescidlu, Mesdzidli	0.52	Holeven, Oleveni	1	Esmilove, Smolevo
0	Capari	0.04	Gradeşnica, Graeşnitsa	0.52	Trn	1	Zabjani
0	Magarevo	0.05	Porodin, Berodim	0.53	Orahovo-Morihovo, Rahovo-Muslim	1	Çekrikçi, Lagovrdi
0	Ramna	0.07	Bareşani	0.59	Bistrica, Bistritsa	1	Ruvci paşa, Pashino ruvci
0	Trnova, Trnovo	0.09	Dihovo	0.59	Radobor	1	Novoselani
0	Lera	0.14	Kleştina-yı bala, Gorno Kleines, Ano Kleines	0.61	Vakuf eğri, Gorno eğri	1	Ahmed efendi çiftliği
0	Nizopolje, Nizepole	0.17	Trnovce	0.62	Beranci	1	Ak Geceli, Vostaverica, Vasharejca
0	Brusnik	0.21	Presil	0.67	Bukri Paşa, Bukri	1	Podmol
0	Aflahce, Lavtsi	0.22	Karaman	0.77	Nospal	1	Trap, Trab
0	Bukovo	0.23	Orta epri, Sredno eğri	0.80	Pehodin-i zir, Podine-yi zir	1	Çayırlı-yı bala, Cairlija grn
0	Rahovo, Orehovo	0.26	Vakufköj, Popolzani, Pappagiannis	0.80	Vodjani, Vogjani	1	Çayırlı-yı zir, Cairlija dl
0	Ostrec	0.26	Kristofor, Kristovo, Krstoar	0.80	Çekrikçi, Lagovrdi	1	Umerler
0	Zlokukjan	0.26	Pehodin-i bala, Podine-yi bala	0.80	Opticar	1	Vlaklar
0	Dolenci	0.33	Srpce Paşa, Stari Srpci	0.83	Kravari	1	Dobromir
0	Dragos	0.37	Kleştina-yı zir, Dolno Kleines, Kato Kleines	0.84	Obrşani, Obrsani	1	Grumazi, Goromas
0	Kişovo	0.38	Eğri Paşa	0.84	Mogila	1	Suhodol, Suhodol raja, Suvodol
0	Kazani	0.42	Klabucistina, Ployplatano	0.85	Loznani	1	Baltovica, Baldanice
0	Obshirina, Opsirino, Ethniko	0.43	Negocani, Niki	0.88	Sv. Todor, İsfotodor, Sveta Todori	1	Veljeselo, Velesil
0	Rakovo, Kratero	0.44	Sv. Petka, Sveti Petka, Agija Paraskevi	0.88	İvanovica, İvanjevtsi	1	Tepavci, Tepapce
0	Buf, Akritas	0.46	Bratindol	0.92	Dobruşova	1	Gniles, Gnilesh
0	Bitusa, Paroreio	0.47	Lazec, Lajets	0.92	Lopatnice ova, Lopatnica	1	Çengel
0	Gijavat, Gjavato			0.92	Novak, Novaci, Novatsi	1	Polak, Poljak
0	Kenali, Kremenica, Kremenitsa			0.93	Pozdeş, Poeşevo	1	Skocivir
0	Belacrkova			0.94	Paralovo, Paraluk	1	Slivica
				0.95	Orizari-yi zir	1	Brdo
				0.96	Dalbejler, Dalebelovci, Dalbegovci	1	Biljanik, Bjelani
				0.96	Vranovci		
				0.97	Ribarci		
				0.97	Negotin, Gneotino		

[204] In the table below, entries highlighted in light gray indicate a degree of uncertainty of location while the entries highlighted in dark gray indicate settlements whose locations could not be found.

Table 6. Colour-Coding of the Level of Çiftlik Formation (Number of Households) in (Figure 7)

Level of çiftlik formation	Colour-coding
1	Red
0.5 - 0.97	Pink
0.02 - 0.47	Light blue
0	Dark blue

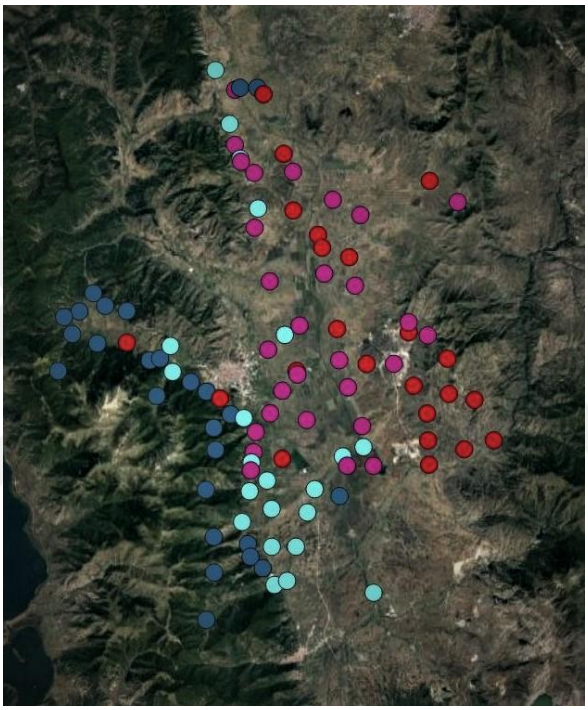

Figure 7. Level of çiftlik formation (number of households) and distribution of settlements in Manastır.

The general pattern identified in the distribution of different types of settlements displayed on the map above (Figure 7) is the tendency of the çiftliks to concentrate on the alluvial plains around the main river (Crna Reka, or Black River, which is a branch of the greater river of Vardar) branching towards the valleys to the east of the district and their conspicuous absence in the westernmost mountainous areas which are heavily crowded by villages and village-dominated settlements, lying in a north-south direction. While there are a few villages on the river basin as well, most of the

non-çiftlik formations in these locations seem to be of the village-dominated mixed-type in close proximity to the çiftliks and the çiftlik-dominated settlements, which may represent transitional forms between villages and çiftliks in their perfect forms.

Of all the settlements of pure çiftliks, 10 constitute single-*çiftlik* settlements while the remaining 17 settlements consist of multiple *çiftliks*. In the most extreme case, there are as many as 17 *çiftliks* in a single settlement of the pure *çiftlik* type. The relevant list can be seen in the table below.

Table 7. Pure Çiftliks of Manastır

Level of çiftlik formation	Settlement Name	Number of çiftlik owners / çiftliks within the settlement	Level of çiftlik formation	Settlement Name	Number of çiftlik owners / çiftliks within the settlement	Level of çiftlik formation	Settlement Name	Number of çiftlik owners / çiftliks within the settlement
1	Rahotin, Rotino	1	1	Tepavci, Tepapce	2	1	Ak Geceli, Vostaverica, Vasharejca	5
1	Esmilove, Smolevo	1	1	Gniles, Gnilesh	2	1	Podmol	6
1	Çekrikçi, Lagovrdi	1	1	Polak, Poljak	2	1	Umerler	7
1	Ahmed efendi çiftliği	1	1	Ruvci paşa, Pashino ruvci	3	1	Vlaklar	10
1	Çayırlı-yı bala, Cairlija grn	1	1	Novoselani	3	1	Suhodol, Suhodol raja, Suvodol	11
1	Grumazi, Goromas	1	1	Trap, Trab	3	1	Zabjani	14
1	Veljeselo, Velesil	1	1	Baltovica, Baldanice	3	1	Dobromir	17
1	Çengel	1	1	Brod	3			
1	Skocivir	1	1	Çayırlı-yı zir, Cairlija dl	4			
1	Slivica	1	1	Biljanik, Bjelani	4			

The map in Figure 8 displays the distribution of rural population among the settlements of Manastır. In general, the population tends to concentrate on the hilly settlements in the southwest of the district where most of the villages are located. As such, the mountain villages of Manastır are areas of high population density, while the alluvial plains, under the ownership of çiftlik-owners, are much more scarcely populated.

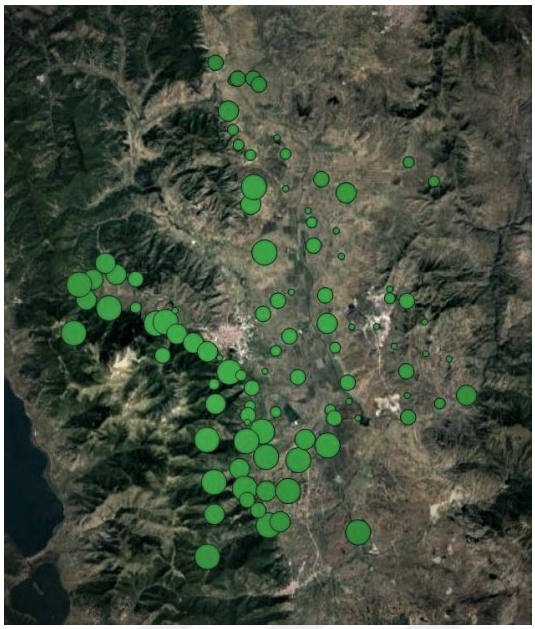

Figure 8. Distribution of rural population among settlements (based on the number of households).

Then, how much of the agricultural land in rural Manastır do the çiftlik-owners have under their command? What is the proportion between the lands in the çiftlik domains and the lands in the village domains? What proportion of the cultivable land in the çiftlik boundaries are held by the rural producers rather than by the çiftlik-owners themselves? What is the situation for the corresponding distribution of draught animals between çiftliks and villages, çiftlik-owners and rural producers?

3.1.2 Ownership of agricultural means of production

The tables below (Table 8 and Table 9) display the information on landownership by villagers, çiftlik-owners, and çiftlik workers in Manastır. Table 8 displays the distribution of landownership for each category of land among the villagers, çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers. Table 9 displays the relative weight of landownership for different types of land within each group.

Table 8. Landownership by Çiftlik-owners, Çiftlik Workers, and Villagers (Manastır) (1)

	Villagers		Çiftlik-owners		Çiftlik workers		TOTAL	
Types of land	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage
Grain fields	26118.25	26%	71763	71%	3848.3	4%	101729.55	100%
Meadow	5477.63	37%	8079	55%	1253.375	8%	14810.005	100%
Vineyard	1878.5	55%	620.925	18%	905.415	27%	3404.84	100%
Flax field	379	60%	189	30%	62.75	10%	630.75	100%
Hemp field	169.25	85%	18	9%	12.75	6%	200	100%
Vegetable garden	63.75	100%	0	0%	0	0%	63.75	100%
"Bostan tarlası"	3	15%	11.5	56%	6	29%	20.5	100%
Madder root field	5	29%	8.5	50%	3.5	21%	17	100%
Onion field	0	0%	6	100%	0	0%	6	100%
Tobacco fields	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
Winter pasture	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1	100%

Table 9. Landownership by Çiftlik-owners, Çiftlik Workers, and Villagers (Manastır) (2)

	Villagers		Çiftlik-owners		Çiftlik workers	
Types of land	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage
Grain fields	26118.25	77%	71763	89%	3848.3	63%
Meadow	5477.63	16%	8079	10%	1253.375	21%
Vineyard	1878.5	6%	620.925	1%	905.415	15%
Flax field	379	1%	189	<1%	62.75	1%
Hemp field	169.25	<1%	18	<1%	12.75	<1%
Vegetable garden	63.75	<1%	0	0%	0	0%
"Bostan tarlası"	3	<1%	11.5	<1%	6	<1%
Madder root field	5	<1%	8.5	<1%	3.5	<1%
Onion field	0	0%	6	<1%	0	0%
Tobacco fields	1	<1%	0	0%	0	0%
Winter pasture	0	0%	1	<1%	0	0%
TOTAL	34095.38	100%	80696.925	100%	6092.09	100%

In terms of relative numbers, some points worth noting here are the dominance of the çiftlik-owners in the holding of grain fields and meadows; the dominance of the villagers in the holding of gardens, tobacco fields, hemp fields and flax fields in addition to vineyards; and the humble presence of the çiftlik-workers in the holding

of vineyards and madder root fields, in addition their even humbler involvement in the holding of flax fields, meadows, hemps fields and grain fields. Nevertheless, when the question comes to absolute values, the miniscule amounts of land under the cultivation of hemp, flax, and the like, should make one cautious (even when a specific group displays complete monopoly of ownership) in making rash generalizations about the overall significance of these products for the economy as whole. This is because, as Table 9 demonstrates, the production of grains remains the backbone of the agrarian economy of the district of Manastır in terms of the size and percentage of land reserved for it, followed by meadows and vineyards, by all the groups under consideration.

Figure 9 displays the distribution of landownership of grain fields by çiftlik-owners, çiftlik workers, and villagers. In the district of Manastır, 70% of the cultivable grain fields are concentrated in the hands of a few landowners.[205]

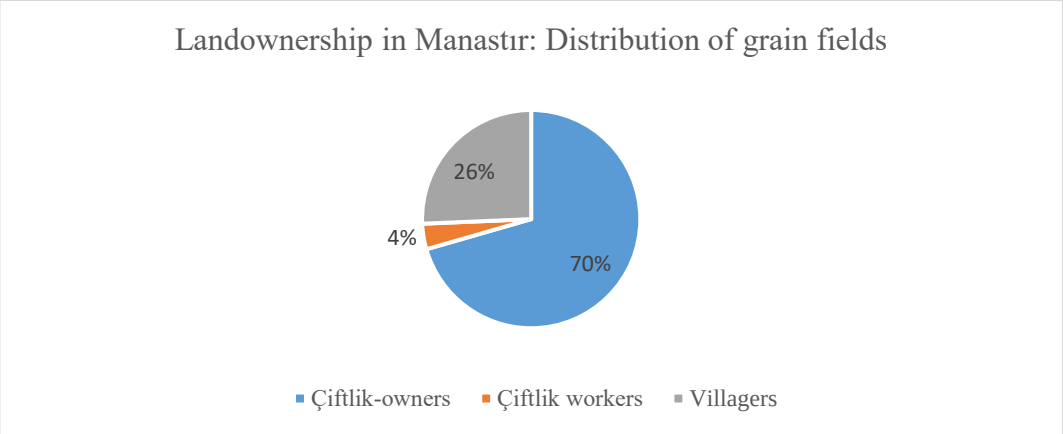

Figure 9. Distribution of landownership in Manastır.

[205] This is corroborated by other studies of the region. For example, with reference to reports, circulars, and accounts prepared by British consular officers and compiled in the body of parliamentary papers, Şevket Pamuk underlines: "Öte yandan, Selanik ve Manastır sancaklarında, büyük işletmeler ve çiftlik sistemi 19. yüzyıl boyunca egemenliğini sürdürdü Bir tahmine göre, 1859'da Manastır sancağındaki tüm topraklann dörtte üçü büyük toprakağalarının elindeydi": Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme 1820-1913*, 113.

Then, Figure 10 displays the distribution of oxen, which constitute one of the main means of production, between çiftliks and villages.[206] Here, although the concentration of land is in favor of the çiftlik areas, the distribution of oxen between the two domains remains roughly equal. Furthermore, it should be added that almost all of the oxen of the çiftliks are owned by the landless producers, as will be discussed in more detail below.[207]

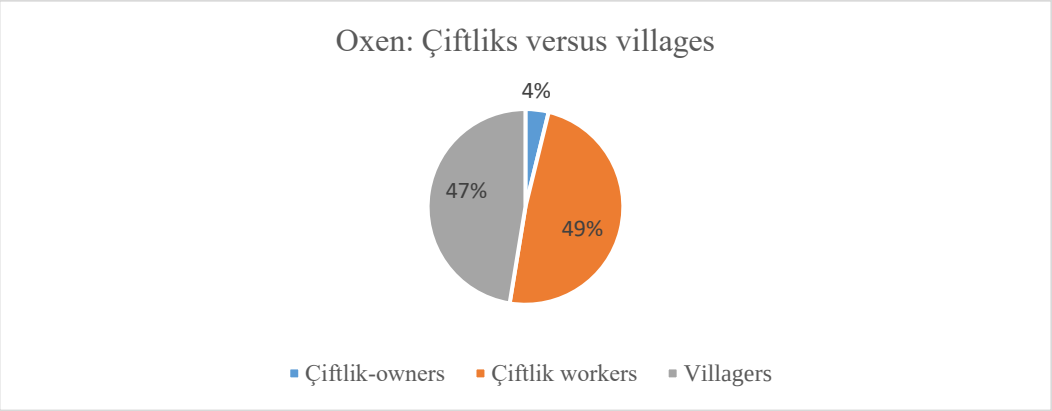

Figure 10. Distribution of oxen between çiftliks and villages in Manastır.

Figure 11 displays the distribution of factors of production, to the extent that they could be derived from the survey registers -namely, labour (in the form of potential workforce calculated on the basis of number of households), land and oxen- between çiftlik and village domains.

[206] This distribution changes only by 1% in favor of çiftlik-owners vis-a-vis çiftlik workers when all the potential draught animals are included in the calculations. This category includes "*öküz manda, manda öküzü, inek öküzü, erkek manda, kısır manda, manda, çift mandası, camuş, kısır camuş*."
[207] See: Section 3.3.

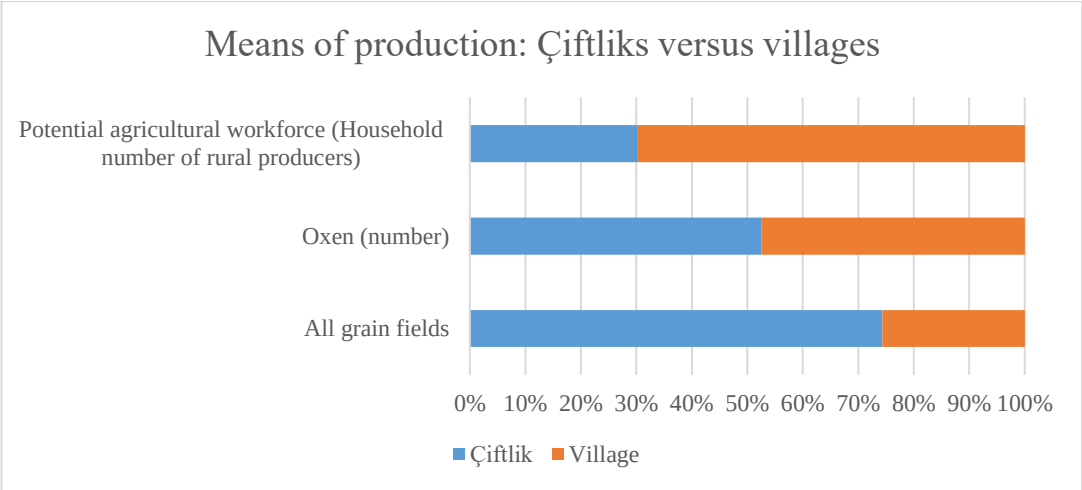

Figure 11. Means of production: Çiftliks versus villages (Manastır).

When the ownership of these factors of production is considered, the degree of their concentration in the hands of a few landholders strongly suggests the dispossession of a considerable part of the rural population (Figure 12 and Figure 13). These landowners also directly control around one-third of the total labour force in the district (i.e., çiftlik workers), who are mostly dispossessed (Figure 3). In contrast, about one-third of the population, i.e., çiftlik workers, hold around 4% of the land, indicating the dispossession of a sizeable part of the population. Yet the latter is left with the possession of half of the oxen of the district, possibly a relic from their past "peasantness," at least for a part of the sharecroppers.[208] Lastly, 69% of the rural population –that is, villagers- is left with only a quarter of the cultivable fields in the district while holding half of the oxen.

[208] See: Chapter 6 Section 5.

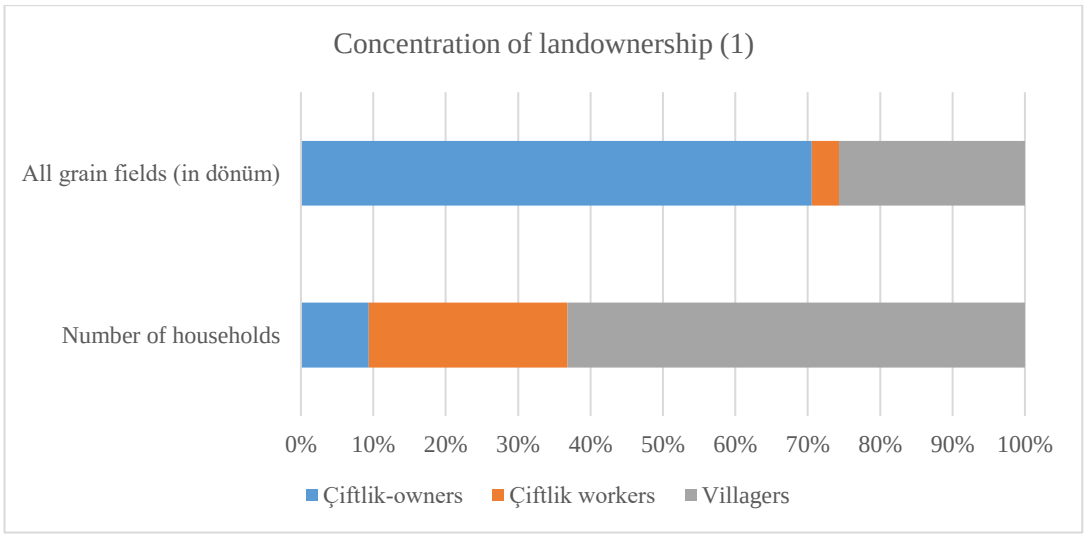

Figure 12. Concentration of landownership (1) (Manastır).

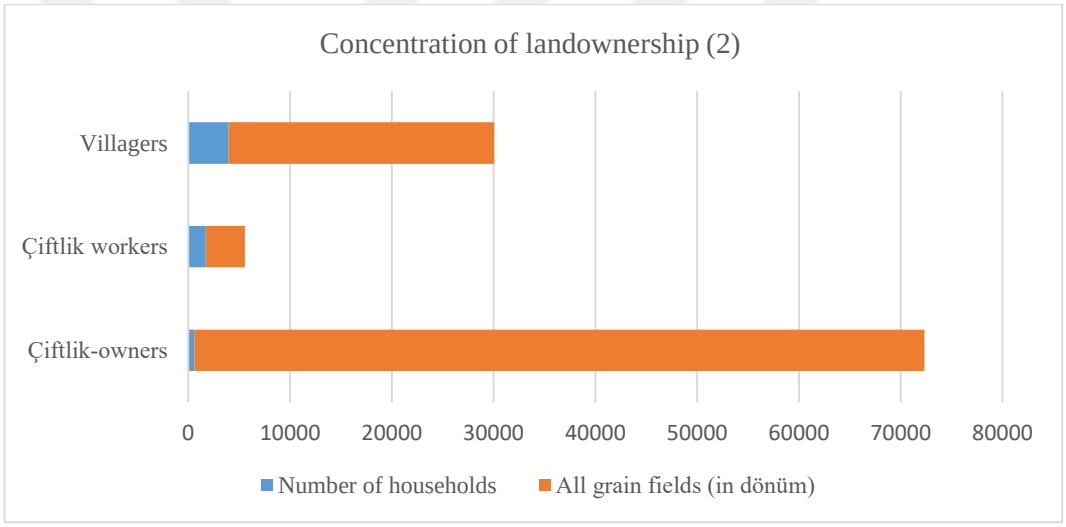

Figure 13. Concentration of landownership (2) (Manastır).

Figure 14 displays the ratio of cultivable fields owned by çiftlik-owners to all of the fields in each settlement in order to display the geographical distribution of settlements with varying degrees of çiftlik formation in terms of landownership. Here, an index has been prepared whereby the value of 0 indicates non-existence of çiftlik land and the value of 1 indicates all-encompassing existence of çiftlik land for each settlement.

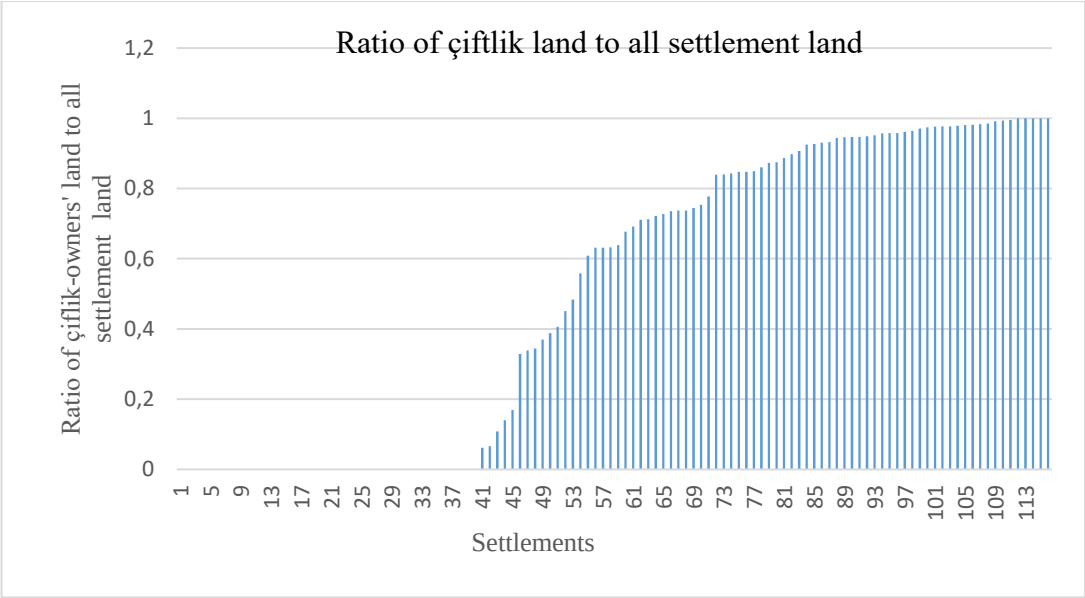

Figure 14. Ratio of çiftlik land to all settlement land (Manastır).

Each settlement is indicated in the map below in accordance with its level of çiftlik formation in terms of landownership. Here, the colour white indicates the non-existence of land owned by çiftlik-owners, the colour pink indicates the mixture of lands held by çiftlik-owners, çiftlik workers, and villagers, and the colour red indicates the all-encompassing presence of çiftlik-owner land. (Figure 15).

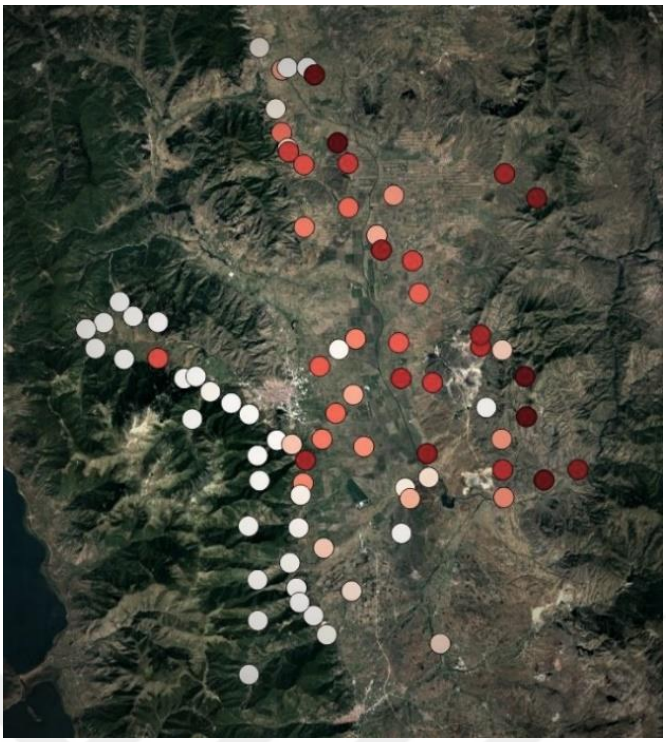

Figure 15. Distribution of settlements by landownership: Çiftliks versus villages (Manastır).

The map below (Figure 16) displays the extent of cultivable land in conjunction with the distribution of ownership by çiftlik-owners, çiftlik workers, and villagers within each settlement. The size of the pie charts indicates the size of the cultivable fields in each settlement. Within the pie charts, colour red indicates ownership by çiftlik-owners, colour blue indicates ownership by çiftlik workers, and colour green indicates ownership by villagers. While çiftliks tended to concentrate in the alluvial plains around Crna River, both forms of settlement still remained quite intertwined in general.

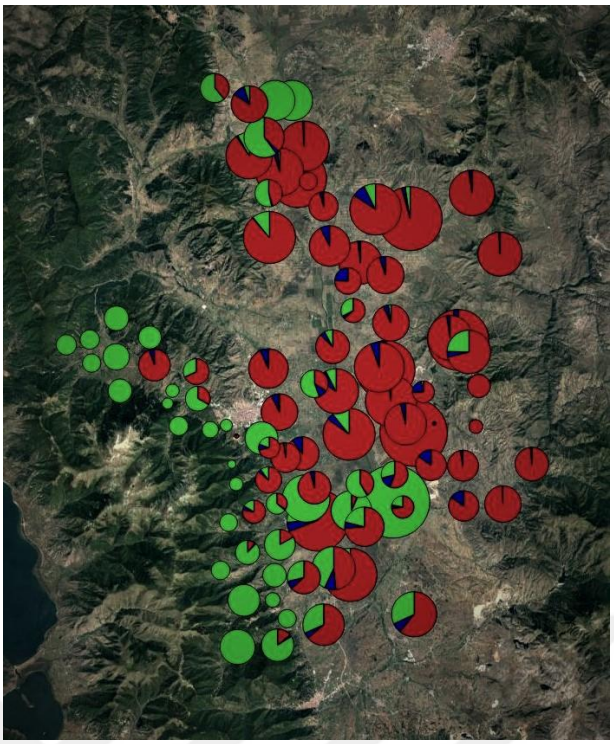

Figure 16. Distribution of land: Çiftlik-owners, çiftlik workers, and villagers of Manastır.

So far, the data has been analyzed to demonstrate that there is a significant degree of concentration of land in the district of Manastır in the mid-19th century. Here, the main framework has been the division between the villages and the çiftliks of the region, even though they are located close to each other, often within the same settlement. As such they display interaction and permeability to a considerable degree, in addition to significant variations within them.

3.1.3 Sources of income

Table 8 demonstrates the rural income sources and their distribution in the district of Manastır as a whole, underlining the importance of agricultural production in general. Here, agricultural production and sharecropping encompass both peasant production (including peasant production with and without the employment of additional wage-

labour) and various forms of production in çiftliks Agricultural production is followed by animal husbandry, textile-related activities, and agricultural wage-labour.

Table 10. Income Sources of Manastır

Income sources	In kuruş	Percentage
Agricultural production	2074722.25	40%
Sharecropping (main)	1773670.39	34%
Animal-husbandry	353555.5	7%
Textile-related activities	228545	4%
Agricultural wage-labour	223168	4%
Transport and/or provision of charcoal and wood	119785	2%
Crafts / sale of items / services	97257.5	2%
Carpentry / construction	61880	1%
Transport	53167	1%
Rent	48171.5	1%
Trade	40620	1%
External sources of income	38738.875	1%
Goldsmith	27790	1%
Other	25053.75	<1%
Animal husbandary-related wage-labour	21273.5	<1%
Professional positions	20415.5	<1%
Milling	20060	<1%
Military positions	10211	<1%
Moneychanging	3300	<1%
TOTAL	5241384.77	100%

The following tables (Table 11 and Table 12) display the distribution of different branches of agricultural activity in terms of different types of land (in dönüm) and income obtained from them (in kuruş) in aggregates on çiftlik and village lands. Here,

the focus is on active production, and hence, only lands under cultivation, creating an income for the owner, have been taken into account.[209]

Table 11. Agricultural Production in Manastır: Çiftliks versus Villages (1)

	VILLAGE				ÇİFTLİK			
Types of land	Dönüm	Percentage	Revenue	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Revenue	Percentage
Grain fields	20303.75	76%	1304692.75	75%	69154.5	88%	1883882.75	83%
Meadow	4321.75	16%	180519	10%	7829.625	10%	200037.5	9%
Vineyard	1474.5	6%	148759	9%	1104.275	1%	121584.5	5%
Flax field	379.5	1%	83852.5	5%	251.75	<1%	42125	2%
Hemp field	169.25	1%	12287.5	1%	30.75	<1%	4150	<1%
Vegetable garden	61.125	<1%	17636	1%	0	0%	0	0%
Madder root field	5	<1%	1175	<1%	12	<1%	2150	<1%
"Bostan tarlası"	3	<1%	800	<1%	23.5	<1%	3755	<1%
Tobacco fields	1	<1%	150	<1%	0	0%	0	0%
Onion field	0	0%	0	0%	6	<1%	400	<1%
TOTAL	26718.875	100%	1749871.75	100%	78412.4	100%	2258084.75	100%

As can be observed in Table 11, the grain fields located in the villages, constituting around three-quarters of all types of village lands registered in the sources, produce an income which comprises of the greater part of the total agricultural income of the villages. This is followed by meadows, and then by vineyards, flax fields, and hemp fields in terms of revenue generated by these lands. As for the çiftliks, 88% of all lands are constituted by grain fields, which produce 83% of the total agricultural income, and followed by meadows and then vineyards and flax fields.[210] As such, the usual trinity of grain fields-meadows-vineyards is here completed by flax and hemp

[209] Rented lands have been taken into account while leased out and uncultivated lands have been excluded since they do not produce agricultural revenue directly for the owner.

[210] From 1789 onwards, the production of wheat took priority in agricultural production, which remained to be dominant into the 19th century in the district of Manastır, especially in the central plain area: McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800,* 134-135. Furthermore, "it seems likely that Manastır, aside from its own local needs, functioned economically within the Macedonian environment as an area which forwarded wheat surpluses to other zones" through export centers such as Salonica and Serres which were also “heavily involved in production of export commodities”: Ibid, 135. Furthermore, McGowan underlines that there is no evidence for the production of cotton or tobacco in the 18th century (Ibid, 134-135) which has turned out to be a trend to continue right into the mid-19th century as well.

production in both cases, which is understandable considering the prevalence of various forms of textile production in some of the settlements of the district.[211]

Table 12. Agricultural Production in Manastır: Çiftliks versus Villages (2)

	VILLAGE				ÇİFTLİK						
Types of land	Dönüm	Percentage	Revenue	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Revenue	Percentage	TOTAL (Dönüm)	TOTAL (Revenue)	TOTAL
Grain fields	20303.75	23%	1304692.75	41%	69154.5	77%	1883882.75	59%	89458.25	3188575.50	100%
Meadow	4321.75	36%	180519	47%	7829.625	64%	200037.5	53%	12151.38	380556.50	100%
Vineyard	1474.5	57%	148759	55%	1104.275	43%	121584.5	45%	2578.78	270343.50	100%
Flax field	379.5	60%	83852.5	67%	251.75	40%	42125	33%	631.25	125977.50	100%
Hemp field	169.25	85%	12287.5	75%	30.75	15%	4150	25%	200.00	16437.50	100%
Vegetable garden	61.125	100%	17636	100%	0	0%	0	0%	61.13	17636.00	100%
Madder root field	5	29%	1175	35%	12	71%	2150	65%	17.00	3325.00	100%
"Bostan tarlası"	3	11%	800	18%	23.5	89%	3755	82%	26.50	4555.00	100%
Tobacco fields	1	100%	150	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1.00	150.00	100%
Onion field	0	0%	0	0%	6	100%	400	100%	6.00	400.00	100%
Chestnut trees (Kestane eşcarı)	1*		20		0		0				
Blackberry trees (Eşcar-ı karadut)	8*		95		0		0				

Table 12 displays the distribution of both the amount of land and the income obtained from agricultural production among the çiftliks and the villages. In general terms, the grain fields in the villages generate a higher income per dönüm vis-à-vis çiftliks which, nevertheless, end up dominating the rural economy in terms of absolute values of agricultural production, as can be observed in Figure 17.

[211] In the income survey registers, this general category of textile production includes "terzi, terzi kalfası, terzi çırağı, bezci, abacı, abacı terzisi, gipeci, gipeci terzi kalfası, gipeci terzisi, mutafçı, mutafçı kalfası, mutafçı çırağı, mutafçı hizmetkarı, çukacı, çulcu, dikici." Weaving ("*dokumacılık*") in particular and textile in general were important branches of economic activity for the town center as well: Alimoski, *Temettüat Defterlerine Göre Manastır Merkez Kazasının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu*, 14. Initially, flax and hemp were produced for medicinal use; later, they were produced to be used in textile production, dye-making and rope-making ("*urgancılık*"): Çağ, *16. ve 17. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Hakimiyetinde Manastır,* 276.

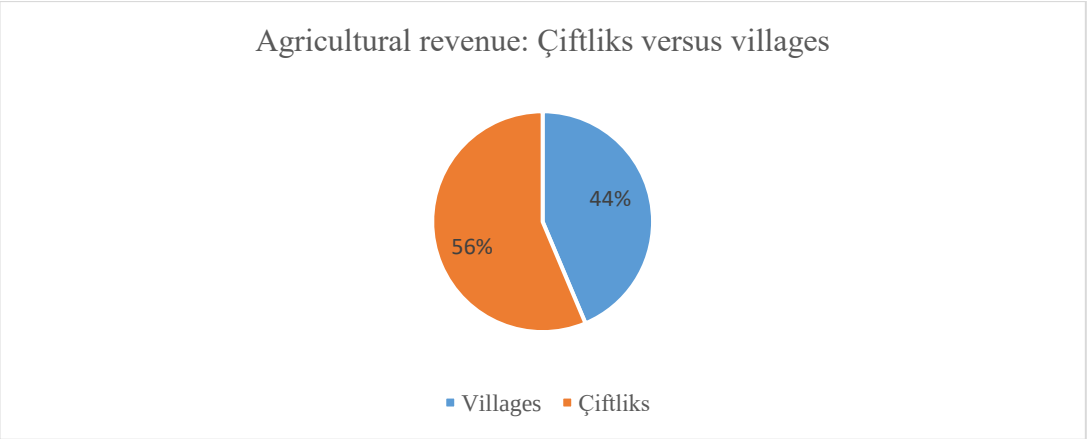

Figure 17. Agricultural revenue: Çiftliks versus villages (Manastır).

With regard to engagement in animal husbandry, while the çiftliks once again dominate in general terms, it is the workers of the çiftliks rather than the çiftlik-owners that reap the highest benefit from this activity (Figure 18).

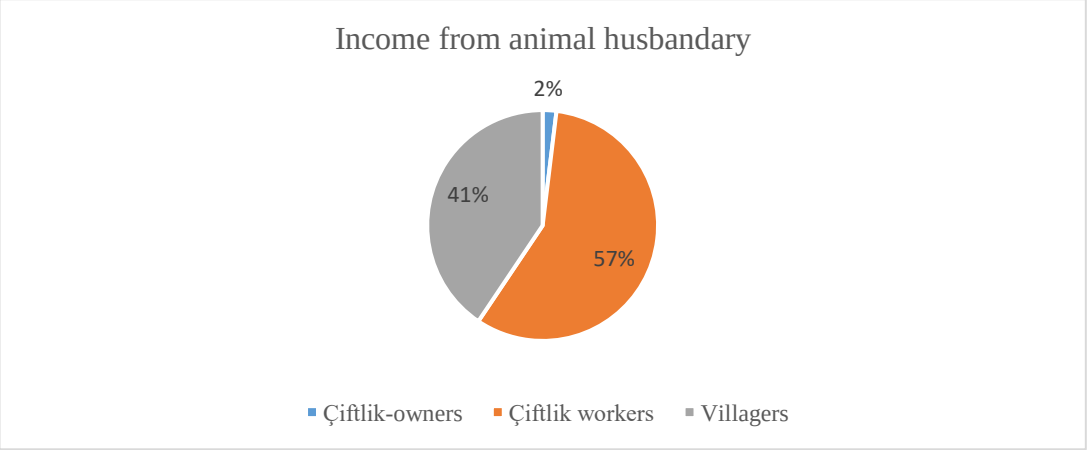

Figure 18. Income from animal husbandry: Çiftlik-owners, çiftlik workers, and villagers (Manastır).

Lastly, in order to assess the level of inequality in the distribution of land (in terms of access to land, rather than income) the following calculations were made:[212] The

[212] Such calculations are useful to the extent that they can be multiplied with many variations, making comparison across times and geographies possible. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that these are only tools that can be used only for specific purposes with various restrictions; by themselves, they can by no means explain everything. A number of studies measuring income inequality through income survey registers have been recently produced. Karaduman estimates the gini coefficient for the income distribution of Koçana based on temettuat registers as 0.44:

population[213] of the district was divided into four groups where the first group comprised the bottom 10%, the second comprised the top 10%, and the remaining population was divided into two groups, each of which comprised 40% of the rural population in terms of ownership of grain fields. On this basis, the Gini coefficient was calculated to be 0.77. The same calculation with the population divided into equal shares of 20% produced a value of 0.8. Furthermore, a calculation exclusively conducted for the village lands produced a value of 0.67 (which will be discussed in further detail in Section 3.2.2).

As such, the degree of rural inequality in terms of access to land is quite considerable in the district of Manastır in the mid-19th century even when one does not take the çiftliks into consideration. In this context, two points needs to be emphasized: Firstly, the relationship between the prevalence of inequality among the villagers in terms of distribution of land, the existence of a considerable body of landless agricultural wage-labour, and the specialization of some rural settlements, which are mostly large villages (*karye*) with many sub-divisions of quarters (*mahalle*) in textile-related activities, crafts and transportation, will be discussed in Section 3.2 on the villages. Secondly, Section 3.3.3 will discuss the presence of not

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Karaduman, *Temettuat Defterleri çerçevesinde Koçana/Üsküp kazasının sosyal ve ekonomik yapısı.* Also see: Karaduman, & Tabakoğlu, "19. Yüzyıl Temettuat Defterleri'ne Göre Üsküp/Koçana Kazası'nın Lorenz Eğrisi ve Gini Katsayısı ile Gelir Dağılımının Analizi." In the town of Sorgun in Sivas, a gini coefficient of 0.37 - 0.4 has been estimated for the inequality of income distribution: Yereli, Köktaş, & Selçuk, "Sorgun Kazası XIX. Yüzyıl Temettüat Defterleri Üzerinden Gelir Dağılımı ve Göreli Yoksulluk Üzerine Bir İnceleme." In their study on the temettuat registers of a sample of villages in İzmir, Salonica and Akşehir, Koyuncu and Küçükkalay have come up with a Gini coefficient of 0.33 – 0.34 for the income distribution of inland regions and 0.42 – 0.43 for that of commercialized areas: Koyuncu & Küçükkalay, "Global Market Orientation of the Ottoman Agriculture Sector: An Interregional Comparison." In the framework of the research project based on "tereke" registers, Canbakal refers to inequality levels of 0.70 for towns and 0.60 - 0.75 for the rural settlements in 7 areas of study from 1740 to 1840: Hülya Canbakal, "Erken Modern Dünya ve Osmanlı Topraklarında Servet ve Gelir Dağılımı", 262-263. In this context, Canbakal also raises the question of the relationship between çiftlik formation, tranformation of agrarian structures and inequality in Manastır and Manisa: Ibid, 261.

[213] Including çiftlik-owners and rural residents, i.e., everyone having an interest in the agricultural economy of the district. Outsiders holding scattered parcels of land in villages are excluded as they constitute a minority.

only old and established çiftlik-owning families of the region as well as artisans and professional groups of the town center but also çiftlik-owners with rural origins, whose meagre yet intriguing presence in the sources indicating, to some extent, the existence of rural inequality and peasant differentiation within and among the peasantry in the district of Manastır as a whole.

3.2 Villages, peasants and class relations: The question of inequality in a peasant society

3.2.1 Village population of Manastır

In order to have a general sense of the configuration of labour types in the villages, the distribution of income sources provides a point of start.[214] The graph below (Figure 19) displays this distribution according to which engagement in agricultural production constitutes the main source of income, underlining the continuing importance of agricultural production for the economy of the villages of the district as a whole. This is then followed by textile-related occupations, animal-husbandry and agricultural wage-labour, in addition to the existence of a plethora of activities.

[214] Because the official titles of occupation and labour assigned to the heads of the households by the compilers of the survey, such as *erbab-ı ziraat, erbab-ı ticaret, hizmetkar*, were not consistent and complete in the registers, they have not been used. Also, only income from the lands within the boundaries of the official places of residence have been taken into consideration.

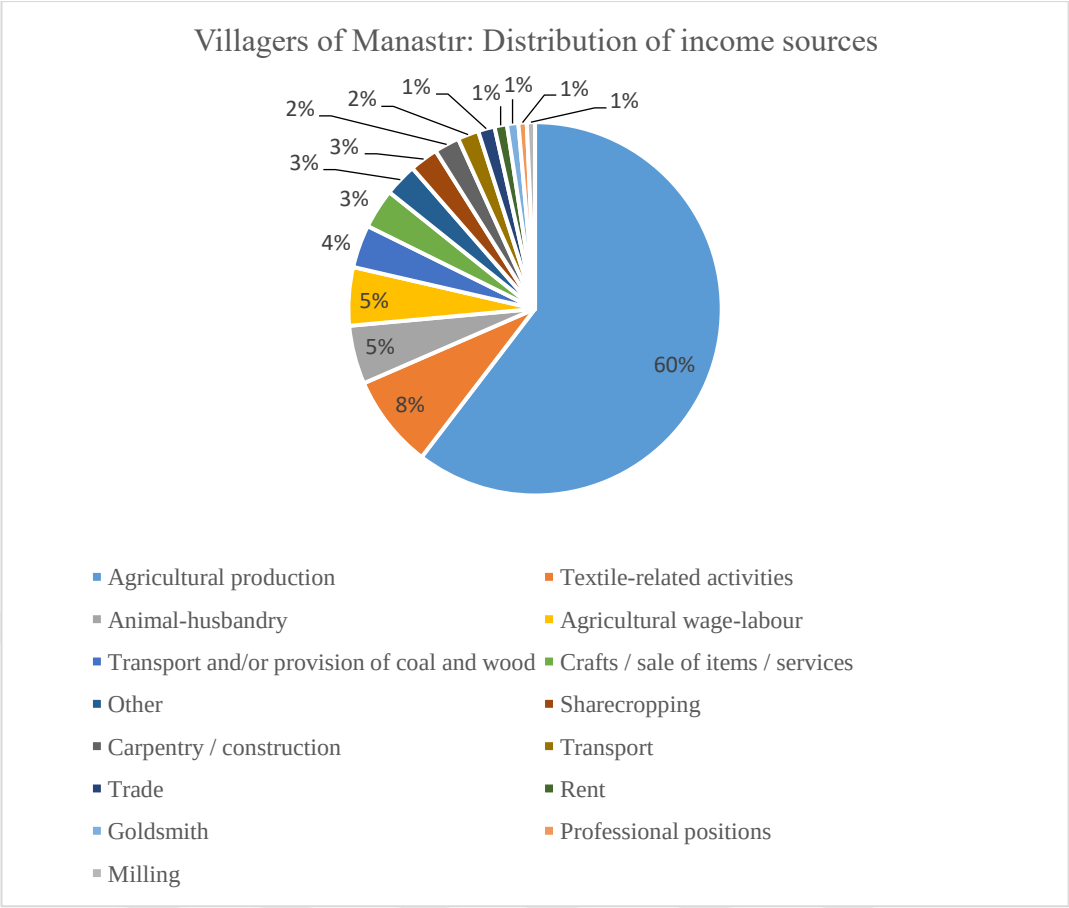


Figure 19. Villages of Manastır: Distribution of income sources.

Additionally, half of the village households obtain the main part of their income from agricultural production, followed by agricultural wage-labour and textile-related activities, as can be observed in Table 13.[215]

[215] 42 households which did not have any income registered have been excluded from the calculations. Still, there is great variety of income, rangin from 20 kuruş to more than 7000 kuruş per household.

Table 13. Distribution of Village Households by Main Source of Income

Main source of income	Number of households	Percentage
Agricultural production	2157	55%
Agricultural wage-labour	426	11%
Textile-related activities	356	9%
Transport and/or provision of charcoal and wood	171	4%
Crafts / sale of items / services	167	4%
Carpentry / construction	153	4%
Transport	82	2%
Sharecropping (main)	54	1%
External sources of income	52	1%
Animal-husbandry	51	1%
Goldsmith	48	1%
Animal-related wage-labour	43	1%
Sharecropping (secondary)	34	1%
Misc	32	1%
Professional positions	28	1%
Trade	26	1%
Milling	22	1%
Rent	9	<1%
Military positions	7	<1%
Moneychanging	2	<1%
TOTAL	3920	100%

Before moving to the details of these branches of activities, the weight of agricultural production in the villages of the district raises the central question of how agrarian production, the main source of income for the district of Manastır, is organized. In the idealized Ottoman agrarian universe, a village should mainly comprise small-holding farmers who rely on family labour and have a subsistence-oriented, self-sustaining outlook within comparatively similar conditions of life for the entire village community. How does this idealized picture compare with the actual rural conditions in the mid-19th century villages of Manastır? How can the general characteristics of the internal organization and composition of the villages be understood? The following charts and tables have been prepared to find an answer, or at least some hints at an answer, to these questions.

3.2.2 Distribution of land and the question of rural inequality

Table 14 displays the distribution of all types of land held by village residents in terms of their size. Here, it becomes further visible that the holding of grain fields leads the way in terms of economic activity, followed by that of meadows and vineyards.[216]

Table 14. Distribution of Land Types among Villagers

Types of land	Dönüm	Percentage
Grain fields	26118.25	77%
Meadow	5477.63	16%
Vineyard	1878.5	6%
Flax field	379	1%
Hemp field	169.25	<1%
Vegetable / fruit garden	66.75	<1%
Madder root field	5	<1%
Tobacco fields	1	<1%
TOTAL	34095.38	100%

Figure 20 below displays the distribution of land calculated on the basis of the ownership of grain fields among all the residents of the villages. Here, the greater majority of the farmers hold land below 20 dönüms while the same data also shows the striking difference between the small-holding peasantry as against two specific groups of landless villagers and bigger landowning peasants.

[216] Revenue also follows this trend: Grains followed by meadows and vineyards. The following information has not been included in the aforementioned table due to differences in the units of measurement: 1 unit of chestnut tree ("kestane eşcarı") held by 1 household; 8 units of blackberry trees ("eşcar-ı karadut") held by 6 households; out-of-settlement meadows of 23 units ("kıta") held by 17 households; fields of 8 units ("kıta") held by 7 households; vineyards of 9 units ("kıta") held by 9 households; garden of 1 unit ("kıta") held by 1 household. The registers also indicate the existence of a single case of communal meadow "(karye-yi mezbur mülkü çayır"), which was quite intriguing since there is no similar case in the other districts. This should largely be related to the logic behind the compilation of the registers that excluded lands under common use from the survey. This issue is discussed in relation to the question of commons in Chapter 6 Section 5.

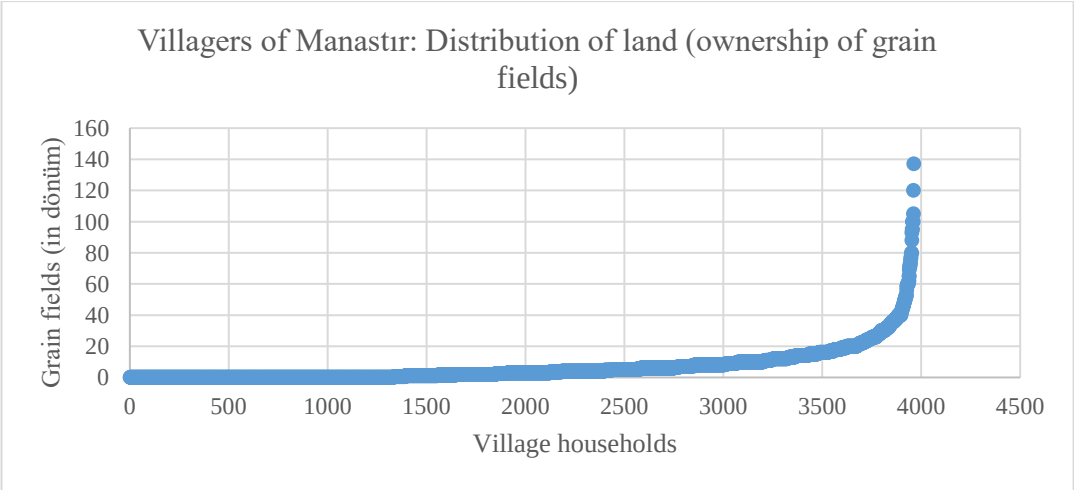


Figure 20. Villagers of Manastır: Distribution of land (1).

Table 15 treats the data on landownership in the villages in a way to demonstrate the respective part of all the grain fields held by each quarter of the village population. In the bottom group, 991 households do not hold any land. The second quarter holds either no land or land below 3 dönüms, totaling 1105 dönüms (4% of all land). The third quarter holds lands between 3 and 8 dönüms, totaling 5083 dönüms (19% of all land). Lastly, the top group holds land ranging from 8 to 137 dönüms, totaling 19930.25 dönüms (76% of all land). The graph following the table (Figure 21) visualizes this distribution.

Table 15. Distribution of Land among Villagers of Manastır (1)

Number of households	Ranges of land ownership (in dönüm)	Total (in dönüm)	Percentage
991	0 - 0	0	0%
991	0 - 3	1105	4%
990	3 - 8	5083	19%
990	8 - 137	19930.25	76%
3962		26118.25	100%

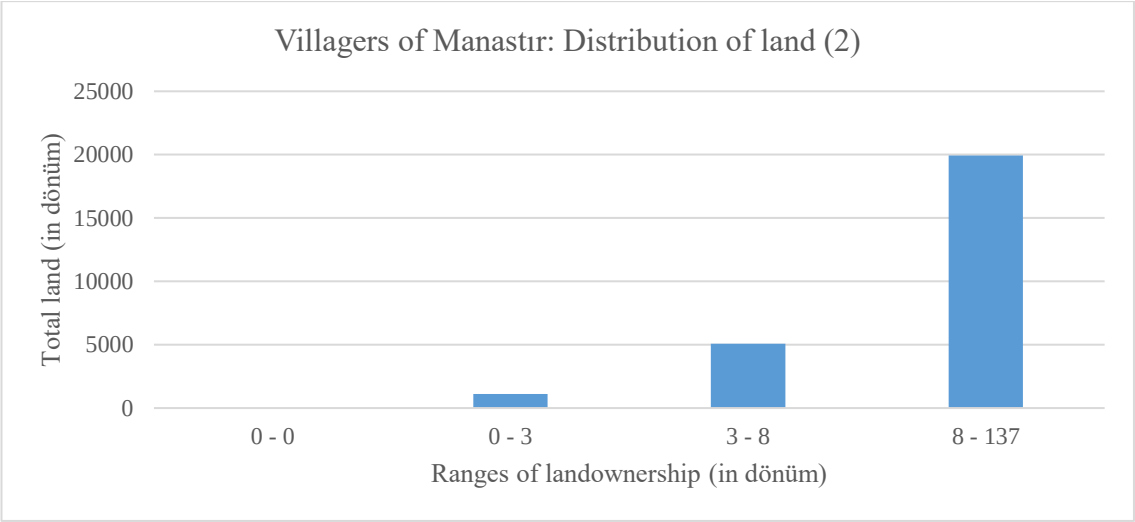


Figure 21. Villagers of Manastır: Distribution of land (2).

The table and the chart following the table below (Table 16 and Figure 22) display the same data yet exclude the completely landless 1331 households. In this slightly altered version, the bottom quarter holds land between 0.25 and 3 dönüms, totaling 1126 dönüms (4% of all land). The second quarter holds land between 3 and 6 dönüms, totaling 2776.5 dönüms (11% of all land). The third quarter holds land between 6 and 12 dönüms, totaling 5636.5 dönüms (22% of all land). The top quarter holds land between 12 and 137 dönüms, totaling 16579.25 dönüms of grain fields (63% of all land). As such, the top group here holds around 15 times the amount of land held by the bottom group.

Table 16. Distribution of Land among Villagers of Manastır (2)

Number of households	Ranges of land ownership (in dönüm)	Total (in dönüm)	Percentage
658	0.25 - 3	1126	4%
658	3 - 6	2776.5	11%
658	6 - 12	5636.5	22%
657	12 - 137	16579.25	63%
2631		26118.25	100%

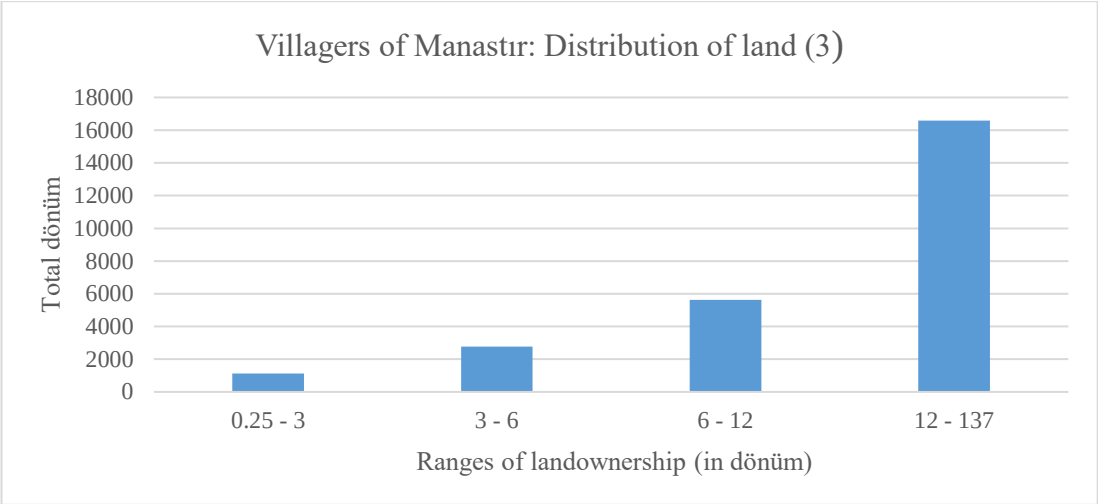


Figure 22. Villagers of Manastır: Distribution of land (3).

Lastly, the following table displays the data on landownership with different points of break, focusing on the ranges of ownership. Here, the results demonstrate that 1331 households have no land (34% of all households), 1231 households hold land between 0.25 and 5 dönüms (31% of all households), 638 households hold land between 5.5 and 10 dönüms (16% of all households), 719 households hold land between 10.5 and 50 dönüms (18% of all households), 40 households hold land between 51.5 and 100 dönüms (1% of all households), and only 3 households hold land above 100 dönüms. For each group of households, the number and percentages are indicated in the table below (Table 17).

Table 17. Distribution of Land among Villagers of Manastır (3)

Number of households	Range of landownership (in dönüm)	Percentage in total number of households
1331	no land	34%
1231	0.25 - 5	31%
638	5.5 - 10	16%
719	10.5 - 50	18%
40	51.5 - 100	1%
3	above 100	0%

The table below has been derived from the same source of data used above in order to present a more detailed picture of landownership in the villages as calculations have been made in order to demonstrate the extent of the inequality of landownership among the village residents through the computing of a Gini coefficient based on the extent of landownership exercised by each group. The resulting Gini coefficient of 0.67 indicates the existence of a considerable degree of inequality in landownership in the villages.[217] This distribution of land among villagers can be observed in Figure 23.

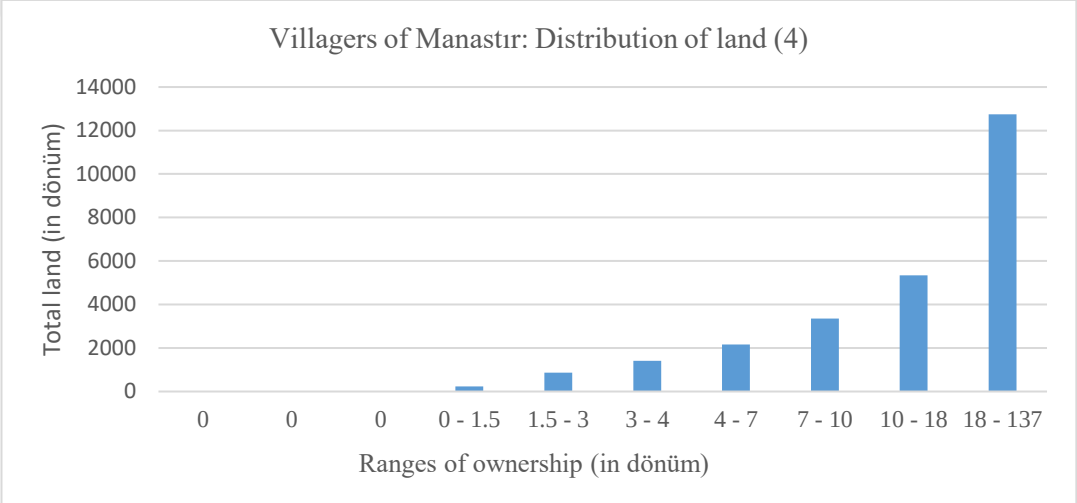


Figure 23. Villagers of Manastır: Distribution of land (4)

As such, the calculations above indicate a clear distinction between the lower and the upper segments of the village-residing rural society in terms of landowning in the mid-19th century Manastır. As such, the largest tracts of land were concentrated in the hands of fewer peasant families while the majority of the farmer households operated on much smaller fields, in addition to the presence of a specific group of

[217] Even when the çiftliks and the landless population are completely excluded from the calculations, the Gini coefficient is 0.51, which is quite a considerable value considering all these "efforts" at calculations to minimize it. After the exclusion of the landless of the villages, the bottom 10% of the village households hold 253.25 dönüms of grain fields, while the top 10% of the households hold grain fields of 10127 dönüms, which is about 40 times the former.

landless villagers. In light of the considerable weight of agricultural production for the income bundle of the villagers, this discrepancy between the landless workers, small-holding peasants, and bigger landowners, in addition to a group of the landless population getting away from traditional engagement in agrarian production and moving towards alternative activities such as textile-production and transportation in a rural context, can be translated into their economic and social positioning in the rural society as a whole, as will be discussed in detail in Section 3.2.4.

3.2.3 Patterns of settlement: Villages of Manastır

The tables and the maps below demonstrate the spatial distribution of specific factors among the villages of the district of Manastır. In the first group, a sample of villages where it was possible to identify a value of inequality in terms of the distribution of landowning was selected for calculations. While this list is far from being exhaustive due to various statistical restrictions, it may still provide a glimpse into the general patterns.[218] The first table below (Table 18) demonstrates the sizes as well as values of Gini coefficient computed with regard to the inequality in the ownership of grain fields for a group of selected villages while the following table (Table 19) displays the color-coding used in the resulting map (Figure 24).

[218] Here, only villages with the number of households above 50 have been taken into account. Also, some of the villages with a concentration of textile-related and transportation activities, which had either no land or only marginal amounts of land, have been excluded since they could distort the picture. Also, only grain fields within the settlements have been included in the calculations so far. As such, the list provided is far from being definite and exhaustive; rather, it should be considered as a sample of settlements whose levels of inequality in landowning have been calculated for purposes of demonstration of the complexity and variability of rural structures.

Table 18. Level of Inequality in Landownership in a Sample of Villages in Manastır

Size	Gini	Settlement
67	0.71	Lazec
190	0.66	Bukovo
65	0.65	Vakufköj
57	0.64	Kenali Kara Yusuf mahalles
113	0.60	Porodin
59	0.57	Kenali Evcik mahallesi
62	0.56	Kleştina-ı Bala
51	0.55	Lahce / Lavci
67	0.52	Mesdzidli
87	0.49	Kenali Köse mahallesi
90	0.47	Velușina
113	0.44	Gijavat
51	0.44	Dihovo
70	0.43	Kenali Kara Bekir mahallesi
51	0.41	Kazani
64	0.41	Gradeşnica
59	0.41	Dolenci
111	0.41	Capari
54	0.40	Zlokukjan
74	0.40	Dragos
53	0.39	Brusnik
73	0.39	Ostrec
63	0.38	Klabucista
108	0.37	Buf
72	0.34	Kişovo
64	0.28	Rakovo

Table 19. Colour-coding of (Figure 24)

Gini	Colour-code
0.71 - 0.52	Red
0.49 - 0.40	Blue
0.39 - 0.28	Green

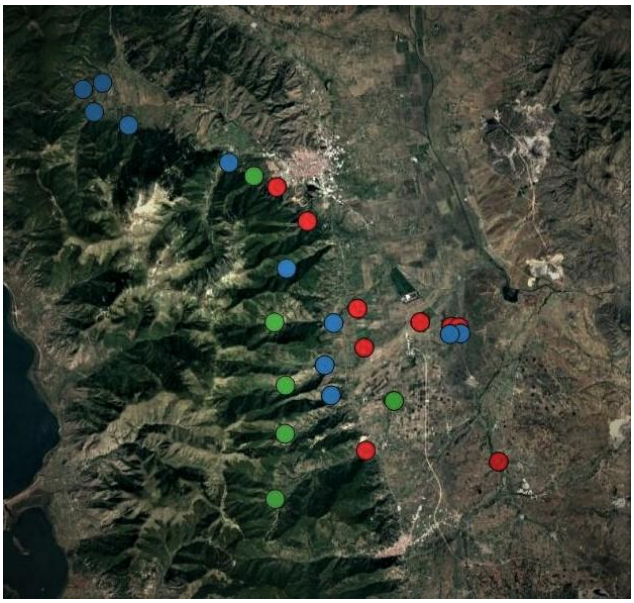


Figure 24. Inequality of the distribution of landowning in a sample of villages in Manastır.

On the basis of this sample, it seems safe to argue that villages with higher inequality tend to cluster in the alluvial plains around the river, which is also the general location of the çiftliks in the region. The villages tend to display relatively less inequality in the western zone, where the plains are joined by the mountains in southern and northern areas. Of the six villages with the least recorded inequality, four are located in the hilly regions to the west of the river plain.

Lastly, the graph below (Figure 25) indicates the extent of inequality between individual villages in terms ownership of grain fields. Some of the registered villages are completely cut off from agricultural activity, mostly focusing on textile production, crafts, sale of items and transport, as will be discussed in Section 3.2.4. The remaining “agricultural” villages also display quite a degree of divergence in terms of landownership.

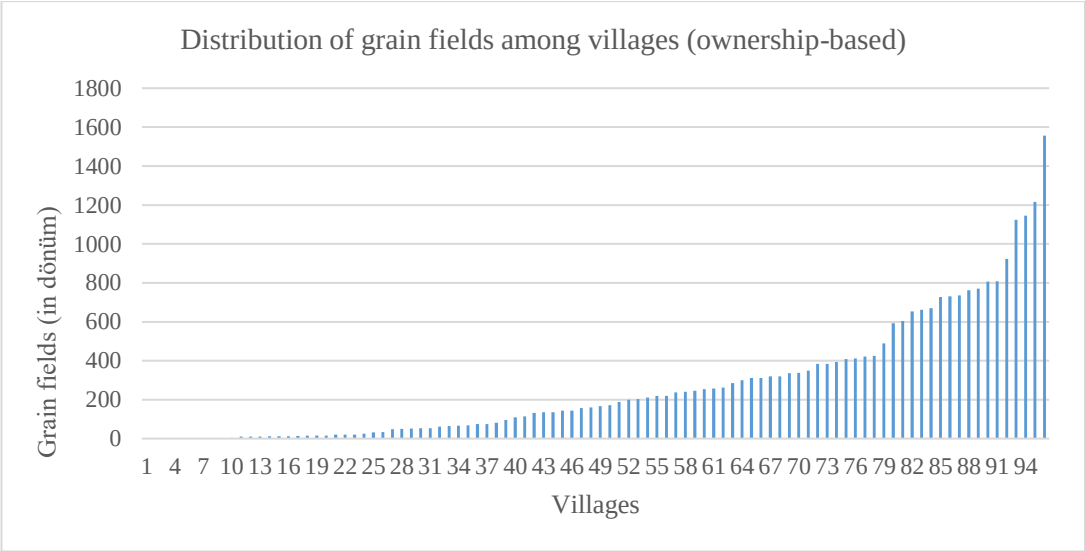


Figure 25. Distribution of grain fields among villages of Manastır.

The map below (Figure 26) displays the settlements where the main source of income is non-agricultural. The colour-coding used in the map is displayed in the following table (Table 20).

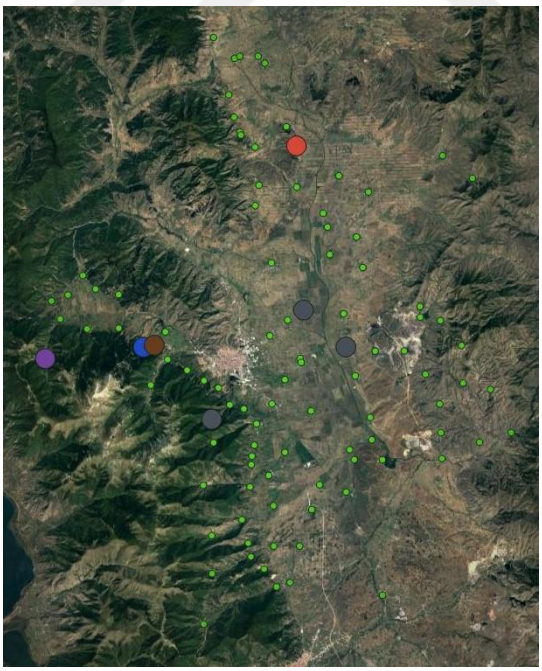


Figure 26. Settlements based on non-agricultural income (Manastır).

Table 20. Colour-Coding of (Figure 26)

Type of activity	Colour-coding
Agricultural wage-labour	Gray
Textile production	Blue
Transportation	Orange
Carpentry / construction	Brown
Crafts, sale of items and services	Pruple
Agriculture	Green

Table 21 displays all centers of textile-related activities and income obtained in each from textile production. The following map (Figure 27) displays the loci of textile production in rural Manastır. The size of the charts in the map indicates the total income obtained from textile production in each settlement.

Table 21. Income from Textile Production in Manastır

Settlement	Income from textile-related activity (in kuruş)
Magarevo	82795
Buf	60584
Trnova	34080
Rakovo	28720
Malovista	21666
Nizopolje	450
Dihovo	250

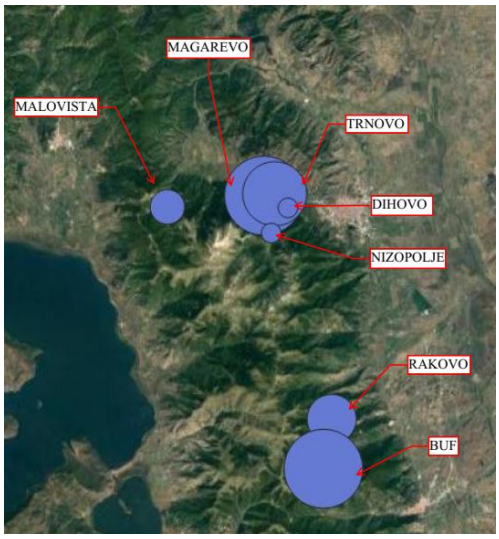


Figure 27. Centers of textile production in Manastır.

Combining the maps in Figure 26 and Figure 27, Magarevo emerges as the main center of textile activity. It is not only the settlement that generates the highest level of income from textile production in the district, but also the locus where textile is the most important source of income for the inhabitants. While Trnovo and Malovista are important textile centers as well, textile-production does not constitute the main source of income for the inhabitants.[219] Rakovo and Buf emerge in the map on Figure 27 as examples of the co-existence of agricultural production and textile-related activities in the rural context.[220] Textile production in Dihovo and Nizopolje is performed by a total of three households and it remains quite marginal.[221]

3.2.4 Forms of labour and the question of differentiation

The phenomenon of inequality in peasant societies is specific neither to the district nor the period under study. In predominantly agrarian societies, the need to provide for subsistence needs, seeds for coming cycles of production as well as payments of

[219] Malovista consists of 4 quarters: 2 quarters are based on crafts and sale of items/services; 1 quarter is based on textile-prdocution; 1 quarter is based on transport. Magarevo consists of 6 quarters based on textile production. Trnova consists of 5 quarters: 2 quarters are based 2 textile production, 2 quarters are based carpentry and construction, 1 quarter is based on crafts and sale of items/services. Palairet underlines that "the zone of industrial activity extended as far north as Monastir (Bitola), or more exactly to a group of hill villages outside Monastir (Bitola), rather than to the town itself": Palairet, *The Balkan Economies c.1800–1914: Evolution without Development*, 77. In the 1860s, woollen clothes produced in Manastır were sold at Pirlepe as well other provinces. Palairet also underlines that northerwestern area of the region functioned as a market for textile from Bulgaria and southern Macedonia: Ibid.

[220] For a brief survey of the literature on proto-industrialization and rural industries in the Balkans, see: 2.2.3.

[221] Palairet underlines that "at Magarevo and Trnovo, two hill villages near Monastir (Bitola), domestic textile production survived at least till 1914": Palairet, *The Balkan Economies c.1800–1914: Evolution without Development*, 77. In addition to Magarevo and Trnovo, Palairet also refers to the nearby settlements of Dihovo and Majadag of the 1880s as they "boomed in supplying the Ottoman army with 340,000 metres of *sajak* and a substantial quantity of *aba*, order which stimulated a partial transition to factory production": Ibid, 347. As such, a lively center of textile production seems to have occurred in this hilly area in the late 19th century: "At Diovo in 1885, three merchants set up a mill to provide additional capacity for military orders which had been diverted from Bulgaria. Heading the group was one Bogo Anesti, merchant of Monastir, with financial assistance from Skopje and Salonica interests. The 120-250 Diovo factory workers, mainly women and children, were not Diovo peasants, but were mostly Vlachs from other villages whom the Diovo people considered as foreigners … In 1903 there was a steam-driven factory at Diovo, employing 150, and several smaller water-powered enterprises at nearby Magarevo, producing a similar range of goods. By about 1910, there are claimed to have been four such 'factories' at Diovo, with 250-300 workers each": Ibid. Nevertheless, this was not a long-term development as Palairet underlines that "the factory building boom faltered because of labour shortages" in the 1910s: Ibid, 354.

taxation and rent dues to various claimants of the productive land, which often require a certain degree of monetization and push the traditional peasantry to a certain level of interaction with the market, also urge those on the lower segments of the rural society, due to the precariousness of their state of being, to resort to engagement in various forms of supplementary wage labour, beyond the existence of completely landless labourers, and hence, the question of the importance of wage labour for the village societies, in general, comes to the fore. In this context, the following tables and charts focus on the details of income sources of the villagers of Manastır in order to evaluate the significance of different forms of wage labour as well as various economic activities in rural society.

Table 22 demonstrates the details of the distribution of various sources of income in the villages. As a whole, while agricultural production retains its importance in general, a wide array of activities, considerable amount of which can be categorized under the rubric of wage labour, also comes into the picture. As such, before moving to the more meaningful question of who survives by doing what under this umbrella, a detailed exposition of this distribution is provided below.

Table 22. Income Sources of Villages of Manastır

Category	Total income	Percentage in total income	Occupations
Agricultural production	1707934.25	60%	
Textile-related activities	228545	8%	terzi, terzi kalfası, terzi çırağı, bezci, abacı, abacı terzisi, gipeci, gipeci terzi kalfası, gipeci terzisi, mutafçı, mutafçı kalfası, mutafçı çırağı, mutafçı hizmetkarı, çukacı, çulcu, dikici
Animal-husbandry	143493.5	5%	
Agricultural wage-labour	142805.5	5%	hizmetkar, ırgat, aylakçı, aylakçı hizmetkarı, rençber
Transport and/or provision of coal and wood	104835	4%	oduncu, oduncu ve kiracı, oduncu hizmetkarı, kömürcü, kömürcü hizmetkarı, keresteci, keresteci hizmetkarı, tahtacı, hatab nakli/hatab ticareti/hatabcı, oduncu ve keresteci, hizmetkar ve oduncu, ırgat ve keresteci
Crafts / sale of items / services	97257.5	3%	kilimci, kilimci kalfası, kilimci hizmetkarı, hasırcı, urgancı, kazancı, kovacı, kaşık imali/kaşıkçı, çekmececi, çıracı, babuşçu, babuşçu kalfası, babuşçu çırağı, babuş fırçacı, enfiyeci, enfiyeci kalfası, enfiyeci çırağı, enfiyeci hizmetkarı, düğmeci, boyacı, boyacı çırağı, kalaycı, kalaycı kalfası, kalaycı hizmetkarı, bakırcı, demirci, bıçkıcı, kalfa, çilingir, berber, hancı, hancı kalfası, hancı hizmetkarı, meyhaneci, meyhaneci kalfası, bakkal, bakkal kalfası, bakkal çırağı, çırak, fırıncı, fırıncı kalfası, kasab, bahçevan, etmekçi, simitçi, ciğerci, uncu, balıkçı, avcı, eskici, mısırcı
Carpentry / construction	61880	2%	dülger, dülger kalfası, doğramacı, kaldırımcı, taşçı hizmetkarı
Transport	51767	2%	kiracı, kiracı kalfası, kiracı hizmetkarı, kiracı tüccarı, bargirinden temettuu
Trade	40620	1%	bazargan, tüccar/ticaret, tüccar hizmetkarı, zuhurat
Sharecropping (secondary)	40506.225	1%	yarıcı, yarıcı ve ırgat, şerik ve ırgat, şerik
External sources of income	38738.875	1%	ticaret, abacı, dülger, hizmetkar, kuyumcu, terzi, terzi hizmetkarı, hancı, hancı hizmetkarı, şirket, bazargan kalfası, meyhaneci, aşçı, bahçevan, bahçevan hizmetkarı, işkembeci, kileci, taşçı hizmetkarı, kalaycı
Rent	30433	1%	
Sharecropping (main)	29396.725	1%	
Goldsmith	27790	1%	kuyumcu, kuyumcu kalfası, kuyumcu çırağı
Professional positions	20415.5	1%	hekim, imam, papaz, keşiş, mekteb hocası, hoca, imaret çırağı, daskal, daskal kalfası, kilise hizmetkarı, kocabaşı, kahya, kethüda, yazıcı, korucu, bekçi
Milling	20060	1%	değirmen, değirmenci ve hizmetkar, değirmenci ve ırgat
Misc	15005.75	1%	
Animal-related wage-labour	13005	0%	çoban, çoban hizmetkarı, sığırtmaç, hergeleci, hayvancılık
Military positions	10211	0%	sipahi, süvari, tımar hasılatı
Moneychanging	3300	0%	sarraf, sarraf kalfası
TOTAL	2827999.825	100%	

In the chart below (Figure 28), main agrarian income sources are indicated.

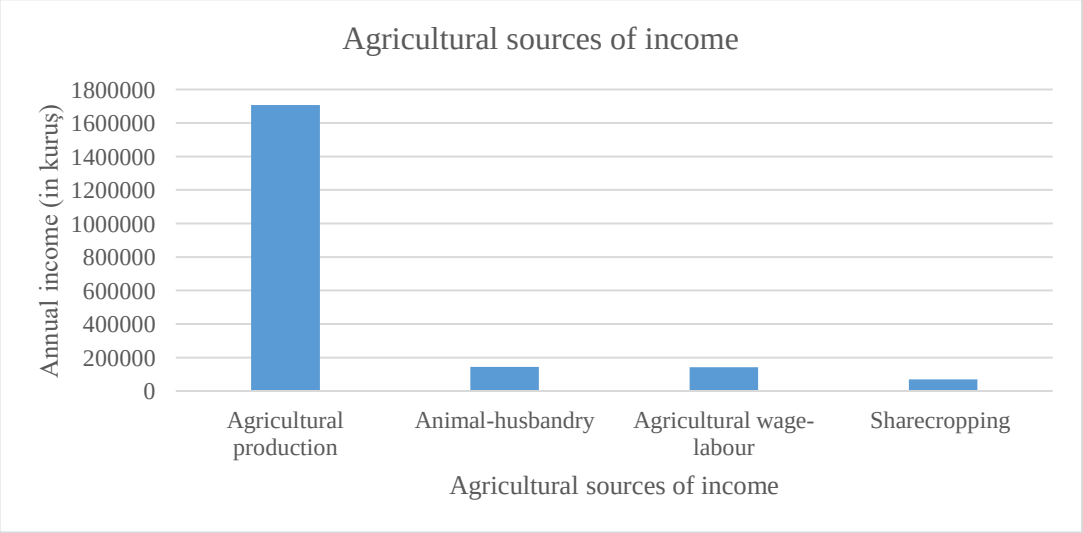


Figure 28. Agrarian income sources of villages of Manastır.

In the chart below (Figure 29), main non-agrarian income sources are indicated. As such, even at this level, a high degree of occupational differentiation in the rural setting beyond the town center can be detected.

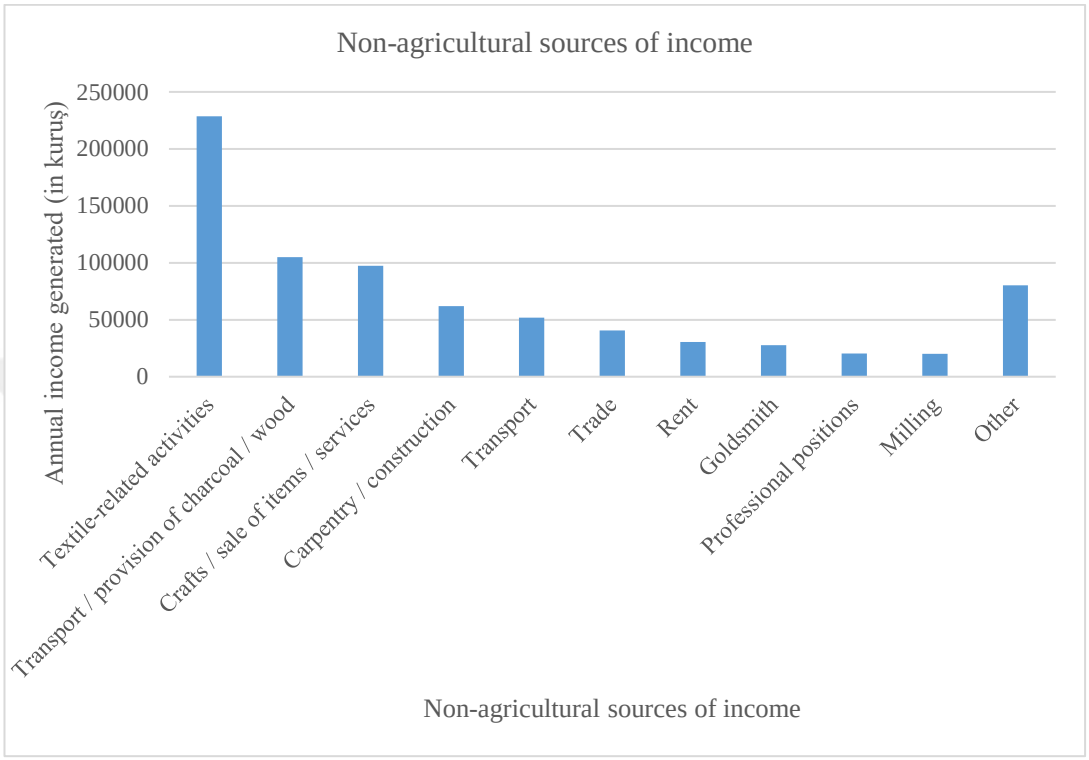


Figure 29. Non-agricultural income sources of villages of Manastır

As Figure 29 demonstrates, the greater part of the latter group consists of textile-related activities, followed by transport and provision of charcoal and wood, crafts in the form of production and sale of items and services, carpentry and construction-related activities and transport (as activities creating an annual income over 50000 kuruş). Then, how are these activities related to traditional agricultural production and small-holding peasantry? What is the nature of the relationship between peasant farmers and agricultural wage-workers? How can activities such as textile production be understood in a rural context?

In general, almost 200 households in the villages have been specifically indicated in the registers to have engaged in labour relations in the form of

landowning, sharecropping, and wage labour while a number of these are involved in a multiplicity of such relations. While some of the landowners in these arrangements are çiftlik-owners and town residents, the relations noted in the village registers are mostly between the villagers themselves.

In addition to the employment of wage workers by a part of the peasantry, in the villages of Manastır, almost 60 specifically defined cases of sharecropping between the members of the peasantry have been detected. Furthermore, 122 households were indicated to obtain a supplementary income from involvement in sharecropping activity, sometimes in the form of multiple arrangements, in addition to their work as independent farmers.

Unfortunately, in the sources, it was possible to identify relations of wage labour only when peasant households were indicated as the specific employers of wage workers (mostly "hizmetkar") and the latter was not only landless but also houseless and specifically indicated to dwell in the lodgings of their employers.[222] As such, it was not always possible to trace the employers of the workers holding a dwelling or a piece of land and a few animals. Overall, 500 households were specifically indicated to lack land or housing or both.[223] On the other side of the economic spectrum, more than 20 peasants were indicated to own çiftliks, more than 200 to have rented out houses and rooms, around 9 to have a share in an inn obtaining a rental income, almost 40 to have rented out stores, more than 100 to have rented out mills and 4 to have rented out oxen, in addition to the existence of a

[222] Formulated in the clauses of "X hanesinde mütemekkin" as well as "ağası X hanesinde mütemekkin". Also, sharecroppers are occasionally indicated to have come from another village; as such, mobility of labour is not exclusive to the çiftliks.
[223] In such cases, the clauses of "emlak ve araziye bir nesnesi dahi olmayub", "emlağa dair bir nesnesi olmayub" or "hanesinden başka bir nesnesi olmayub" are used. Nevertheless, such notes remain to be cursory.

number of land and property in the neighboring areas such as Pirlepe, Florina, and Ohri.

Even at this level of information, it is possible to detect that the relations between the members of the different segments of the peasantry are far from equality. Instead, there are considerable gaps between the members of the agrarian society - between a segment of land and property-owning, labour-employing peasantry, a group of small-holding farmers mainly relying on family labour while sometimes getting engaged in supplementary activities for additional sources of income, and the existence of a completely dispossessed group of rural residents. As such, there is indeed no single type of villager, and the existing networks and relations of labour between the members of the peasantry are quite complex.

In this context, the mere existence or the absence of wage labour as a source of income in a household, including agricultural and animal-husbandry related wage labour, does not indicate the economic position of the family under question since in an agrarian society, even some of the members of richer peasant households, such as the children and the grandchildren of the household patriarch, may frequently be working as wage-labourers in order to obtain an additional income to the household, rather than being idle.[224] As such, there is not a simple and clear-cut separation between landownership and working for a wage. One way to get out of this conundrum is to measure the importance of wage-labour for the overall livelihood of a rural family. In other words, the weight of income obtained from non-agricultural sources in the sense of its importance for the overall livelihood of a peasant household remains determining for the economic character of different segments of the peasant society. Accordingly, some indirect methods have been employed in

[224] The cases of children or grandchildren working as shepherds, for example, are relatively common among such cases.

order to assess the general characteristics of landowning and the frequency of resorting to engagement in different sources of income in the villages of Manastır. For this purpose, a number of relations between landownership (of grain fields) and involvement in various forms of economic activity have been established in the following tables. Here, the main purpose is to identify the degree of dependency on the food market.[225]

Table 23 displays the acquisition of different sources of income by the landless households of the district compared to all village households.

Table 23. Income Sources of Landless Villagers of Manastır

Income source	Income obtained by landless households (in kuruş)	Percentage of the landless households in all village households	Income obtained by all households (in kuruş)
Textile-related activities	126686	55%	228545
Crafts / sale of items / services	82807.5	85%	97257.5
Agricultural wage-labour	64595	45%	142805.5
Carpentry / construction	58880	95%	61880
Transport	44337	86%	51767
Agriculture	29915.5	2%	1707934.25
Goldsmith	26690	96%	27790
Transport and/or provision of charcoal and wood	16905	16%	104835
Trade	16850	41%	40620
External sources of income	15727	41%	38738.875
Animal-husbandry	13811.5	10%	143493.5
Sharecropping	12272.9	18%	69902.95
Rent	11897	39%	30433
Professional positions	11842	58%	20415.5
Misc	9786	65%	15005.75
Animal-related wage-labour	8510	65%	13005
Milling	4800	24%	20060
Moneychanging	3300	100%	3300
Military positions	1869	18%	10211
TOTAL	561481.4	20%	2827999.825

[225] 37 of 1331 landless households were engaged in production on rented lands. Because the main objective is to examine the villagers who cannot directly produce foodstuff in the form of grains without engaging in different types of labour relations, these are excluded from the calculations and 1294 households have been examined.

Foremost observations based on the table above are as follows: 1294 landless households, constituting around one-third of all village households, earn around half of the total income from engagement in agricultural wage-labour. As such, agricultural wages should have a primary character for this group while for the remaining it is likely to be a source of income supplementary to agricultural production (yet, the ratio between the two variables remains crucial for the general character of the peasants under question). The landless are also more prevalent in branches of animal-related wage-labour, earning 65% of the total income from this activity.

About one-fifth of the total income from sharecropping is obtained by the landless. As such, engagement in sharecropping seems to have a subsidiary character in the villages rather than being the exclusive activity of the completely dispossessed, as is the case in the çiftliks.

In terms of transport, the landless earn 86% of the total income indicating a tendency towards specialization in this branch while the transport/provision of wood and charcoal seems to have a largely supplementary character.

The landless earn 55% of all the textile-related activities. While the spatial concentration of textile production and the separation of communities from traditional engagement in agriculture remain considerable in some locations, still a certain degree of co-existence of the agrarian economy and textile-production can be observed in other cases. Practitioners of various crafts and carpenters are mostly landless as well.

The table below (Table 24) displays all the income sources of landless village population as the main source of income has been calculated for each landless village household. Here, textile-related activities constitute the main source of income for

22% of all landless households. Textile is closely followed by agricultural wage-labour. As such, almost half of the landless population is engaged in either textile production or agricultural wage-labour.

Table 24. Main Sources of Income for Landless Villagers of Manastır (Number of Households)

Landless village households		
Main source of income	Number of households	Percentage
Textile-related activities	291	22%
Agricultural wage-labour	260	20%
Crafts / sale of items / services	154	12%
Carpentry / construction	147	11%
Transport	77	6%
Transport and/or provision of charcoal and wood	60	5%
Goldsmith	46	4%
Agriculture	43	3%
External sources of income	37	3%
Animal-related wage-labour	33	3%
No income	31	2%
Misc	25	2%
Professional positions	23	2%
Sharecropping	21	2%
Trade	13	1%
Milling	12	1%
Animal-husbandry	11	1%
Rent	6	0%
Military positions	2	0%
Moneychanging	2	0%
TOTAL	1294	100%

The table below (Table 25) displays the relative weight of all the income sources obtained by the landless villagers. Here, textile-related activities, various forms of crafts as well as agricultural wage-labour constitute the bulk of the income bundle.

Table 25. Main Sources of Income for Landless Villagers of Manastır (Level of Income)

Income source	Income (in kuruş)	Income (percentage)
Textile-related activities	126686	23%
Crafts / sale of items / services	82807.5	15%
Agricultural wage-labour	64595	12%
Carpentry / construction	58880	10%
Transport	44337	8%
Agriculture	29915.5	5%
Goldsmith	26690	5%
Transport and/or provision of charcoal and wood	16905	3%
Trade	16850	3%
External sources of income	15727	3%
Animal-husbandry	13811.5	2%
Sharecropping (all)	12272.9	2%
Rent	11897	2%
Professional positions	11842	2%
Misc	9786	2%
Animal-related wage-labour	8510	2%
Milling	4800	1%
Moneychanging	3300	1%
Military positions	1869	0%
TOTAL	561481.4	100%

While the categorization of the data in the table above simply divides the rural population between the landless and the landowning, without regard to the extent and nature of the latter, the series of tables below aim to provide a more nuanced exposition of the relationship between degrees of landownership of grain fields and two specific forms of economic activity –agricultural wage-labour and textile-related activities.

Table 26. Landownership and Income from Agricultural Wage Labour in the Villages of Manastır (1)

Grain fields					
Ranges of ownership (dönüm)	Number of households	Total land (dönüm)	Percentage in total land	Income from agricultural wage-labour (kuruş)	Percentage in total agricultural wage-labour
0 - 0	1331	0	0%	70135	49%
0.25 - 6	1316	3902.25	15%	59005	41%
6 - 137	1315	22215.75	85%	13665.5	10%
TOTAL	3962	26118	100%	142805.5	100%

As Table 26 demonstrates, after the landless earn half of the total income from agricultural wage-labour, households holding land between 0.25 and 6 dönüms (15% of all land) earn 41% of total income from agricultural wage-labour, and households holding land between 6 and 137 dönüms (85% of all land) earn the remaining 10% of the income from agricultural wage-labour. There is no registered income obtained from agricultural wage-labour for households holding fields over 52 dönüms.

Of the 591 households obtaining an income from agricultural wage-labour, 312 are completely landless while the remaining 279 households hold a total of 1160 dönüms of land which constitute 4% of all village land (4.15 dönüms per household) indicating the existence of a degree of market dependency in the form of the erosion of the traditional (and relative) peasant self-sufficiency. Here, the average income from agricultural wage-labour per household is 241.6 kuruş. The relevant data is displayed in the tables below (Table 27 and Table 28).

Table 27. Landownership and Income from Agricultural Wage Labour in the Villages of Manastır (2)

Agricultural wage-labour	
Total landownership of land by earners of agricultural wage-labour (dönüm)	1160
Total land (dönüm)	26118
Percentage	4%

Table 28. Income from Agricultural Wage Labour in the Villages of Manastır

Agricultural wage-labour	
Number of households	591
Income from agricultural wage-labour (kuruş)	142806
Average per household (kuruş)	241.63

The table below (Table 29) displays the percentage of income from textile-related activities obtained by households in different ranges of landownership. Here, while more than half of the textile-related income is obtained by the landless, we observe a fall and then a rise through the following two groups. In other words, the landless households which constitute more than one-third of the total number of households resident in the villages earn 55% of the total income from textile production, the following group (roughly another one-third) holding 15% of the land obtain 10% and the last group holding 85% of the land obtain 35% of income from textile-related activities. As such, there might have been a substantial difference between the top and the bottom groups in terms of dependency on food market. As discussed in Section 3.2.3, this difference has also a spatial correspondence.

Table 29. Landownership and Income from Textile Production in the Villages of Manastır (1)

Grain fields					
Ranges of ownership (dönüm)	Number of households	Total land (dönüm)	Percentage in total land	Income from textile production (kuruş)	Percentage in total textile production
0 - 0	1331	0	0%	126686	55%
0.25 - 6	1316	3902.25	15%	22648	10%
6 - 137	1315	22215.75	85%	79211	35%
TOTAL	3962	26118	100%	228545	100%

Of 519 households earning an income from textile production, 352 are completely landless while the remaining hold 1647 dönüms of land amounting to 6% of grain fields in the village domains (Table 30 and Table 31).

Table 30. Landownership and Income from Textile Production in the Villages of Manastır (2)

Textile production	
Total landownership of land by textile producers (dönüm)	1647
Total land (dönüm)	26118
Percentage	6%

Table 31. Income from Textile Production in the Villages of Manastır

Textile production	
Number of households	519
Income from textile production (kuruş)	228545
Average per household (kuruş)	440.36

Lastly, based on the table below (Table 32), it is safe to argue that of all the rural population in the district of Manastır, only 11% refrains from engagement in non-agricultural activities, especially concerning production of grains (i.e., food), while more than one-third is completely cut-off from it and pursue alternative directions.

Table 32. Dependency on Food Market in the Villages of Manastır

	Number of households	Percentage in all households
No income	42	1%
No non-agricultural income	422	11%
No grain fields	1294	33%

3.3 Çiftliks, landowners and producers: Land, labour, and agricultural production

3.3.1 Organization of labour and types of çiftliks

In the income survey registers, 3 main types of çiftliks have been identified on the basis of the form of labour employed. The chart in Figure 30 displays the distribution of çiftlik workers among different types of çiftliks. In Manastır, 57% of çiftlik workers resided in çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-

labour, 38% of çiftlik workers resided in çiftliks based on sharecropping, and 4% of çiftlik workers resided in çiftliks based on wage-labour. The chart in Figure 31 displays the distribution of individual çiftliks among different types of çiftliks. In Manastır, 63% of çiftliks are based on sharecropping, 24% of çiftliks are based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour, and 6% of çiftliks are based on wage-labour.[226]

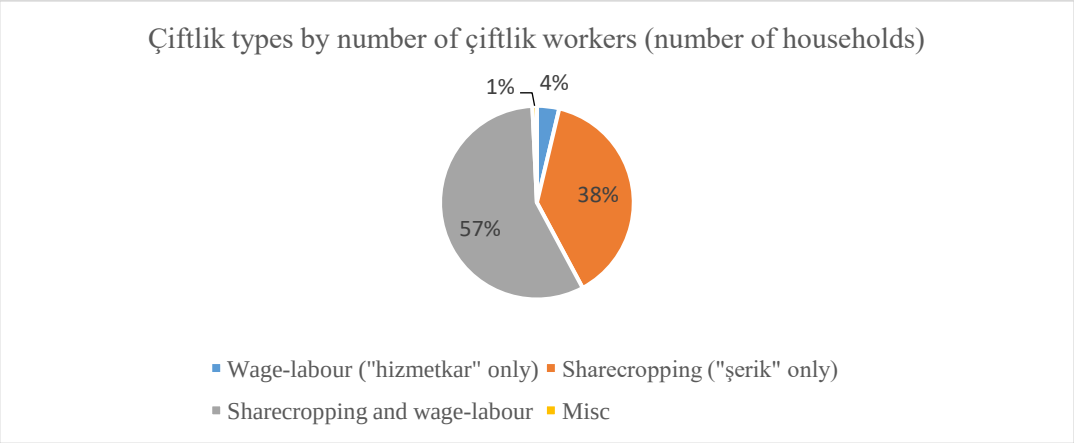


Figure 30. Çiftlik types by the number of çiftlik workers (Manastır)

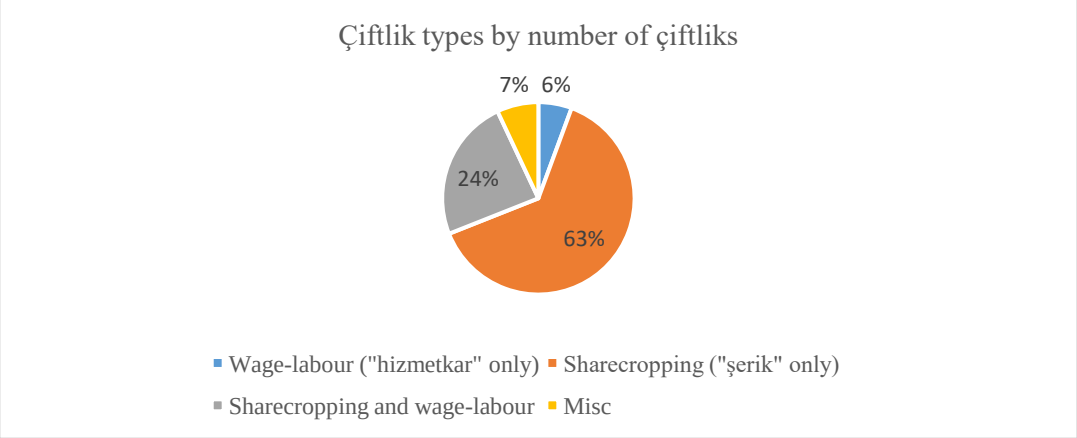


Figure 31. Çiftlik types by the number of çiftliks (Manastır)

[226] 7% of çiftliks that could not be included in either category properly has been excluded. These include cases of çiftlik-owners without any workers as well as inadequate information due to damaged registers.

As such, it is evident that sharecropping constitutes the most prevalent form of labour arrangement in the district of Manastır. Çiftliks exclusively based on wage labour remains quite marginal. Lastly, the çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour constitute much larger operations than çiftliks based on sharecropping alone. The latter often tend to be more traditional and small-scale arrangements consisting of a few households based on the equal division of the shares between the parties.[227]

In the district of Manastır, the çiftliks based on the exclusive use of wage-labour consist of 64 households the majority of which are constituted by wage-labourers, or "hizmetkar", who can be defined as wage workers engaged in long-term labour arrangements, rather than being temporary or based on the performance of a specific type of labour. Other than the predominance of "hizmetkar", these çiftliks contain a few specialized workers as well as day labourers as well, including a few "aylakçı" and "çoban".[228] Besides the more permanent category of labourers, therefore, a number of temporary and specific labour types are also employed in the çiftliks based on agricultural wage-labour. The number of labourer households in the çiftliks based on wage labour range from 1 to 5, with a mean of 1.9 and a median of 2 (Figure 32).

[227] McGowan underlines the dominance of sharecropping on çiftliks of smaller-scale, which also constituted the greater majority of the çiftliks in Manastır in the 17th and 18th centuries: McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800,* 171. In the context of Edirne of the 17th century, Parveva also refers to a comparable issue as she underlines that "in the vast majority of the cases, smaller çiftliks were the rule. Along with these, however, there were estates whose monetary value, produce and number of hired labourers were indicative of impressive proportions. The produce of these çiftliks was intended not only for the local markets but probably for export as well": Parveva, *Rural Agrarian and Social Structure in the Edirne Region during the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century,* 49-50.

[228] "Hizmetkar" is as a wage-labourer who works year round or for a period of 6 months and hence, has a permanent character. The categories of "gündelikçi", "orakçı", "harmancı", "çapacı" and "ırgat" are forms of temporary labour force: Kütükoğlu, "Osmanlı Sosyal ve İktisadi Tarihi Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri," 402-403.

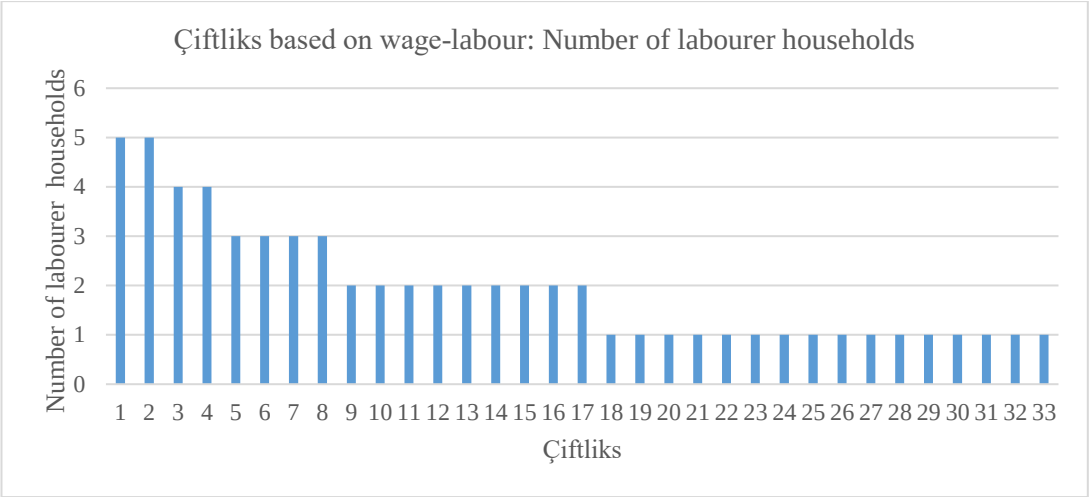


Figure 32. Çiftliks based on wage-labour: Number of labourers' households (Manastır).

The çiftliks exclusively based on sharecropping arrangements consist of 662 sharecropper households. Of these, only 28 households have no income source other than their shares from agricultural production under sharecropping. As such, 634 households obtain a meagre amount of income from independent agricultural production, animal husbandry, some sources of rent as well as various types of wage-labour. In the majority of çiftliks based on sharecropping, agricultural produce is divided in half after "aşar" is subtracted. Shares are mostly equal among multiple sharecroppers. The number of sharecropper households in this form of çiftliks ranges from 1 to 14, with a mean of 1.7 and a median of 1 (Figure 33).

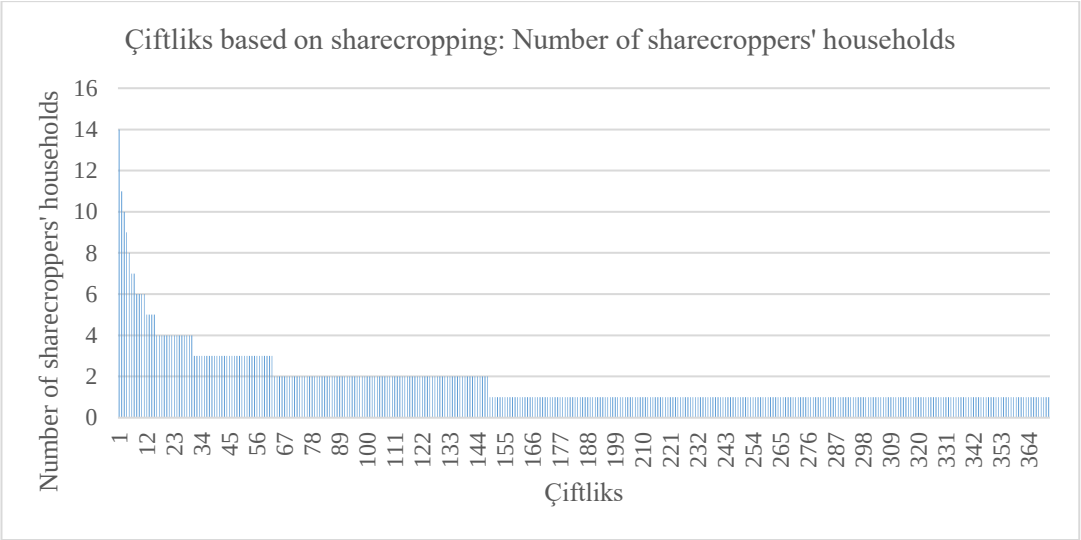


Figure 33. Çiftliks based on sharecropping: Number of sharecroppers' households (Manastır).

The çiftliks of mixed labour types are mainly based on sharecropping with the additional employment of wage-labour, both in its permanent and temporary/function-specific versions. Of the 983 households resident in this type of çiftliks, more than 580 households consist of sharecropping families, the members of which are sometimes engaged in additional sources of income, while the remaining residents comprise wage-labourers ("hizmetkar") in addition to a number of "ırgat", "sığırtmaç" and "aylakçı" and a few other categories. In most çiftliks based on this combination, the general rule is that agricultural produce is divided in half after "aşar" is subtracted. Shares are often equal among multiple sharecroppers. Nevertheless, there are also more cases in this group whereby the division favors the landowner, while in a few cases it favors the sharecroppers. In some instances, there are also considerable variations regarding the share given to each sharecropper in a given çiftlik. The number of households in these çiftliks ranges from 2 to 61, with a mean of 6.9 and a median of 4 (Figure 34).

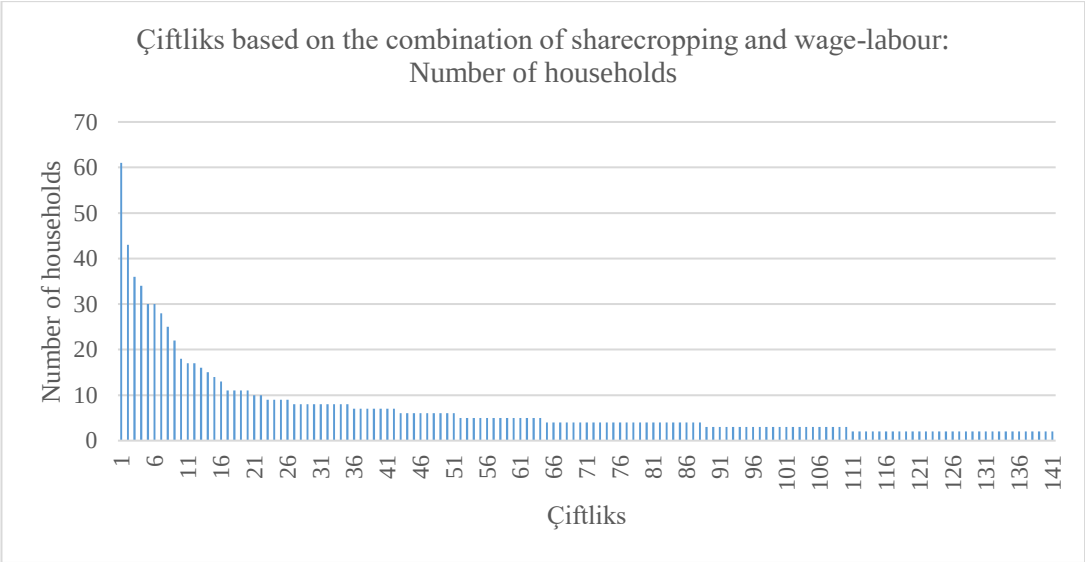


Figure 34. Çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage labour: Number of households (Manastır).

1722 households of çiftlik workers residing in 587 çiftliks, around 1520 have been indicated to dwell in the lodgings belonging to their landowners, while around 55 have been noted to reside in rented houses, the majority of the latter being wage-workers. Of these, 133 households have been additionally mentioned to own no house and land of their own.[229] Lastly, one sharecropper from a çiftlik has been specifically registered to have his own shepherd working for him in addition to a wage-labourer hosting another laborer in his dwelling in the çiftlik of Skocivir.

In the registers, a few çiftlik residents have been mentioned to have originated from other settlements as well as from the town center ("Bareşani karyesinden", "Manastır Gazab Bey mahallesi sakinlerinden", "Manastır Zindancı mahallesinden" etc.), pointing towards the existence of a certain degree of labour

[229] Other than various forms of land and animals, in terms of property, the list goes as follows: 57 çiftlik-owners and 1 sharecropper have rented out houses; 13 çiftlik-owners and 1 sharecropper have rented out inns (or shares in such inns); 3 çiftlik-owners and 2 sharecroppers have rented out stores; 10 çiftlik-owners and 28 çiftlik residents have rented-out mills (or shares in such mills); 1 çiftlik-owner obtains a rent of 400 kuruş from meadows of 1 dönüm; 1 labourer has a rented-out ox, generating 40 kuruş; 1 çiftlik-owner has a rented-out çiftlik, generating 600 kuruş; 4 çiftlik-owners are noted to own additional çiftliks while 1 çiftlik-owner holds 2 additional çiftliks; a few çiftlik residents have small pieces of land in Florina, mostly consisting of small parcels of vineyards. This list, however, may not be complete, at least with regard to cases of ownership of multiple çiftliks.

mobility while 4 cases of flight ("firar"), three to other çiftliks and one to the town center, have been specifically mentioned in the registers.[230] Also, cases of 5 çiftlik-owners having sharecroppers working for them from other çiftliks while 10 çiftlik-owners having sharecroppers from nearby villages have been identified in addition to many incidents of engagement in double or triple sharecropping arrangements by the residents of çiftliks and villages alike. Furthermore, in the cases whereby the workers of çiftliks could not be specifically identified, it is highly probable that they were the residents of nearby villages. As such, villages and çiftliks, while treated as separate zones for the purposes of the present analysis, are quite intertwined in reality in terms of close proximity to each other, co-existence of different forms in the same settlements, and the existence of labour mobility between them.

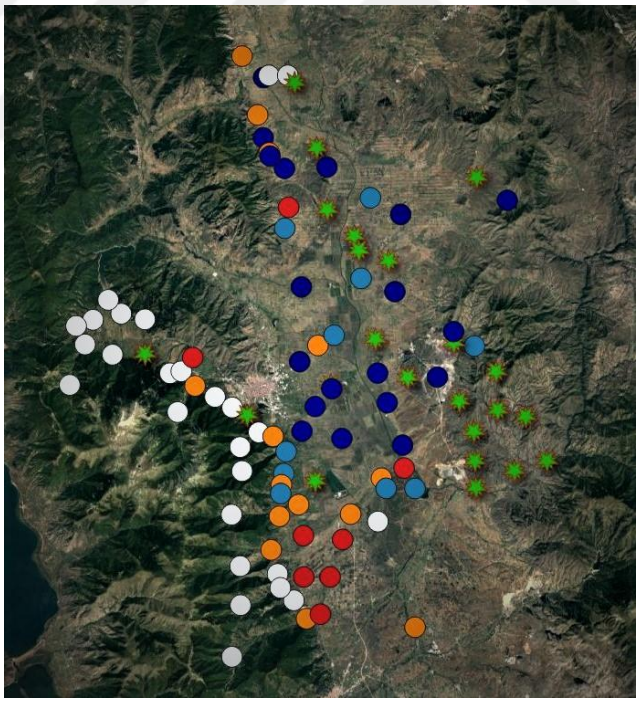


Figure 35. Çiftliks and villages of Manastır.

[230] McGowan refers to the employment of workers from villages in the bigger çiftliks due to peasant indebtedness: McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 136.

The map above (Figure 35) displays the level of çiftlik formation on the basis of population in the settlements of Manastır.[231] Here, white dots and green stars indicate perfect forms while the remaining settlements are mixtures of çiftliks and villages (Table 33). As such, the resulting picture is quite interrelated and intricate.

Table 33. Colour-Coding of (Figure 35)

Level of çiftlik formation	Colour-coding
0	White
0.21 - 0.26	Orange
0.33 - 0.47	Pink
0.5 - 0.77	Blue
0.8 - 0.97	Navy blue
1	Green star

3.3.2 Patterns of ownership and agricultural production

The following charts have been prepared to demonstrate the distribution of landownership across as well as within different types of çiftliks.

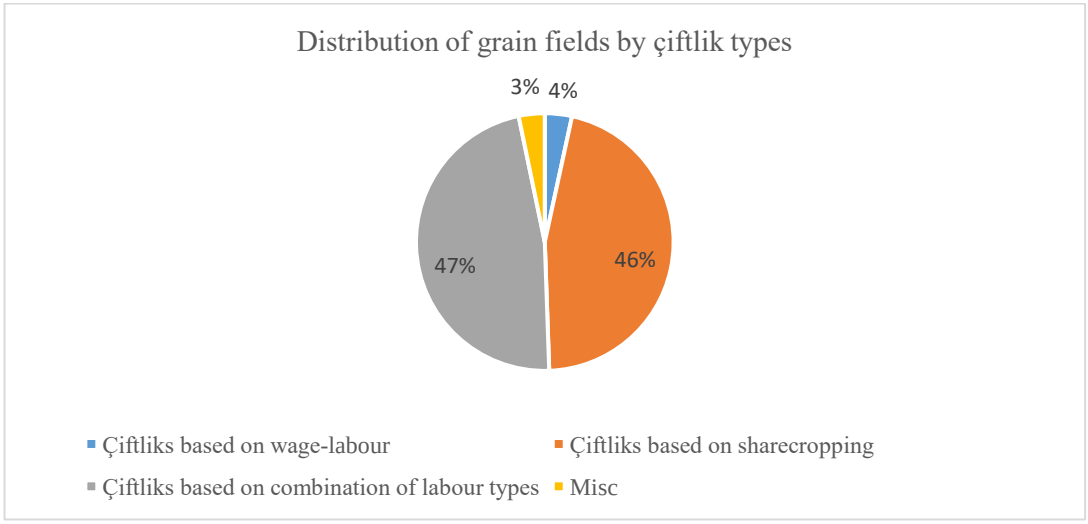


Figure 36. Distribution of grain fields by çiftlik types (Manastır).

[231] This map is a more detailed version of the map in Figure 7 (Section 3.1.1)

The chart on Figure 36 displays that the majority of the grain fields in the çiftliks of the district is mainly concentrated under arrangements of sharecropping while only 3% is exclusively under wage-labour.

The two tables below (Table 34 and Table 35) display the basic information of landownership for all types of land in different types of çiftliks. In Table 34, percentages have been calculated with reference to the total amount of land for each type of çiftlik; in Table 35, percentages demonstrate which part of each type of land is apportioned to each type of çiftlik. Here, both calculations demonstrate the crucial importance of grain fields in terms of landholding practices.

Table 34. Landownership in the Çiftliks of Manastır (1)

	Grain fields		Meadow		Vineyard		Flax field		Hemp field		Bostan tarlası		Madder root field		Onion field		Winter pasture		TOTAL	
Types of çiftlik	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage
Çiftliks based on wage-labour	2573	86%	356.5	12%	31.725	1%	31	1%	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2993.225	100%
Çiftliks based on sharecropping	34815.75	86%	4778.5	12%	753.105	2%	156	0%	21.25	0%	5	0%	9.5	0%	0	0%	0	0%	40539.11	100%
Çiftliks based on combination of labour types	35759.05	88%	3962.875	10%	714.51	2%	56.75	0%	8.5	0%	12.5	0%	2.5	0%	6	0%	1	0%	40523.69	100%
Misc	2463.5	90%	234.5	9%	27	1%	8	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2733	100%

Table 35. Landownership in the Çiftliks of Manastır (2)

	Grain fields		Meadow		Vineyard		Flax field		Hemp field		Bostan tarlası		Madder root field		Onion field		Winter pasture		TOTAL	
Types of çiftlik	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage
Çiftliks based on wage-labour	2573	3%	356.5	4%	31.725	2%	31	12%	1	3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2993.225	3%
Çiftliks based on sharecropping	34815.75	46%	4778.5	51%	753.105	49%	156	62%	21.25	69%	5	29%	9.5	79%	0	0%	0	0%	40539.11	47%
Çiftliks based on combination of labour types	35759.05	47%	3962.875	42%	714.51	47%	56.75	23%	8.5	28%	12.5	71%	2.5	21%	6	100%	1	100%	40523.69	47%
Misc	2463.5	3%	234.5	3%	27	2%	8	3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2733	3%
TOTAL	75611.3	100%	9332.375	100%	1526.34	100%	251.75	100%	30.75	100%	17.5	100%	12	100%	6	100%	1	100%	86789.02	100%

The following series of tables and charts display the landownership data for each different type of çiftlik separately. The table below (Table 36) displays the distribution of the ownership of all types of land between the çiftlik-owners and the wage-labourers in the çiftliks based on wage-labour. In general, the majority of the lands consists of grain fields, followed by meadows and then vineyards. Here, the ownership of grain fields and meadows, followed by hemp fields and vineyards, are almost completely monopolized by the çiftlik-owners.

Table 36. Landownership in the Çiftliks Based on Wage Labour (Manastır)

Çiftliks based on wage labour	Çiftlik-owner (dönüm)	Çiftlik worker (dönüm)	TOTAL (dönüm)	Çiftlik-owner (percentage)	Çiftlik worker (percentage)	TOTAL (percentage)
Grain fields	2547	26	2573	99%	1%	100%
Meadow	354	2.5	356.5	99%	1%	100%
Vineyard	26.75	4.975	31.725	84%	16%	100%
Hemp field	0	1	1	0%	100%	100%
Flax field	30	1	31	97%	3%	100%
TOTAL	2957.75	35.475	2993.225	99%	1%	100%

Regarding all of the çiftliks based on wage-labour, the biggest agglomeration of fields held by a çiftlik-owner in a single çiftlik comprises of 186 dönüms while the average is 77.18 and the median is 70. The distribution of the grain fields among this type of çiftliks is displayed in the chart below (Figure 37).

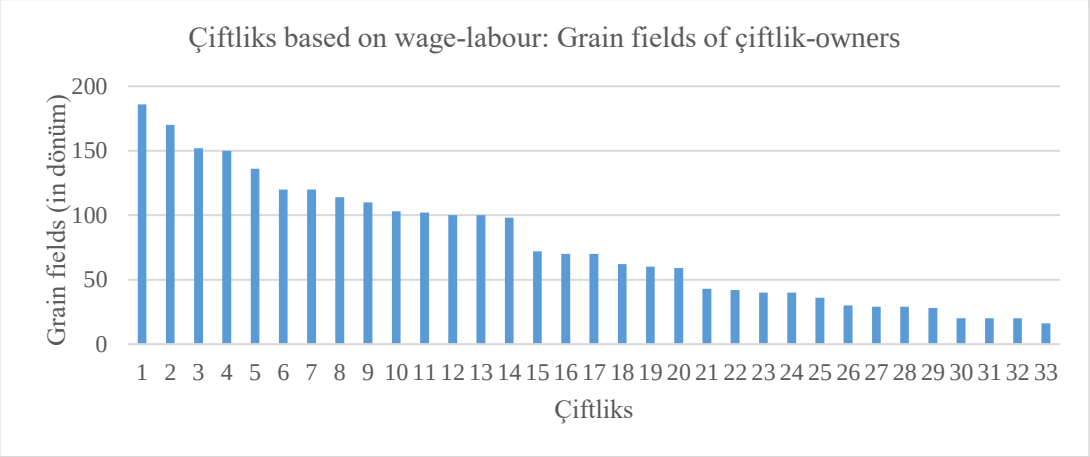


Figure 37. Çiftliks based on wage labour: Grain fields of çiftliks-owners (Manastır)

The table below (Table 37) displays the distribution of the ownership of all types of land between the çiftlik-owners and the sharecroppers in the çiftliks based exclusively on sharecropping. In general, the majority of the lands consist of grain fields, followed by meadows and then vineyards. Here, the çiftlik-owners display almost complete presence in the ownership of grain fields and meadows while they also hold the greater part of flax and hemp fields, in addition to their humbler

presence in the ownership of vineyards. Nevertheless, compared to the çiftliks based on wage-labour, the producers in the çiftliks based on sharecropping seem to have a slightly greater space of independent action, no matter how marginal it remains to be compared to the dominance of the çiftlik-owners, especially with regard to the ownership of grain fields, the backbone of the agrarian economy.

Table 37. Landownership in the Çiftliks Based on Sharecropping (Manastır)

Çiftliks based on sharecropping	Çiftlik-owner (dönüm)	Çiftlik worker (dönüm)	TOTAL (dönüm)	Çiftlik-owner (percentage)	Çiftlik worker (percentage)	TOTAL (percentage)
Grain fields	32978	1837.75	34815.75	95%	5%	100%
Meadow	4097	681.5	4778.5	86%	14%	100%
Vineyard	325.675	427.43	753.105	43%	57%	100%
Flax field	106.5	49.5	156	68%	32%	100%
Hemp field	12	9.25	21.25	56%	44%	100%
Madder root field	6.5	3	9.5	68%	32%	100%
"Bostan tarlası"	2	3	5	40%	60%	100%
TOTAL	37527.675	3011.43	40539.105	93%	7%	100%

Regarding all of the çiftliks based exclusively on sharecropping, the biggest agglomeration of all fields held by the çiftlik-owner in a single çiftlik consists of 552 dönüms of land while the average is 91.35 with a median of 60.[232] The distribution of the fields among this type of çiftliks is displayed in the chart below (Figure 38).

[232] 11 entries with the value of 0 are excluded.

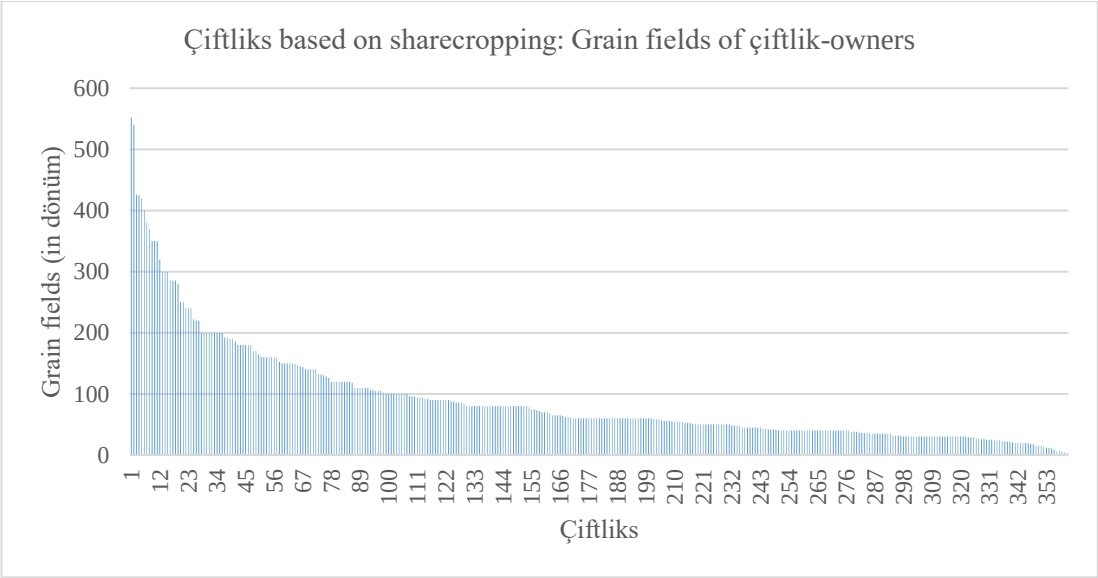


Figure 38. Çiftliks based on sharecropping: Grain fields of çiftlik-owners (Manastır).

The table below (Table 38) displays the distribution of the ownership of all types of land between çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers in the çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour. In general, the majority of the lands consist of grain fields, followed by meadows and then vineyards. Here, the çiftlik-owners hold almost all of the grain fields, and dominate the ownership of meadows, flax fields, hemp fields and "bostan tarlası", in addition to onion fields, although this latter remains to be quite marginal. Where the çiftlik workers display relatively significant ownership is the vineyards and to a smaller extent, hemp fields, while they show only marginal presence in the ownership of meadows and grain fields, which constitute the backbone of the general landownership pattern.

Table 38. Landownership in the Çiftliks Based on the Combination of Sharecropping and Wage Labour (Manastır)

Çiftliks based on combination of labour types	Çiftlik-owner (dönüm)	Çiftlik worker (dönüm)	TOTAL (dönüm)	Çiftlik-owner (percentage)	Çiftlik worker (percentage)	TOTAL (percentage)
Grain fields	33811.5	1947.55	35759.05	95%	5%	100%
Meadow	3418.5	544.375	3962.875	86%	14%	100%
Vineyard	249.5	465.01	714.51	35%	65%	100%
Flax field	44.5	12.25	56.75	78%	22%	100%
"Bostan tarlası"	9.5	3	12.5	76%	24%	100%
Onion field	6	0	6	100%	0%	100%
Hemp field	5	3.5	8.5	59%	41%	100%
Madder root field	2	0.5	2.5	80%	20%	100%
Winter pasture	1	0	1	100%	0%	100%
TOTAL	37547.5	2976.185	40523.685			

Regarding all of the çiftliks based on a combination of sharecropping and wage-labour, the biggest agglomeration of grain fields held by a çiftlik-owner in a single çiftlik consists of 1770 dönüms, with an average of 248.61 and a median of 150.[233] The distribution of the grain fields among this type of çiftliks is displayed in the chart below (Figure 39).

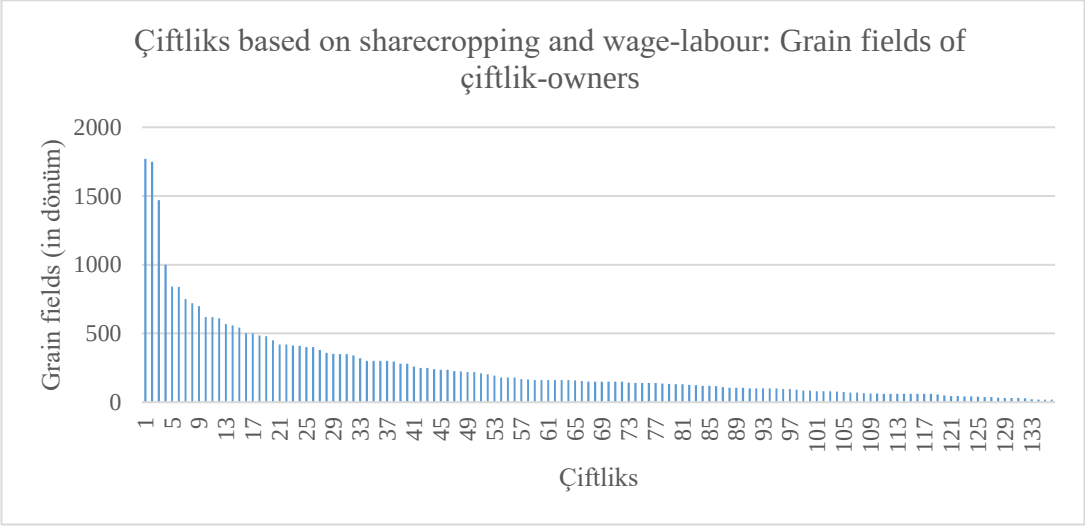


Figure 39. Çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage labour: Grain fields of çiftlik-owners (Manastır).

[233] 5 entries with a value of 0 are excluded.

Lastly, the table below (Table 39) demonstrates that 83% of all the land held by the çiftlik residents are under the posession of 588 sharecropping households while the remaining 395 households share among themselves the remaining 17% of the land.

Table 39. Distribution of Land among Çiftlik Workers in the Çiftliks Based on the Combination of Labour Types (Manastır)

Land types (dönüm)	Sharecroppers	Other workers
Grain fields	1571.55	376
Vineyard	398.32	66.69
Meadow	476.375	68
Other	19.25	0
Total	2465.495	510.69
Percentage	83%	17%

The table below (Table 40) summarizes the distribution of all types of land between çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers for all the çiftliks located in the district of Manastır whereby the majority of the lands, which consist of grain fields and meadows, is monopolized by the çiftlik-owners while the producers display their main presence in the ownership of vineyards.

Table 40. Distribution of all types of land between çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers (Manastır)

Land types	Çiftlik-owners (dönüm)	Çiftlik workers (dönüm)	TOTAL (dönüm)	Çiftlik-owners (percentage)	Çiftlik workers (percentage)
Grain fields	71763	3848.3	75611.3	95%	5%
Meadow	8079	1253.375	9332.375	87%	13%
Vineyard	620.925	905.415	1526.34	41%	59%
Flax field	189	62.75	251.75	75%	25%
Hemp field	18	12.75	30.75	59%	41%
Bostan tarlası	11.5	6	17.5	66%	34%
Madder root field	8.5	3.5	12	71%	29%
Onion field	6	0	6	100%	0%
Winter pasture	1	0	1	100%	0%
TOTAL (dönüm)	80696.925	6092.09	86789.015		
PERCENTAGE	93%	7%	100%		

All in all, the çiftlik economy of Manastır was mainly based on the ownership of grain fields and production of grains. Ursinus has underlined the importance of grain, and especially wheat production in the fertile plains around the Crna River, for the agricultural economy of Manastır:

> For centuries the area forwarded substantial wheat surpluses to the region's main commercial centres such as Siroz and Selanik, over and above supplying the local markets with the necessary foodstuffs. Consequently, the lowland districts near Manastır are among the first in Ottoman Rumelia to have witnessed the emergence, out of the ruins of the increasingly obsolete timar system, yet partly in co-existence with it, of a çiftlik economy.[234]

In a similar vein, McGowan has also underlined that "the latter day chiftlik dealt here was devoted to a single crop -a monoculture- which would be marketed to obtain a profit."[235] This is similar to Edirne, where "grain was the dominant crop in market-

[234] Ursinus, "The Çiftlik Sahibleri of Manastır as a Local Elite, Late Seventeenth to Early Nineteenth Century," 250.
[235] McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 122.

oriented agricultural production."[236] While the production of grains is of utmost importance, however, grains other than wheat are also quite significant in the çiftlik economy of the mid-19th century Manastır. In the following charts, the respective amounts of income obtained from grain production on fields held by çiftlik-owners and çiftlik-workers are displayed in comparison.[237]

The chart below (Figure 40) displays the distribution of the revenue obtained from the production of grains on the fields of çiftlik-owners. Here, the main revenue originates from production of wheat, constituting 37% of total income obtained from grains, followed by barley, constituting 30%, and then by rye, constituting 26%. These are followed by corn (6%), oats (1%) and other insignificant categories.

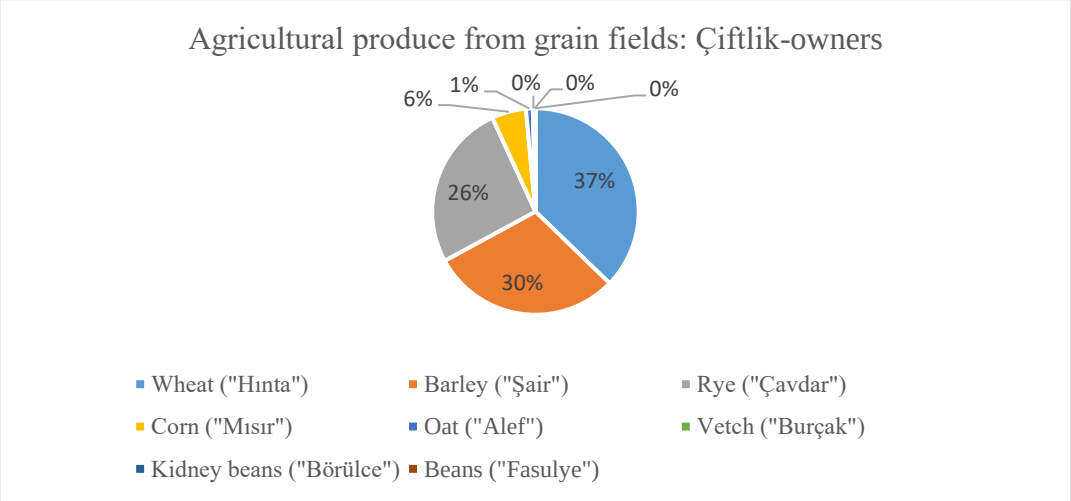


Figure 40. Agricultural produce from grain fields: Çiftlik-owners (Manastır)

The chart below (Figure 41) displays the distribution of the revenue obtained from the production of grains on the fields of çiftlik-workers. Here, the main revenue originates from the production of wheat, constituting 46% of the total income

[236] Parveva, "Villages, Peasants and Landholdings in the Edirne Region in the Second Half of the 17" Century," 46.
[237] Unit prices of grains (in *kuruş* per *kile)* as calculated on the basis of agricultural tax, are as follows: Wheat ("*Hınta*"): 10.5; Rye ("*Çavdar*"): 8; Barley ("*Şair*"): 7; Oat ("*Alef*"): 5; Corn ("*Mısır*"): 8; Vetch ("*Burçak*"): 8.

obtained from grains, followed by rye and barley, each constituting 21%. These are followed by corn (10%) and other insignificant categories.

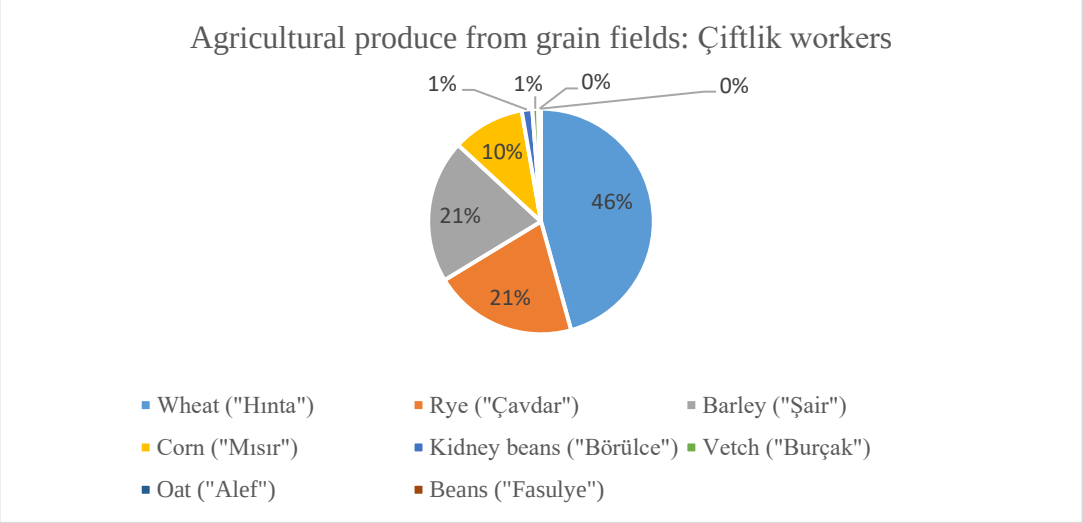


Figure 41. Agricultural produce from grain fields: Çiftlik workers (Manastır)

The following series of charts display the same distribution for each specific type of çiftlik.[238] While the specific percentages vary, the general pattern remains the same, in decreasing importance: wheat – barley – rye – corn (Figures 42, 43, and 44).

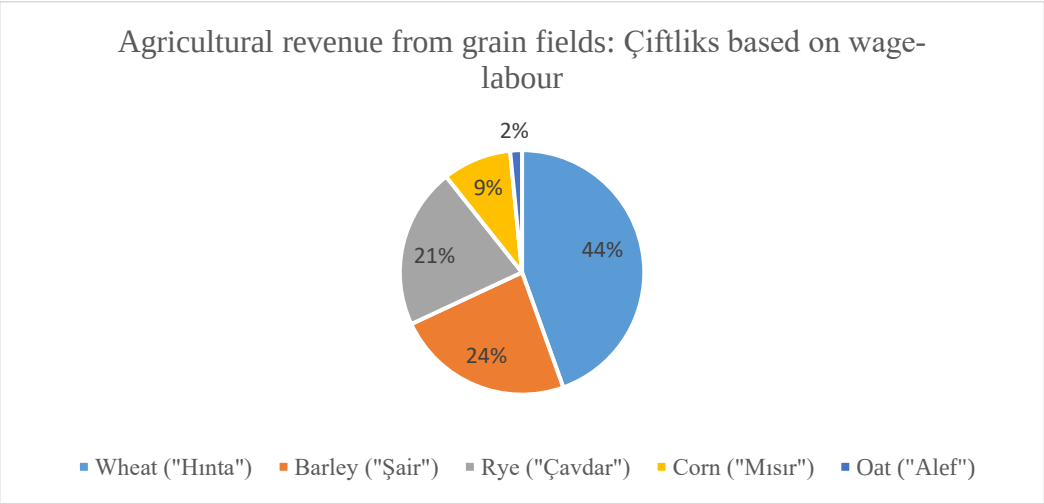


Figure 42. Agricultural revenue from grain fields: Çiftliks based on wage labour (Manastır).

[238] Çiftlik-owner's land only.

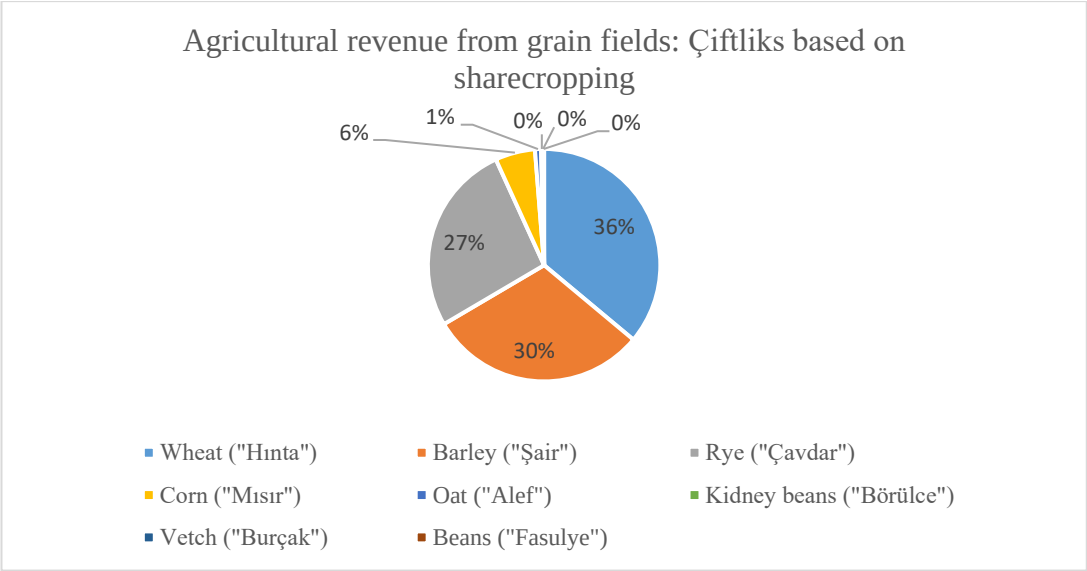


Figure 43. Agricultural revenue from grain fields: Çiftliks based on sharecropping (Manastır).

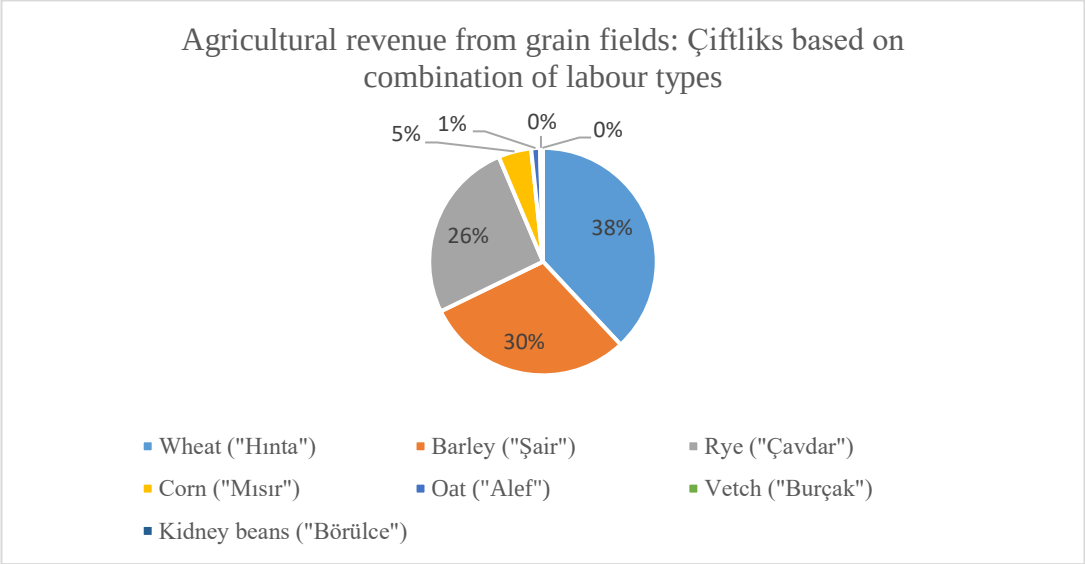


Figure 44. Agricultural revenue from grain fields: Çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage labour (Manastır).

The graph below (Figure 45) combines the data given separately in the three charts above:

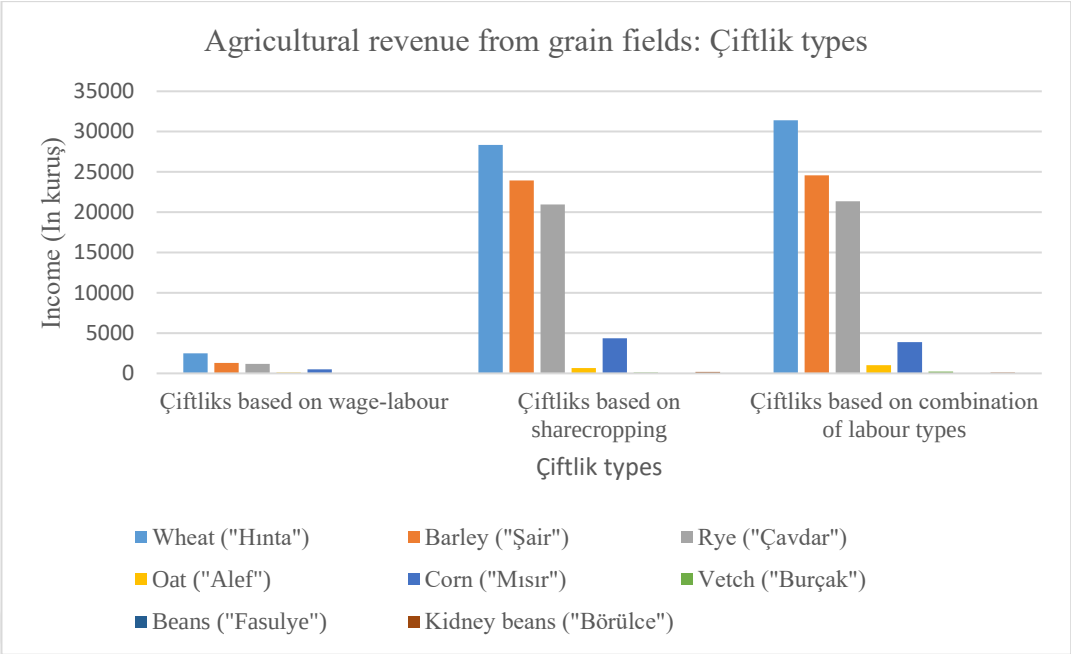


Figure 45. Agricultural revenue from grain fields: Çiftlik types (Manastır).

Lastly, the distribution of grains in terms of their amount is shown in the charts below (Figure 46 and Figure 47).

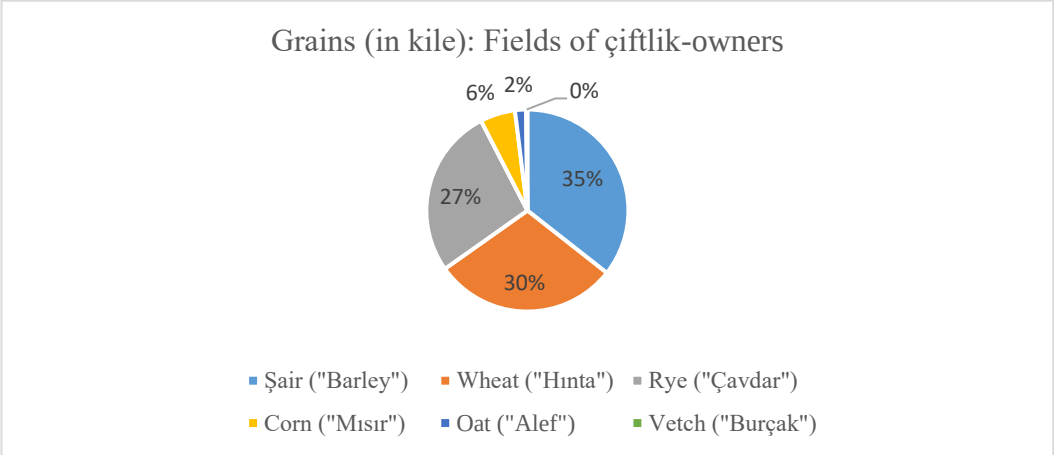


Figure 46. Grains from the fields of çiftlik-owners of Manastır

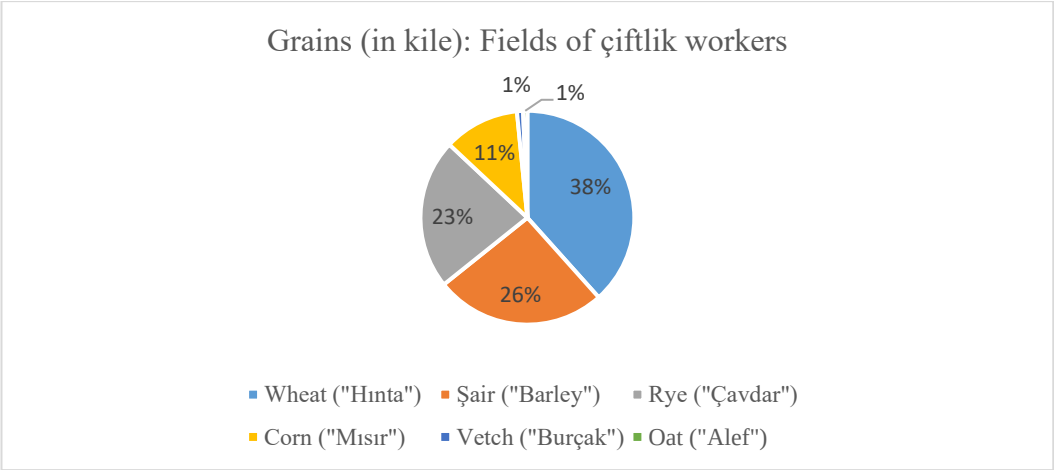


Figure 47. Grains from the fields of çiftlik workers of Manastır

The tables below (Table 41 and 42) show the lands under cultivation and the revenue obtained from them in the lands owned by çiftlik-owners and çiftlik-workers.

Table 41. Agricultural revenue from land under production in the çiftliks of Manastır (1)

	Çiftlik-owner		Çiftlik worker		Total	
Agricultural produce	Kuruş	Percentage	Kuruş	Percentage	Kuruş	Percentage
Grains	1688477.25	92%	152883.5	8%	1841360.75	100%
Vineyard	47095	39%	73359.5	61%	120454.5	100%
Meadows	175465	90%	19492.5	10%	194957.5	100%
Hemp	2560	62%	1590	38%	4150	100%
Linen	28790	71%	11880	29%	40670	100%
"Bostan"	1675	45%	2080	55%	3755	100%
Onion	400	100%	0	0%	400	100%
Madder root	1400	65%	750	35%	2150	100%

Table 42. Agricultural revenue from land under production in the çiftliks of Manastır (2)

	Çiftlik-owner		Çiftlik worker	
Agricultural produce	Kuruş	Percentage	Kuruş	Percentage
Grains	1688477.25	87%	152883.5	58%
Vineyard	47095	2%	73359.5	28%
Meadows	175465	9%	19492.5	7%
Hemp	2560	<1%	1590	1%
Linen	28790	1%	11880	5%
"Bostan"	1675	<1%	2080	1%
Onion	400	<1%	0	0%
Madder root	1400	<1%	750	<1%
Total	1945862.25	100%	262035.5	100%

The present analysis of the means of production will be concluded with the exposition of the data on the ownership of draught animals. The following tables (Table 43, Table 44 and Table 45) and the graphs derived from them (Figure 48 and Figure 49) demonstrate the distribution of draught animals between çiftlik-owners and producers for each type of çiftlik. In relation to workforce and land, the çiftliks with sharecropping and wage-labour contains most of the draught animals, followed by çiftliks based on sharecropping and çiftliks based on wage-labour.[239]

Table 43. Draught Animals: Çiftliks Based on Wage Labour (Manastır)

Çiftliks based on wage-labour	Oxen (number)	Oxen (percentage)	All potential draught animals (number)	All draught animals (percentage)	Pack animals (number)	Pack animals (percentage)
Çiftlik-owner	84	84%	101	86%	35	71%
Çiftlik worker	16	16%	16	14%	14	29%
Total	100	100%	117	100%	49	100%

Table 44. Draught Animals: Çiftliks Based on Sharecropping (Manastır)

Çiftliks based on sharecropping	Oxen (number)	Oxen (percentage)	All potential draught animals (number)	All draught animals (percentage)	Pack animals (number)	Pack animals (percentage)
Çiftlik-owner	28	2%	33	2%	20	2%
Çiftlik worker	1643	98%	1732	98%	1111	98%
Total	1671	100%	1765	100%	1131	100%

Table 45. Draught Animals: Çiftliks Based on the Combination of Sharecropping and Wage Labour (Manastır)

Çiftliks based on the combination of labour types	Oxen (number)	Oxen (percentage)	All potential draught animals (number)	All draught animals (percentage)	Pack animals (number)	Pack animals (percentage)
Çiftlik-owner	144	8%	182	9%	89	6%
Çiftlik worker	1695	92%	1775	91%	1295	94%
Total	1839	100%	1957	100%	1384	100%

[239] Categories of animals include "*öküz, öküz manda, manda öküzü, inek öküzü, erkek manda, kısır manda, manda, çift mandası, camuş, kısır camuş, bargir, binek bargir, harman bargiri, hatabkeş merkeb/bargir, hergele bargir, kiracı bargir, semerli bargir, yük bargiri, kömürcü bargiri, değirmenci bargiri, merkeb, katır, kısrak, hergele kısrak, dölsüz kısrak*."

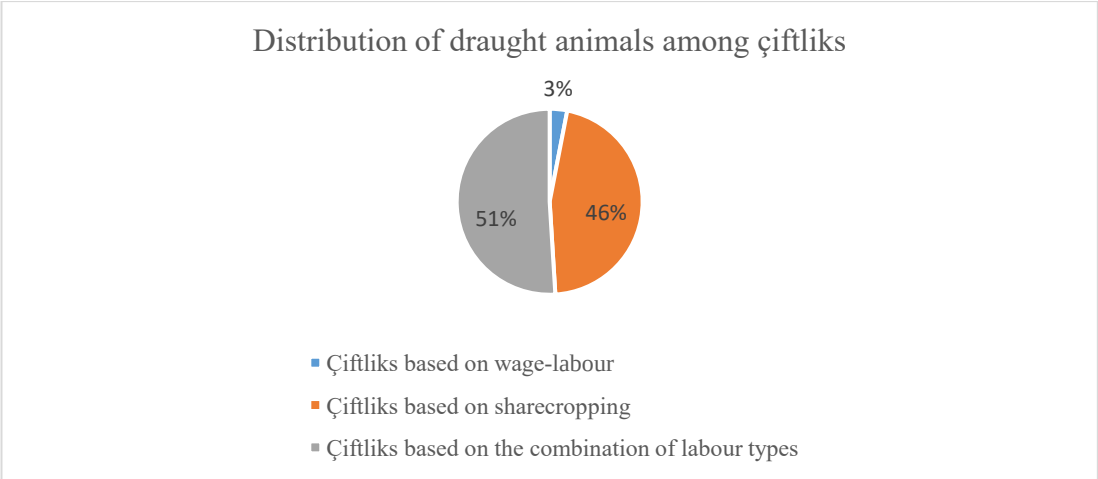


Figure 48. Distribution of draught animals among çiftlik types in Manastır.

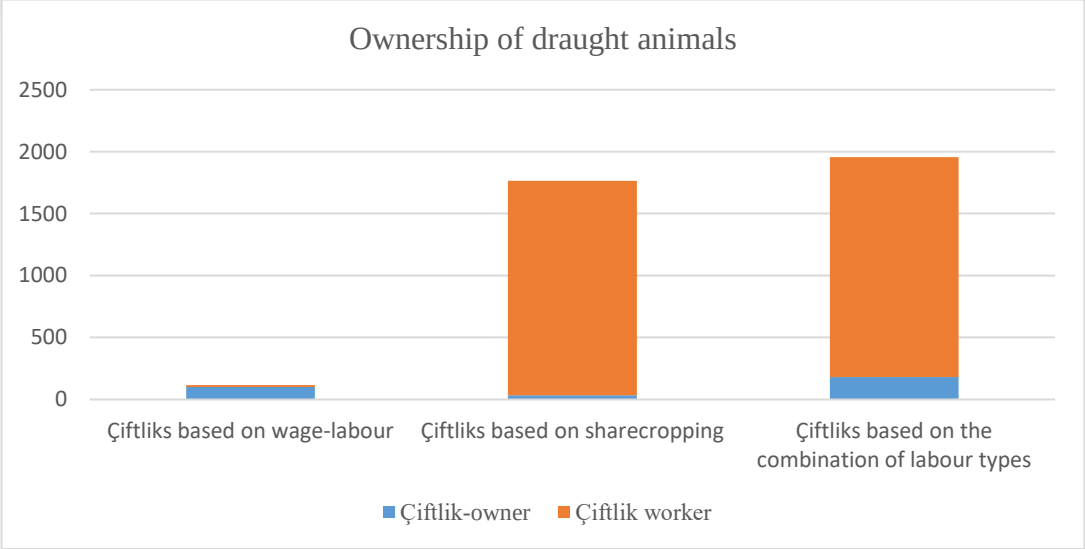


Figure 49. Ownership of draught animals by çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers of Manastır.

The çiftliks based on wage-labour and sharecropping display quite different characteristics as long as production arrangements can be considered as different combinations of the modules of land, labour and draught animals, which constitute the only visible categories in the sources under study. In the former, the çiftlik-owners, in most cases, provide not only the land but also the draught animals, which constitute the main production tool in a traditional agrarian setting. In the latter, sharecroppers get the upper hand in contributing draught animals into the production

process. As such, the ownership of draught animals, especially oxen, may constitute one of the main lines of the division between the possibility of a landless rural producer working as a sharecropper or a wage-worker. The unity of the land and oxen in the formulation of a "reaya çiftliği" ("*nadas ve ekim işleri bir çift öküzle yapılabilecek büyüklükte"*) in the traditional texts and codes on agriculture may also attest to the importance of the possession of all factors of production for the definition of a proper farmer.[240] The frequency of the ownership of oxen by completely landless peasants is also striking and may indicate the possibility of an ongoing process of dispossession which would traditionally start from the appropriation of agricultural land.[241]

3.3.3 Çiftlik-owners of Manastır

In the first section of the present chapter, based on the data derived from the temettuat registers of rural Manastır, it has been demonstrated that the group of çiftlik-owners had control over one-third of the labour-force as well as 70% of the total amount of cultivable land within the district. As such, it has been argued that, in the district of Manastır in the mid-19th century, there was a considerable degree of concentration of the main factors of production in the hands of a group of landowners who did not themselves directly involve in agricultural production -in the fashion of small-holding farmers- but appropriated a part of the agricultural surplus due their monopoly over landownership, against the background of a mainly rural society a portion of which was completely dispossessed.

In this context, the question of the internal configuration of this specific group of landowners comes to the fore with renewed importance in the face of the existence

[240] Barkan, "Çiftlik," 789.
[241] See: Chapter 6 Section 5.

of a degree of inequality and stratification in the villages and the cases of employment of the labour of fellow villagers by the richer segments of the peasantry as well as the instances of çiftlik-owners with rural roots in addition to the traditional members of the powerful ayan families and people of various urban backgrounds residing in the central town of the district. For the purpose of understanding the social and economic characteristics of a broad group labelled as "sahib-i çiftlik," the temettuat registers of rural Manastır have been analyzed in combination with the temettuat survey of the central town of Manastır.[242]

To start with, the graph below (Figure 50) displays the distribution of the size of the çiftliks of Manastır on the basis of ownership of grain fields by çiftlik-owners for each specific çiftlik. The initial picture that emerges points towards the existence of considerable divergence in terms of çiftlik size.[243]

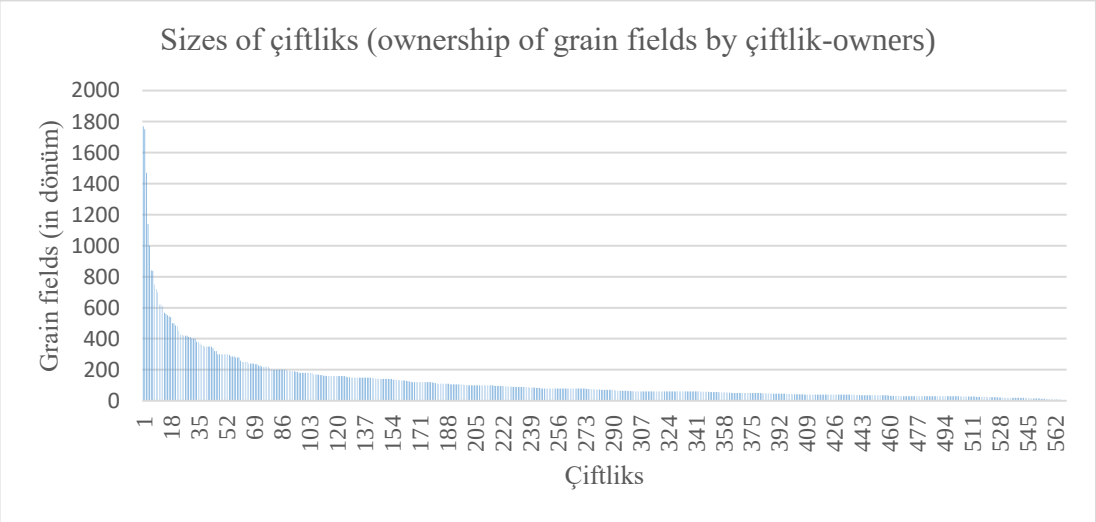


Figure 50. Distribution of the sizes of çiftliks (Manastır) (1).

[242] The temettuat survey of the central town of Manastır is registered in the defter titled BOA ML.VRD.TMT.d.11444.

[243] Here, the calculations have been prepared on the basis of ownership of grain fields for each specific çiftlik. The lands under the possession of the çiftlik residents as well as 18 entries with the value of 0 have been excluded.

The table below (Table 46) displays the general distribution of çiftliks according to their size, again with a focus on the extent of landownership by çiftlik-owners in individual çiftliks. In the first two columns of this table, the çiftliks of Manastır have been divided into ten equal parts, each of which consists of 57 çiftliks based on their size in ascending order. In the third column, specific ranges have been indicated for the sizes of each 10% portion of the çiftliks. The following columns express, in percentages and in average values, the size of each group of çiftliks under question. As the table demonstrates, the top 10% of the çiftliks encompasses more than 40% of the total çiftlik land in the district, while this latter value steadily decreases, reaching a minimum of 1% for the bottom 10% of the çiftliks operating in the region.

Table 46. Distribution of the Çiftlik Sizes of Manastır

	Number of çiftliks	Percentage in all çiftliks	Çiftlik size (ranges in dönüm)	Çiftlik land (total dönüm)	Çiftlik land (percentage)	Average land per çiftlik (dönüm)
	57	10%	3 - 27	997.5	1%	17.50
	57	10%	27 - 35	1719.5	2%	30.17
	57	10%	35 - 43	2234	3%	39.19
	57	10%	43 - 60	2920	4%	51.23
	57	10%	60 - 70	3533.5	5%	61.99
	57	10%	70 - 92	4628	6%	81.19
	57	10%	92 - 120	5980	8%	104.91
	57	10%	120 - 160	8207	11%	143.98
	57	10%	162 - 285	11862.5	17%	208.11
	56	10%	285 - 1770	29681	41%	530.02
Total	569	100%		71763	100%	

The chart below (Figure 51) has been derived from the data in Table 46 in order to display the percentages of total land in each range of çiftliks.

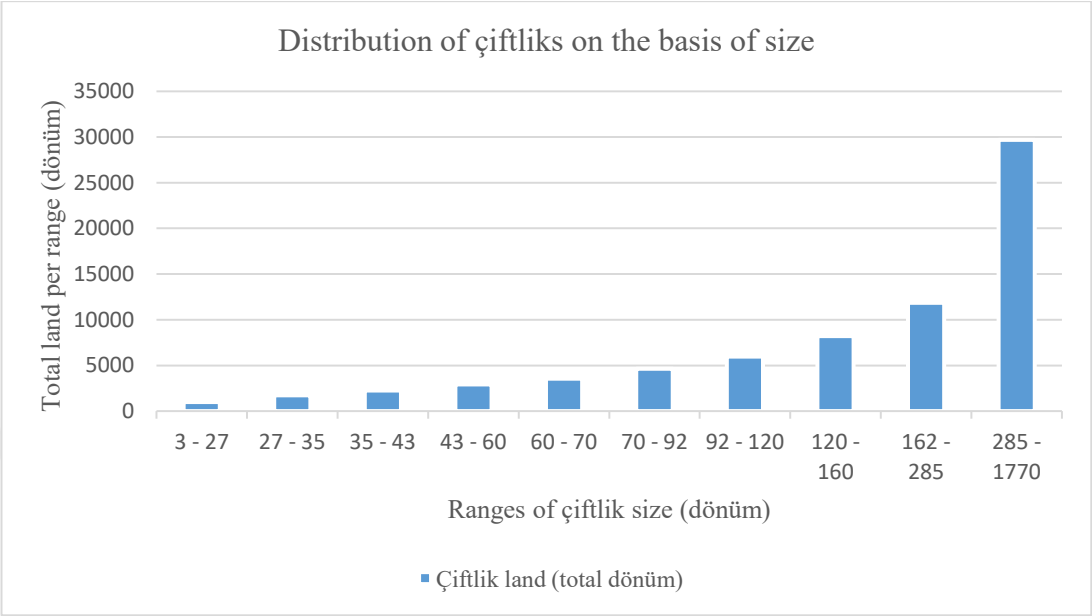


Figure 51. Distribution of the sizes of çiftliks (Manastır) (2).

All in all, the data under analysis so far not only demonstrates that there are many divergences among individual çiftliks in terms of organization of labour and size but also indicates that the title of "sahib-i çiftlik" is applied to a wide variety of landholder types: On the one hand, there is the group of bigger çiftliks the owners of which keep tremendous amounts of cultivable land under their control, and also control a considerable part of the labour-force of rural society and consequently attain significant levels of agricultural revenue. At the same time, there is even a larger number of çiftliks, the owners of which control much humbler amounts of land and revenue and are engaged in simpler configurations of labour relations.[244]

[244] "A *çiftlik sahibi* in posession of just one or two former peasant holdings (which, perhaps surprisingly, constitutes the majority of cases) is in a completely different order of magnitude from a big landholder with several hunderd labourer households under his control": Ursinus, "The Çiftlik Sahibleri of Manastır as a Local Elite, Late Seventeenth to Early Nineteenth Century," 250.

Regarding all of the çiftlik-owners in the district of Manastır, excluding around 20 owners about whom there is no information, the greater majority resides in the central town of the district, while around 19 çiftlik-owners have been indicated to be village residents and 38 çiftlik-owners have been noted to reside in other districts.

The urban-based çiftlik-owners consist of a diverse group, including people of official bureaucratic and military positions, in addition to various crafts and trades, as well as a number of farmers, labourers, orphans, and widows in the registers of the central town of Manastır.[245] The wealthier part of this group earns their urban income mainly from the renting out of their property, holding of *tımar* as well as salaries from official bureaucratic and military positions.[246] Other than these, quite a large number of farmers, artisans and people of various occupations constitute the remaining çiftlik-owners residing in the town centre while about 60 çiftlik-owners do not have any income from urban occupations other than what they get from their çiftlik activity. Interestingly, many çiftlik-owners registered as farmers ("erbab-I ziraat) do not have any income from farming while most of them have a vague "zuhurat" income.

The table below (Table 47) displays the information on the richest çiftlik-owners of the town center, based on their annual income (the çiftlik-owners earning over 10000 kuruş in the town of Manastır).[247]

[245] BOA ML.VRD.TMT.d.11444.
[246] Such as "kaymakamlık, eminlik, ketebelik, katiblik, nazırlık, müdürlük maaşı."
[247] 4 out of 6 çiftlik-owners are shown here.

Table 47. The Richest Çiftlik-Owners of the Town Center of Manastır (Annual Income over 10000 kuruş)

Name (town register)	Income source in town	Income (in kuruş)	Identification in çiftlik registers (1)	Çiftlik type (1)	Çiftlik name (1)	Çiftlik size (1) (grain fields)	Identification in çiftlik registers (2)	Çiftlik type (2)	Çiftlik name (2)	Çiftlik size (2) (grain fields)
Mustafa Bey oğlu Mehmed Halid Bey ve karındaşı Numan Bey	rent, income from holding of tımar	17855.5	Mustafa Bey oğulları Hacı Halid Bey ve Numan Beyler	Combination of labour types	Tepavci	560	Mustafa Bey oğulları Hacı Halid ve Numan Beyler ("iştiraken çiftliği")	Combination of labour types	Brod	500
Abdullah oğlu Hacı Mehmed Bey	salary from official job ("kaymakam maaşı")	16200	Abdullah oğlu Hacı Mehmed Bey (Asakir-i nizamiye ... kaymakamı)	Wage-labour	Mogila	60				
Adem oğlu () divan-ı hümayundan Besim Efendi	rent	15360	Atufetlu () Besim efendi	Combination of labour types	Kleştina-yı Zir	296				
Abdullah oğlu Ali Ağa	salary from official job ("bektaşi maaşı"), animal-husbandry	13530	Abdullah oğlu Ali Ağa	Combination of labour types	Pozdeş	100				

While çiftlik-owning seems to be a common form of investment for these individuals who mostly hold official positions, it is by no means their main source of livelihood. Furthermore, their political power is not directly translated into economic power as landowners of the district. Nevertheless, many of the greatest çiftlik-owners of Manastır, such as the family members of Abdülkerim Bey, did not only have administrative and military duties, but also participated in local councils, as will be discussed below.

In the rural registers under study, there are many figures among the bigger çiftlik-owners who hold the titles of Paşazade, Bey, Ağa and Efendi, as well as figures with titles of religious and military connotations. All in all, they make up half of the total number of çiftlik-owners, yet having most of the land (Table 48).[248]

[248] Ursinus underlines the existence of the great variety regarding titles based on the data obtained from the çiftlik survey registers of 1710 (ağa, sipahi, çelebi, effendi, kethüda, bey, beyzade, ağazade, efendizade, paşa, zaim, zaimzade, yazıcı, hoca, vaiz effendi, kapıcızade, şeyh, çuhadar ağa, bayrakdar, kadızade, muhtarbaşı, bakkal, sarraf etc.): Ursinus, "The Çiftlik Sahibleri of Manastır as a Local Elite, Late Seventeenth to Early Nineteenth Century," 252. Ursinus also adds, "however many diverse elements of society and members of different social strata they may include, they are united in the fact that they are in posession of one or more former peasant holdings worked by farm labourers for which they are fiscally responsible": Ibid, 250. McGowan also emphasizes that, starting from the late 18th century onwards, a wealthy person without any title or claim to a special privilege could take hold of considerable amounts of land in return of money: McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade, and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800,* 152.

Nevertheless, the group of çiftlik-owners without any title constitutes a remarkable 39%.

Table 48. Titles of the Çiftlik-Owners of Manastır

Çiftlik-owners	Number of çiftliks	Percentage of çiftliks	Grain fields owned (dönüm)	Percentage of grain fields
No title	231	39%	20467.5	29%
Title (Bey, Ağa, Efendi, Hacı etc.)	292	50%	43559.5	61%
Women	64	11%	7736	11%

The distribution of çiftlik size for each group indicated in Table 48 is displayed in the graphs below (Figures 52, 53, and 54) in order to give a sense of the extent of çiftlik size for each group under study. Here, the mean and the median values for the distribution of çiftlik size for each group are as follows (in dönüm): For the çiftlik-owners holding titles, mean is 155.01 and median is 94; for the çiftlik-owners without titles, mean is 90.165 and median is 58; for the female çiftlik-owners, mean is 126.8 and median is 75. The following graphs visualize this data.

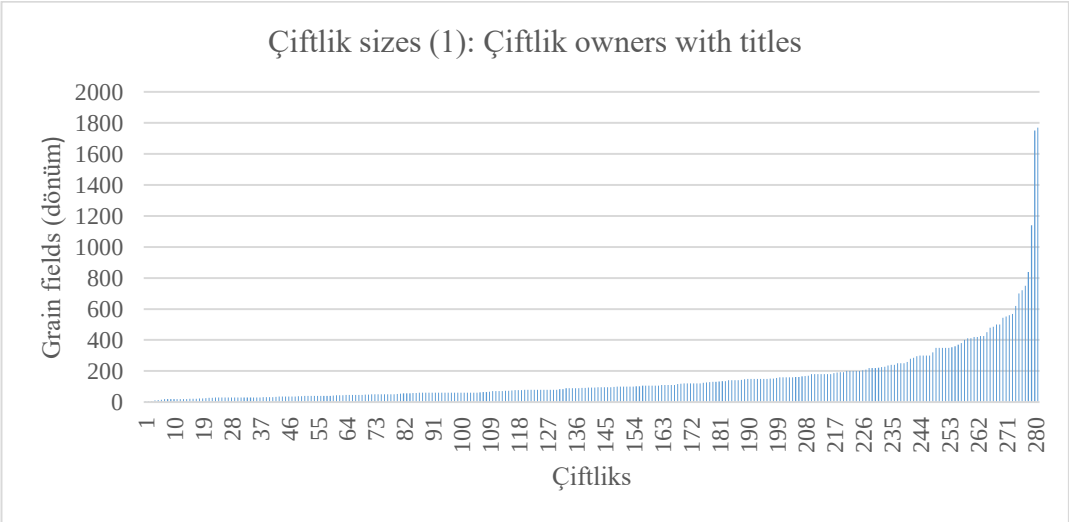


Figure 52. Sizes of çiftliks: Çiftlik-owners with titles (Manastır).

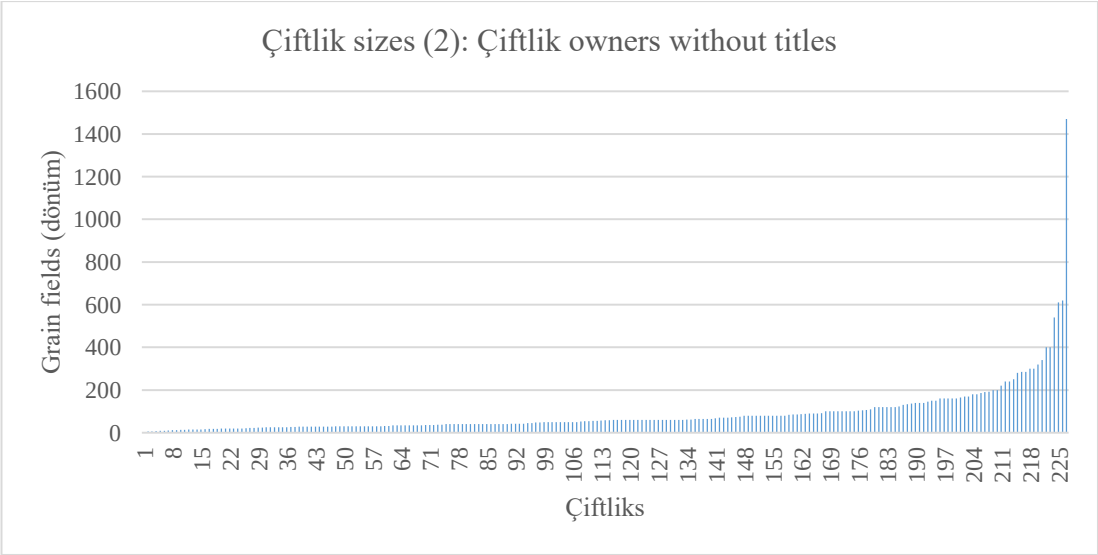


Figure 53. Sizes of çiftliks: Çiftlik-owners without titles (Manastır).

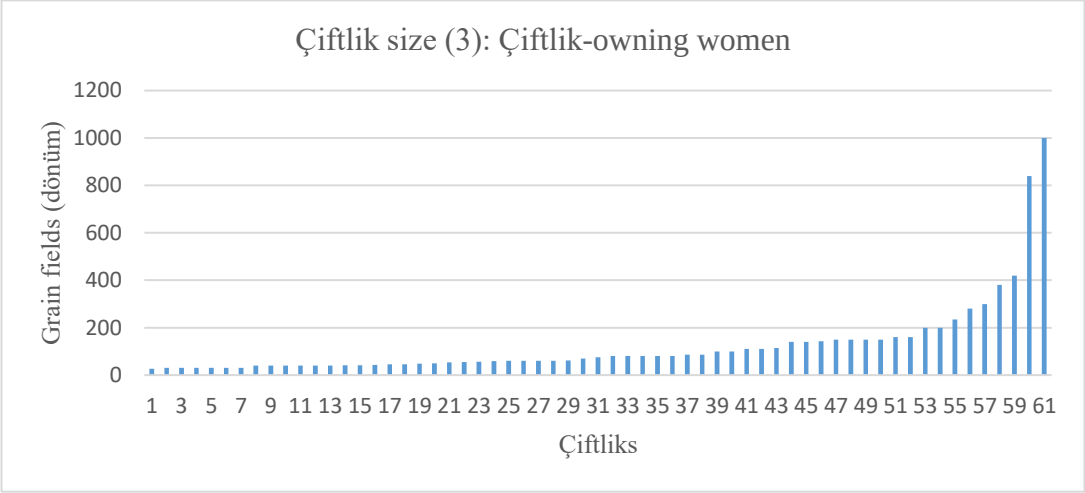


Figure 54. Sizes of çiftliks: Çiftlik-owning women (Manastır).

A major take-away here is the absence of a clear-cut, categorical separation between çiftlik-owners of title and no title as there are many divergences among the çiftliks owned by each group in terms of their size. As such, carrying a traditional family name does not automatically translate into the holding of the bigger çiftliks, and vice-versa. Nevertheless, on average, çiftlik-owners with titles indeed tend to hold more land than the çiftlik-owners without any title in general.

The following series of tables demonstrate the general characteristics of the owners of the biggest çiftliks in the district of Manastır. A number of these çiftlik-owners will be focused on in detail to delineate certain patterns of çiftlik-ownership in the mid-19th century Manastır.

Table 49. Largest 10 çiftliks of Manastır

Largest 10 çiftliks							
Ownership of grain fields (dönüm)	Çiftlik type	Çiftlik-owner	Residence of çiftlik-owner	Identification in town registers	Status in the place of residence	Sources of income in place of residence	Income in place of residence
1770	Çiftlik based on the combination of labour types	Abdülkerim Beyzade Halil Bey ve biraderleri Mahmud Bey ve Arif Bey (aleştirak mutasarrıf oldukları)	Manastır Emir mahallesi (Emir Çelebi)	Abdülkerim Beyzadeler dergahı ali kapucubaşılarından Halil Bey ve biraderleri Mahmud ve Arif ve Sadık ve Celaleddin ve Tevfik Beyler		income from fields and vineyards, rent, animal-husbandry	7640
1750	Çiftlik based on the combination of labour types	Abdülkerim Beyzade dergah-ı ali kapıcıbaşılarından Halil Bey ve Mahmud Bey ve Arif Bey ve diğer biraderlerinin aleştirak mutasarrıf oldukları çiftlik	Manastır Emir mahallesi (Emir Çelebi)	*		*	*
1470	Çiftlik based on the combination of labour types	Emin oğlu İbrahim ve karındaşı Halil	Manastır Bali Voyvoda mahallesi	The only Emin oğlu İbrahim who could be identified as a çiftlik-owner in the registers of the town center was a resident in the mahalle of Hamza Çelebi (registered in household 116) while there was not any mention of a brother named Halil living with him. Rather, the brother-in-law of this person, named Abdullah oğlu Şerif efendi, has been indicated to reside in İbrahim's dwelling obtaining an annual income of 3000 kuruş from his rented-out property. Unfortunately, it is highly uncertain certain whether these are the same person.	servant ("adi hizmetkar")	servantry, rented-out property	3300
1140	Misc	Ahmed oğlu Hacı İbrahim Ağa	Manastır Karaoğlan mahallesi	Dergah-ı ali kapucubaşılarından Ahmed oğlu Hacı İbrahim Ağa (a resident of the mahalle of İne Bey in the household numbered 25). Although the place of residence are different, these are most probably the same person.		rent, animal-husbandry, income from "zuhurat"	490
1000	Çiftlik based on the combination of labour types	Osman Bey kerimeleri Nurşah ve Zeynebşah Hanımlar	Manastır İne Bey mahallesi	Not registered in the town book.			
840	Çiftlik based on the combination of labour types	Ahmed Bey kerimesi Cevriye Hanım	Manastır İne Bey mahallesi	Not registered in the town book.			
838	Çiftlik based on the combination of labour types	Mahmud Paşa oğlu dergah-ı ali kapucubaşılarından Şerif Bey	Manastır İne Bey mahallesi	Müteveffa Mahmud Paşazade dergahı ali kapucubaşılarından atufetli Şerif Bey		rent	9376
750	Çiftlik based on the combination of labour types	Ahmed Bey oğlu Reşid Bey	Manastır İne Bey mahallesi	Ahmed Beyzade Raşid Bey	farmer ("erbab-ı ziraat")	income from "zuhurat"	2000
720	Çiftlik based on the combination of labour types	Müteveffa Hacı Ahmed Ağa oğlu Süleyman	Manastır Firuz Bey mahallesi	Hacı Ahmed Ağa oğlu Süleyman Ağa	farmer ("erbab-ı ziraat")	rent	2330
700	Çiftlik based on the combination of labour types	Abdülkerim Bey oğulları Halil ve Mahmud Bey (iştiraken çiftliği)	Manastır Emir mahallesi (Emir Çelebi)	*	*	*	*

Table 49 displays the main information on ownership for the largest 10 çiftliks of Manastır from all categories of labour. In this segment, most of the owners are from the upper echelons of the society, often practice ownership of multiple çiftliks, such as two members of the family of Ahmed Bey, in addition to joint ownership of individual çiftliks, such as various members of the family of Abdülkerim Bey, as will be discussed in detail below. Here, all of the owners of these çiftliks reside in various quarters of the central town of Manastır and the prevalence of the title of “Bey” among these figures attracts attention.

In Table 49, there are various examples of multiple and joint ownership of çiftliks. Ahmed Bey has a daughter, Cevriye Hanım, who holds 5 çiftliks, amounting to grain fields of more than 1600 dönüms, and a son, Reşid Bey, who holds 4 çiftliks, amounting to grain fields of more than 1300 dönüms, in the district of Manastır, in addition to another son who has a çiftlik in Kesriye: As such, the family members of Ahmed Bey holds around 3000 dönüms of land in the district of Manastır alone. Likewise, Mahmud Paşa oğlu Şerif Bey holds 3 çiftliks consisting of 1236 dönüms; Ahmed oğlu Hacı İbrahim Ağa holds 2 çiftliks consisting of 1280 dönüms; two daughters of Osman Bey holds together 1 çiftlik of 1000 dönüms while Hacı Ahmed Ağa oğlu Süleyman has a single çiftlik himself. Such cases of multiple and joint ownership of çiftliks, furthermore, are not confined to the holders of the biggest çiftliks indicated in the table above, as there are many families the members of which hold multiple and joint çiftliks. An example is the family of Rüstem Bey, the members of which hold 17 çiftliks in total, the biggest being 552 dönüms, and totaling more than 3000 dönüms altogether. Another example is İbrahim Bey, who has two sons, Ali Bey and Hasan Bey, each of whom holds 2 çiftliks. This is not, furthermore, specific to the families with the title of "Bey": For example, each one of the 9 children -sons and daughters alike- of a person named Abdülbaki holds one çiftlik, together amounting to a collection of 9 çiftliks in this single family while the son named Hacı Mehmed, who resides in the mahalle of Hamza Bey and is defined as a farmer in the town registers, holds the biggest one, consisting of grain fields of 160 dönüms.

In general, the members of the family of Abdülkerim Bey constitute the greater landowners of the district of Manastır in the period under question[249] as they

[249] Abdülkerim Bey, by the time of the compilation of the income surveys, was already a prominent figure in the life of Manastır: Atuk, "Manastır Vilayetinde Yönetim ve Yerel Meclisler," 157-158. In

lead the way having not only considerable amounts of land totaling around 4700 dönüms in their çiftliks located in the settlements of Veljeselo, Orizari, Obrsani, Ruvci Paşa and Beranci, but also possessing the largest as well as the second largest çiftlik of all.[250] Table 50 shows the information on the çiftliks of this family.

Table 50. Çiftliks of the family of Abdülkerim Bey in Manastır

Çiftlik name	Grain fields (total dönüm)	Percentage in total
Beranci	1770	38%
Ruvci Paşa	1750	37%
Veljeselo	700	15%
Orizari	300	6%
Obrsani (2)	105	2%
Obrsani (1)	75	2%
TOTAL	4700	100%

Here, the largest çiftlik of the district, held by the members of the family of Abdülkerim Bey in the settlement of Beranci, located in the alluvial plains to the north of the town of Manastır, consists of grain fields of 1770 dönüms. Here, 20 sharecroppers and 9 labourers, completely landless, toil under the control of their landowners. In this çiftlik, the main division of the agrarian produce between the çiftlik-owners and sharecroppers is roughly equal as each sharecropper household

1830, he was the biggest "*deruhdeci*" of Manastır, holding "1227 *chifts* - almost a third of the district's total- under his *deruhde*": McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 169. He was also a member of the local administrative body ("*yerel meclis*"). After his death, his son Halil Bey was appointed in his place in 1845: Ibid, 161. In the temettuat surveys under study, Halil Bey is mentioned as "*aza-yı meclis*". There are also other examples of the involvement of çiftlik-owners in local affairs. For example, Şerif Efendizade Süleyman Efendi, another çiftlik owner, is indicated to be "*kaza-yı mezbur mahallatından ve meclis azasından*" in the temettuat registers. Other examples of the çiftlik owners of the temettuat registers who resurface as the members of "*muhasıllık meclisi*" include figures such as Şerif Ahmed Bey (Merhum Mahmud Paşazade dergah-ı ali kapıcıbaşılarından atufetlu Şerif Ahmed Bey), Elhac İbrahim Ağa, Mehmed Ağa, Kostantin etc.: Atuk, "Manastır Vilayetinde Yönetim ve Yerel Meclisler," 157-158. Ursinus also underlines the continuity of family lineages in landownership as well as local administrative and fiscal positions from the 18th into the 19th century: Ursinus, "The Çiftlik Sahibleri of Manastır as a Local Elite, Late Seventeenth to Early Nineteenth Century," 253-254.

[250] In addition to their income of 7640 kuruş from the town-center, they generate a gross income of almost 86000 kuruş from their çiftliks, which demonstrates the importance of çiftlik-ownership and the overarching weight of agrarian sources for the general configuration of income for this family. Halil Bey has two çiftlik-owning sons as well: Halil Bey oğlu Eyüb Bey had a çiftlik of 120 dönüms in Sv. Todor; Halil Bey oğlu Yusuf Bey had a çiftlik of 126 dönüms in Obrsani. Various members of this family also owned the bigger çiftliks of Pirlepe.

gets 1426.5 kuruş in addition to a relatively humble income from their small parcels of vineyards and meadows as well as engagement in animal husbandry, while the wage workers obtain their main income ranging between 100 and 200 kuruş from engagement in wage-labour other than an additional and quite meagre income from vineyards and animal husbandry for some of them. The second largest çiftlik, again held by the members of the same family and located in the settlement of Ruvci Paşa in the alluvial plains to the very north of the district, consists of grain fields of 1750 dönüms cultivated by 17 sharecroppers, obtaining a share between 1300 and 1800 kuruş, with the division between the producers and the çiftlik-owners being slightly in favor of the latter, in addition to 9 wage-workers having an income from their engagement in "hizmetkarlık" and "ırgatlık". Both of these çiftliks exemplify the general model of the big çiftlik based on the mixture of sharecropping and wage-labour in the district of Manastır.

Most interesting, however, is the example of two çiftlik-owning brothers - "Emin oğlu İbrahim ve karındaşı Halil" - holding the third largest çiftlik of all. In this çiftlik located in the settlement of Paralovo (Paraluk) to the northeast of the town of Manastır, 11 households engaged in sharecropping and 4 households engaged in wage-labour[251] cultivate the çiftlik lands consisting of grain fields of 1470 dönüms. Here, the agricultural produce is divided between the parties in the form of the çiftlik-owners getting a share of one-third and sharecroppers getting a share of two-thirds, while the specific share of each member of the latter group ranges between 410 and 1085 kuruş. Although the owners of the çiftlik of Paralovo (Paraluk) seem to be of much humbler origins compared to the old and powerful "Beyzade" families of Manastır, their distinction in having the third biggest çiftlik in the region seems to be

[251] While the sharecroppers are indicated to dwell in the lodgings of the çiftlik-owners, the wage-workers are noted to be the tenants of their houses.

quite a formidable one. Simultaneously, however, it should be also remembered that they own only one çiftlik while the title-holding owners of the biggest çiftliks of Manastır often possess multiple ones.

In the previous table on the largest çiftliks of Manastır, while 9 of the largest of 10 çiftliks have turned out to be based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour,[252] none of the çiftliks exclusively based on sharecropping or wage-labour have managed to enter the list. The following tables (Table 51 and Table 52) demonstrate the ownership information on the largest 10 çiftliks exclusively based on sharecropping and wage-labour, respectively.

Table 51. Largest 10 Çiftliks Based on Sharecropping in Manastır

Largest 10 çiftliks based on sharecropping (ownership of grain fields / dönüm)	Çiftlik-owner	Residence of çiftlik-owner	Identification in town registers	Status in the place of residence	Sources of income in place of residence	Income in place of residence (in kuruş)
552	Kaza-ı mezbur vücuhundan Rüstem Beyzade İbrahim Bey	Manastır İne Bey mahallesi	Rüstem oğlu İbrahim Bey	farmer ("erbabı ziraat")	"zuhurat"	500
540	Murtaza oğlu Ferhad	Manastır Gazab Bey mahallesi	(?) oğlu Ferhad (This identification is not certain)	servant ("adi hizmetkar")	"tebaalık"(?)	250
426	Selim oğlu İbrahim Ağa	Manastır Firuz Bey mahallesi	Selim oğlu İbrahim ağa	undefined	rent	760
425	Abdullah oğlu Yusuf Ağa	Manastır Yakup Bey mahallesi	Abdullah oğlu Yusuf	"erbab-ı ticaret"	"zuhurat"	750
420	İsmail Bey oğlu Ömer Bey	Manastır Emir mahallesi	İsmail oğlu Ömer Bey	farmer ("erbabı ziraat")	rent, "zuhurat"	553
400	Feyzullah oğlu Abdurrahman ve yeğeni Ataullah ve diğer yeğeni Salih ve diğer yeğeni ... (iştiraken)	*	*	*	*	*
380	Rüstem Beyzade Abdurrahman Bey ve biraderi Abdullah Bey (ber vech-i iştirak mutasarrıf oldukları çiftlik)	Kaza-ı mezbur (Manastır) sakinlerinden	Rüstem Beyzade Abdurrahman ve Abdullah Beyler	undefined	tımar	6430.5
370	Zekeriya oğlu Abdülkerim Ağa	Kaza-ı mezbur mahallatından Karadebbağ mahallesi sakinlerinden	Zekeriya oğlu Abdülkerim	"erbab-ı ticaret"	official job ("yazıcılık"), animal husbandry	530
350	() oğlu Hacı Yahya	Manastır Firuz Bey mahallesi	() oğlu Hacı Yahya	farmer ("erbabı ziraat")	official job ("yazıcılık")	350
350	İsmail oğlu Süleyman efendi	Manastır Hamzabey mahallesi	İsmail oğlu Süleyman	farmer ("erbabı ziraat")	"zuhurat"	250

In the table on biggest çiftliks based on sharecropping above (Table 51), there are only three titles of "bey" while the remaining consists of landowners with smaller titles of "ağa", "efendi" and "hacı" in addition to two completely ordinary figures. All of these çiftlik-owners are residents of the town of Manastır, even though the members of the family of Feyzullah could not be identified in the town registers. Most interestingly, some of the occupational categories of farming in the town registers are specifically assigned to figures of "bey" by the compilers of the surveys,

[252] 1 çiftlik is assigned to the category of "Misc" simply due to the incompleteness of the registers as they were damaged.

such as Rüstem Beyzade İbrahim Bey and İsmail Bey oğlu Ömer Bey who are defined to be members of the "erbab-ı ziraat" -a term mostly used to refer to simple farmers- as can be observed in the table above. Coupled by the fact that both of these figures of "bey" obtain some income from a vague source of "zuhurat", this usage pushes one to suspect whether it might be implying the existence of a certain degree of involvement by these çiftlik-owners in the management of production and trading of agricultural produce from their çiftliks, in addition to one figure of "erbab- ticaret" (Abdullah oğlu Yusuf Ağa) and another specifically defined farmer ("erbab-ı ziraat") with the humbler title of "efendi" also having an income from "zuhurat".[253] Other than these, the involvement of the çiftlik-owners in this group in the holding of *tımar* as well as various official positions attract attention in addition to the common practice of renting out of urban property. Lastly, we have another figure in this list, Murtaza oğlu Ferhad, who is defined as "hizmetkar" in the town registers, while this identification has a degree of uncertainty.

[253] A similar situation can also be observed in the table on the largest 10 çiftliks whereby Ahmed Bey oğlu Reşid Bey is defined as a farmer obtaining an income of 2000 kuruş from "zuhurat" in the town registers. The same case holds true for Rüstem Bey oğlu Hurşid Bey holding a çiftlik in Pirlepe. While such assignments of occupation are not always correct and consistent in the surveys, the frequency of this very specific assignment of the occupation of farming to various beys (an unlikely combination), in addition the existence of an income in such cases from the vague category of "zuhurat", inclines one to suspect that this might be more than an error and indicative of an active involvement of these figures in the organization of production and trading of their produce. At this level of information, however, this remains to be a mere speculation. At any rate, this specific and selective usage of "erbab-ı ziraat" for those among the biggest landowners of the district, holding the title of "bey", remains to be intriguing.

Table 52. Largest 10 Çiftliks Based on Wage Labour in Manastır

Largest 10 çiftliks based on wage-labour (ownership of grain fields / dönüm)	Çiftlik-owner	Residence of çiftlik-owner	Identification in town registers	Status in the place of residence	Sources of income in place of residence	Income in place of residence (in kuruş)
186	Salih oğlu Halil Ağa	Kaza-ı mezbur mahallatından Emir mahallesi sakinlerinden	Salih oğlu Halil	undefined	rent, salary from the official job of the çiftlik owner's son ("ketabetlik maaşı")	4200
170	Ahmed oğlu Celaleddin	Manastır Firuz Bey mahallesi	Ahmed oğlu Celaleddin efendi	undefined	rent of individual property , rent of vakıf land and property ("vakf-ı mukataat-ı zemin")	772.5 (after the subtraction of vakıf expenses)
152	İbrahim Bey oğlu Hasan Bey	Manastır İnebey mahallesi	İbrahim oğlu Hasan Bey	undefined	rent, income from holding of tımar	6280
150	Abdullah oğlu Salih Ağa	Kaza-ı mezbur mahallatından İne Bey mahallesi sakinlerinden	Abdullah oğlu Salih	undefined	rent, animal husbandry, craftsmanship of gunpower ("barutçu")	914
136	Miço oğlu Hancı İzrani?	Filorina () karyesi	*	*	*	*
120	Raif efendi oğlu İbrahim ağa	Manastır Emir mahallesi	İbrahim oğlu Hacı Raif (?)	farmer ("erbab-ı ziraat")	rent, animal husbandry	270
120	() oğlu Yusuf	Kaza-ı mezbur mahallatından	*	*	*	*
114	İsmail kerimesi Ayşe Hatun ve Hanife Hatun	undefined	*	*	*	*
110	Derviş Ağazade İsmail Ağa	Manastır Zindancı mahallesi	*	*	*	*
103	Ahmed oğlu Hüseyin	Manastır Emir mahallesi	Ahmed oğlu Hüseyin	farmer ("erbab-ı ziraat")	rent	144

The table on the biggest çiftliks based on wage-labour above (Table 52) demonstrates that 8 çiftlik-owners from this group were indicated to reside in the town center in addition to one figure whose place of residence has been left undefined and one çiftlik-owner residing in a village of Florina. Nevertheless, not all of these figures could be identified in the town registers. In this group, only one figure of Bey –İbrahim Bey oğlu Hasan Bey- attracts attention in addition to a few figures with the titles of "ağa" and "efendi" as well as çiftlik-owners without a specific title. The average size of the çiftliks in this group, furthermore, is much lower than not only the çiftliks of mixed-type, but also çiftliks exclusively based on sharecropping. Most interestingly, two designated farmers in this group do not get any income from farming whatsoever, but only a modest income from rent-taking and animal-husbandry in the town-center where they were registered as farmers in the first place. As such, one may either suspect that these figures have rural origins, being newcomers to the urban environment and not having shed their "peasantness"

yet, so-to-speak, or that they are directly involved in the management of their own çiftliks.[254]

Lastly, the existence of a number of village-dwelling çiftlik-owners seems to present a challenge to the usual treatment of çiftlik-owners as urban personae, even though town-dwelling çiftlik-owners constitute the majority in Manastır as well. Most importantly, in the face of stratification and labour relations among the members of the peasantry, the existence of such rural roots behind a portion of the çiftlik-owners in the district of Manastır -no matter how small that may be- raises the question of whether there was an emerging trend whereby a minority from among the ranks of the villagers were undergoing transformation as a social group, turning into landowners and employers of the labour of others, rather than functioning as farmers themselves. The village-dwelling çiftlik-owners are indicated in the table below (Table 53).

[254] A good number of the designated farmers holding çiftliks do not have any income from agricultural production in the vicinity of the town center. Could this situation be indicative of rural origins or direct engagement in çiftlik production? There are also quite a good number of çiftlik-owners whose occupations have been just left empty. What is the reason for such selective usage?

Table 53. Çiftlik-owners residing in villages (Manastır)

Name	Status in village	Village name (residence)	Gross income from village (in kuruş)	Landownership in village (grain fields) (in dönüm)	Employment of labour in village	Sources of Income (Village)	Çiftlik name	Çiftlik type	Gross income from çiftlik (kuruş)	Landownership in çiftlik (grain fields) (in dönüm)	Employment of labour in çiftlik	Sources of Income (Çiftlik)	Draught animals
Ahmed oğlu Osman	undefined	Kenali (Kara Yusuf Mahallesi)	255	3	-	grain fields (107.5 kuruş),animal husbandry (147.5 kuruş)	Orta Eğri	Sharecropping	200.25	23	1 sharecropper	share from grain fields and meadows under sharecropping	2 oxen in the village of residence
İsmail oğlu Hacı Hamza	farmer ("erbab-ı ziraat")	Kleştina-ı Bala	3004.25	70	2 sharecroppers ("şerik"), 2 wage-workers ("aylakçi")	grain fields, meadows, flax fields and vineyard under sharecropping (2211.75 kuruş), rent (240 kuruş), animal husbandry (552.5 kuruş)	Kleştina-ı Zir	Sharecropping and wage-labour	1445	34	3 sharecroppers ("şerik"), 2 wage-workers ("aylakçi")	share from grain fields, flax field, hemp field and meadows under sharecropping	6 oxen in the village of residence.
Gorgi oğlu Nikola (ve şeriki Nikola oğlu Gorgi zımmiler)	undefined	Magarevo (Büyük Papaz İstaryo Mahallesi)	1076	0	-	goldsmithery (1000 kuruş), meadows (36 kuruş), rent (20 kuruş), animal husbandry (20 kuruş)	Bratindol	Sharecropping and wage-labour	1077.75	60	1 sharecropper, 1 servant	share from grain fields, vineyards and meadows under sharecropping	No oxen.
Nikola oğlu Gorgi zımmi	undefined	Magarevo (Papaz Vangel Mahallesi)	1550	4	-	tailoring (1300 kuruş), grain fields (160 kuruş), meadows (20 kuruş), animal husbandry (20 kuruş), rent (50 kuruş)	Bratindol	Sharecropping	976.5	35	1 sharecropper	share from grain fields, vineyards and meadows under sharecropping, animal husbandry	No oxen.
Nikola oğlu Ziko zımmi	undefined	Magarevo (Papaz Tohari Mahallesi)	1050	0	-	tailoring (850 kuruş), vineyards (120 kuruş), meadows (30 kuruş), animal husbandry (20 kuruş), rent (30 kuruş)	Bratindol	Sharecropping	537.75	40	2 sharecropper	share from grain fields and vineyards under sharecropping	No oxen.
Mustafa oğlu Ali (ve Yanoş nam kimesneler)	farmer ("erbab-ı ziraat")	Porodin	20	0	-	animal husbandry	Zabjani	Wage-labour	1240	29	2 servants	grain fields and meadows under wage-labour	2 oxen in the çiftlik.
Hasan oğlu Mehmed	infirm ("alil")	Porodin	40	0	-	animal husbandry	Kanina	Other	560	3	undefined	income from grain fields	No oxen
İbrahim (yazıcı) oğlu Bekir	farmer ("erbab-ı ziraat")	Porodin	20	0	-	animal husbandry	Zabjani	Wage-labour	1240	29	1 servant	grain fields and meadows under wage-labour	2 oxen in the çiftlik.
Mehmed oğlu Receb	farmer ("erbab-ı ziraat")	Porodin	435	4	-	grain fields (415 kuruş), animal husbandry (20 kuruş)	Kanina	Çiftlik based on sharecropping with a sharecropper from the village in the same settlement	353.25	14	1 sharecopper	grain fields and meadows under sharecropping	No oxen.
Hacı Salih (Davran)? / Hacı Salih oğlu Müsli ve kardeşi (Davran)? Ali (alel iştiraken mutasarrıf oldukları çiftlik)	undefined	Zlokukjan	664.5	4	-	grain fields (192.5 kuruş), meadows (112 kuruş), animal husbandry (228 kuruş), sharecropping ("Salih oğlu Manastırlı Müslinin şirketinden": 132)	Holeven	Sharecropping	1848.125	36	1 sharecropper	grain fields under sharecropping, income from vineyards, meadows and flax fields	1 ox in the village.
Memed oğlu Hacı Talib (Mehmed Ali oğlu Hacı Talib)	farmer ("erbab-ı ziraat")	Zlokukjan	909.5	8	-	grain fields (460 kuruş), meadows (237 kuruş), animal husbandry (212.5)	Holeven	Sharecropping	532.875	5.5	1 sharecropper	grain fields under sharecropping, income from vineyards, meadows and flax fields	2 oxen in the village.

Of the total number of 19 çiftlik-owners who were indicated to be residing in the rural settlements, 11 could be specifically identified in the temettuat registers of the relevant villages. Nevertheless, the specialization of economic activities in the rural context of Manastır should prevent one from automatically associating these figures with peasant çiftlik-owners per se, as the çiftlik-owners residing in the quarters of the settlement of Magarevo earn their main income from their activities as goldsmiths and tailors in addition to their modest degree of engagement in farming and animal-husbandry in a context whereby agrarian lifestyle was still intertwined with that of involvement in crafts and trades. The remaining çiftlik-owners, however, seem to be proper peasant figures.

Of these çiftlik-owners, only 1 specific peasant has been identified as an employer of 2 sharecroppers and 2 wage-workers in his village of residence. Nevertheless, this figure, İsmail oğlu Hacı Hamza, is the one with the greatest diversification of agricultural production among the village-dwelling çiftlik-owners, regarding his selection of produce including grains, flax, hemp and grapes, in

addition to his income from meadows and engagement in animal husbandry. All in all, this person presents the figure of a çiftlik-owning farmer who has a total of 9 workers under his control in the lands under his possession, village and çiftlik alike.[255]

For some of these village-dwelling çiftlik-owners, engagement in çiftlik activity seems to have a subsidiary character, such as Nikola oğlu Gorgi and Mehmed oğlu Hacı Talib. For others, however, çiftlik-owning constitutes their main source of livelihood. For example, Mustafa oğlu Ali, residing in the village of Porodin, has only 1 cow from which he gains 20 kuruş in his place of residence, while he has 2 workers working for him in his çiftlik located in the settlement of Zabjani whereby he holds grain fields of 29 dönüms obtaining an income from farming and meadows. Furthermore, his two oxen are also located in this çiftlik for the use of the workers as he has no land in the village he dwells in. In a similar vein, Hasan oğlu Mehmed, also residing in the village of Porodin, has two cows from which he earns 40 kuruş in his place of residence, while he has grain fields of 3 dönüms in his çiftlik at the settlement of Kanina from which he earns a humble income. İbrahim (yazıcı) oğlu Bekir, again from the same village, constitutes another similar example. In all of these cases, the places of residence and çiftliks remain quite close to each other, sometimes in the lower and upper parts of the same settlement, and sometimes in neighboring villages. Nevertheless, at the end of the day, neither of these figures can be counted among the bigger and wealthier çiftlik-owners of the district, as the largest çiftlik held by a villager does not exceed 60 dönüms. In the district of Manastır, therefore, it is quite difficult to see these figures

[255] He has 6 oxen in his village while the sharecroppers bring in the draught animals in the çiftlik.

as real competitors against the town-dwelling and often title-holding çiftlik-owners who possess the greater majority of the cultivable lands in the region. [256]

3.4 Conclusion

The income survey registers of Manastır indicate quite a high degree of rural inequality, peasant dispossession, and concentration of land in the hands of a group of landowners in the mid-19th century. First and foremost, around one-third of the rural residents were landless and directly residing and working in çiftliks. The çiftlik-owners held 70% of the cultivable land in the district and controlled one-third of the rural labour force. Around one-third of the villagers were also landless. One-fifth of this landless village population mainly survived through engagement in agricultural wage labour, and the other one-fifth mainly relied on textile production. Of the villagers, only 11% exclusively relied on agricultural production, while the remaining combined agricultural production with various activities. The villages also displayed considerable inequality in terms of access to land and labour relations among the peasantry.

The agricultural economy of the district was largely based on çiftlik production in the lowlands coupled with rural textile production in the uplands. While the çiftliks tended to cluster around the central alluvial plains around Crna River and villages primarily concentrated in the hilly areas, these forms of settlement remained quite interrelated regarding geographical proximity and labour mobility between them.

[256] This size is much smaller than that of İştip whereby a village-dwelling çiftlik-owner named Ahmed oğlu İbrahim held grain fields of 539 dönüms in his çiftlik, even though he did not work himself in his place of residence. Another Ahmed oğlu İbrahim was also a village-dwelling owner of a çiftlik consisting of grain fields of almost 200 dönüms and an employer of labour in his place of residence. In relational terms, the çiftliks of village-dwelling çiftlik-owners constituted less than 1% of all çiftlik land in the district of Manastır, which is much lower than that of İştip (See: Section 4.3.3).

In light of the data above, this first glance at the class configuration of rural Manastır of the mid-19th century demonstrates that a considerable part of the main factor of production, the land, was owned and controlled by a group of çiftlik-owners, indicating an almost a clear-cut separation between landowners and an agricultural labour force. As such, we witness a considerable concentration of productive land in the hands of those who did not directly engage in agricultural production themselves yet employed a significant group of –now dispossessed- rural population. This ongoing separation between the legal owner of the land and the actual cultivator, then, is crucial to understand the *çiftlik* phenomenon whereby the end result turned out to be a situation where "all good land was under legal control, whether cultivated or not, while at the same time many good men had no land and were obliged to labor."[257]As such, it may be reasonable to argue that the extent of the "land grab" in the district by the çiftlik owners must have been significant while a part of the villagers with oxen and very small amounts of land under their possession left can be considered as potential sharecroppers of the future.[258]

In this context, the questions of whether çiftlik-ownership, in the form of a separation between landowners and landless rural producers, still constituted the result of an ongoing investment in agriculture by town-dwellers and upper echelons of the society or whether it indicated -albeit indirectly- the existence of a slow and gradual movement of the richer peasantry from the countryside to the central town and the extension of their previous rural networks into the urban sphere, were raised. In light of the present data on the district of Manastır, which confirms the existence of a *very* thin layer of village-dwelling çiftlik-owners holding *very* modest çiftliks as well as instances of labour-employing village rich as against the much more

[257] McGowan, B. (1981). Economic Life in Ottoman Europe, 72.
[258] See: Section 6.5.

pronounced group of landowners coming from the ranks of old and powerful families as well as urban personages from various crafts and trades, it might be reasonable to suggest that the possibility of an internal transformation of the peasant society might have been hindered, at least to a certain extent, by the relative strength of the landlord presence in Manastır, while dispossession of a considerable part of the rural population seems to have taken place rather unhindered and the concentration of land in the hands of a specific group of çiftlik-owners as against the remaining members of the rural society seems to have reached a significant level.

CHAPTER 4

AGRARIAN CLASS RELATIONS IN THE OTTOMAN BALKANS: *ÇİFTLİKS* AND VILLAGES, LANDOWNERS AND RURAL PRODUCERS IN İŞTİP (MID-19TH CENTURY)

The analysis of the district of İştip, a *kaza* of the *eyalet* of Rumelia during the period under question[259], centers on the defters titled ML.VRD.TMT.d.11422, ML.VRD.TMT.d.11423 and ML.VRD.TMT.d.11424, which contain income survey information on the rural settlements of the district. These three defters, comprising of more than 2280 pages and containing information on more than 5000 households residing and producing in 152 settlements with various sub-divisions of villages and çiftliks, have been analyzed with the main focus being on patterns of ownership and forms of labour in order to develop an analysis of economic and social relations prevalent in the district of İştip in the mid-19th century.

This chapter will start with a general introduction to the district as a whole focusing on a series of comparisons between the çiftliks and the villages of the region to draw a general portrait of the rural landscape. Then, the villages of the district will be examined in detail. Lastly, a general typology of the çiftliks, based on the forms of labour employed, will be introduced to provide a detailed exposition of each type in a comparative perspective. Throughout this analysis, themes of property ownership and forms of labour will be the main pillars for the exposition of the data retrieved from the temettuat registers of the district of İştip.

[259] For a brief survey of the history of İştip: Machiel Kiel, "İştip." Also: Ruşid, *Salnamelere Göre XIX. Asırda İştip'te Sosyo-ekonomik ve İdari Durum*; Evcil, *XIX. Yüzyıl Ortalarında İştip Kazası'nın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durumu*; Pehlivan, *İştip'de Ayanlık: Nazırzade Ailesi*; Durdu, "191 Numaralı Şer'iyye Siciline Göre İştip Kazasında İdari, Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Yapı (1823-1825)."

4.1 Çiftliks and villages: The socio-economic landscape of rural İştip in the mid-19th century

4.1.1 Rural population and patterns of settlement

Figure 55 displays the distribution of rural population, calculated based on the number of households due to the nature of the survey registers, between çiftliks and villages. In the calculations, only local rural producers are taken into account while çiftlik-owners, who mostly reside in the central town of İştip as well as in other districts, have been excluded. As such, this chart displays the distribution of the rural residents themselves.

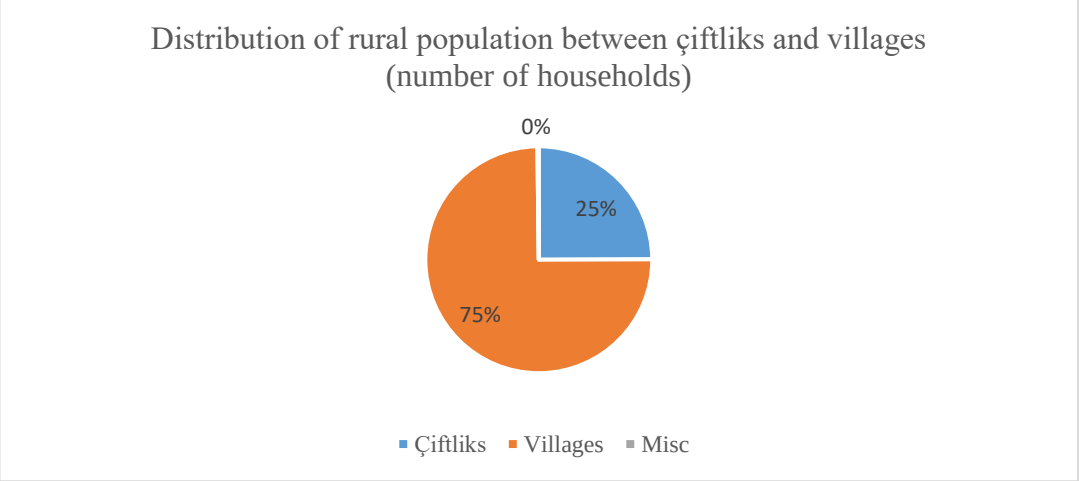


Figure 55. Distribution of rural population between çiftliks and villages of İştip.

The temettuat registers display that a quarter of the whole rural population (1235 households) resided in about 361 çiftliks in the district of İştip around the mid-19th century. In contrast, 3706 households, constituting 75% of the rural population, lived in the villages. As will be discussed in detail below[260], because the group residing in the çiftliks consisted of mostly landless and often houseless rural producers[261] -

[260] See: Section 4.3.

[261] With regard to landholding, this position of producers is especially striking concerning fields where grain production is conducted while most of the rural residents hold a small parcel of vineyard, mostly ranging from 0.5 to 1 dönüm. A detailed exposition of the patterns of landownership in çiftliks

beyond the existence of a landless labour force in the villages - it seems safe to argue in the beginning that a quarter of the rural population resident in the district of İştip was dispossessed of their main tool of production, i.e. land, and were engaged in relations of labour arrangements different than those of small peasant farming, which is ideally based on the exclusive use of family-labour and has a self-sustaining character. As such, the group of çiftlik-owners, as the holders of the main means of production, i.e. land, in an agrarian economy, directly controlled the labour-capacity of around a quarter of the district population which lacked such means.[262]

While the previous calculations of the distribution of rural households among çiftliks and villages treated the data as totalities and the region as a spatially homogeneous entity, this is in fact far from the truth. On the contrary, specific loci of concentration regarding village and çiftliks formations in each administrative settlement can be identified.

Table 54. Number of Settlements and Resident Households by the Level of Çiftlik Formation in İştip

Level of çiftlikization	Number of settlements	Percentage	Number of households	Percentage
1	40	26%	607	12%
0.5 - 0.97	18	12%	419	8%
0.03 - 0.49	41	27%	1788	36%
0	53	35%	2156	43%

Table 54 demonstrates the relative weight of çiftliks, on the basis of the ratio of households engaged in production for çiftliks (i.e. number of çiftlik households / total number of households) within each administrative settlement as indicated in a

will be provided in Section 4.3. With regard to housing, more than 1200 families who do not have their own dwellings and reside in the houses of their landowners have been identified on the district level. Of these, almost 160 are village residents. Of the 1235 households residing in the çiftliks, 1203 have been specifically mentioned to dwell in the houses of their çiftlik-owners ("ağası hanesinde mütemekkin, X hanesinde mütemekkin etc.). As such, the çiftlik producers, as a rule, are not only landless but also houseless.

[262] The mechanisms and processes behind the emergence of such dispossession will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

value range from 0 to 1. Here, 0 indicates non-existence of çiftliks and a “perfect” village while 1 indicates all-embracing çiftlik-activity and utter absence of independent farmers. The results of the distribution of these different types are displayed in detail in the series of graphs below.

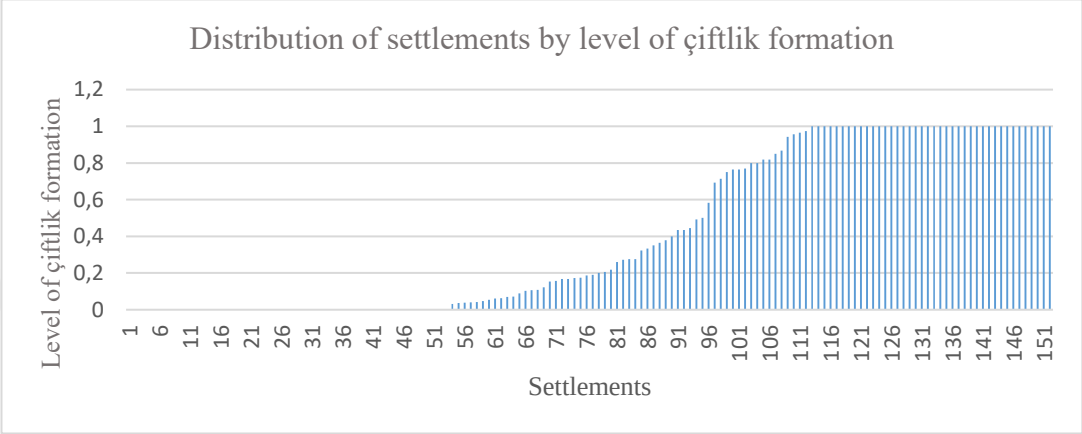


Figure 56. Distribution of settlements by level of çiftlik formation (number of households) in İştip.

Figure 56 demonstrates the specific place assigned to each settlement in the district with regard to the level of çiftlik formation whereby perfect villages, perfect çiftliks and areas of transition in between are displayed. The graph below (Figure 57) displays the distribution of settlements on the basis of their level of çiftlik formation. In the district of İştip, 26% of all settlements can be defined as perfect çiftliks and 12% as çiftlik-dominated formations while 35% of them can be defined as perfect villages and 27% as village-dominated settlements.

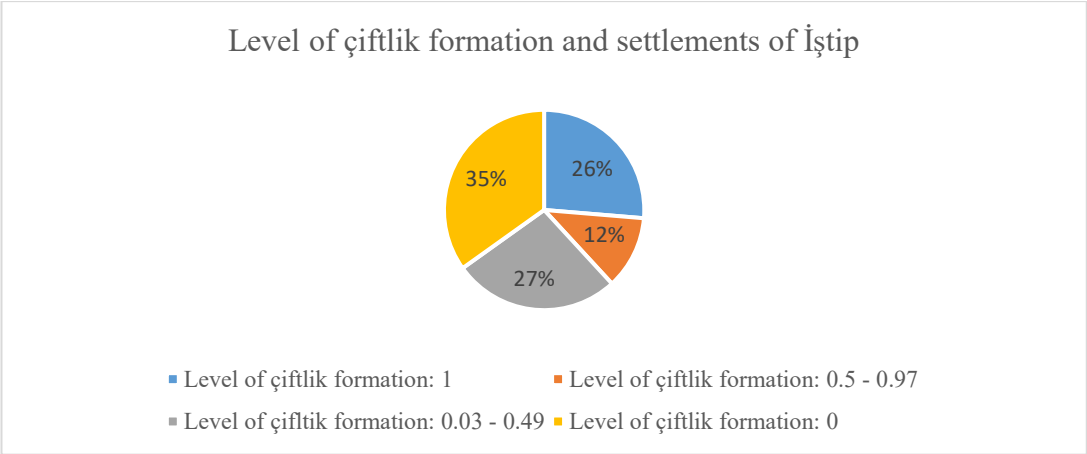


Figure 57. Level of çiftlik formation (number of households) and the settlements of İştip.

The following graph (Figure 58) shows the distribution of the population among the settlements of different levels of çiftlik formation. In the district of İştip, 12% of the rural population resided in perfect çiftliks and 9% in çiftlik-dominated settlements while 43% resided in perfect villages and 36% in village-dominated settlements.

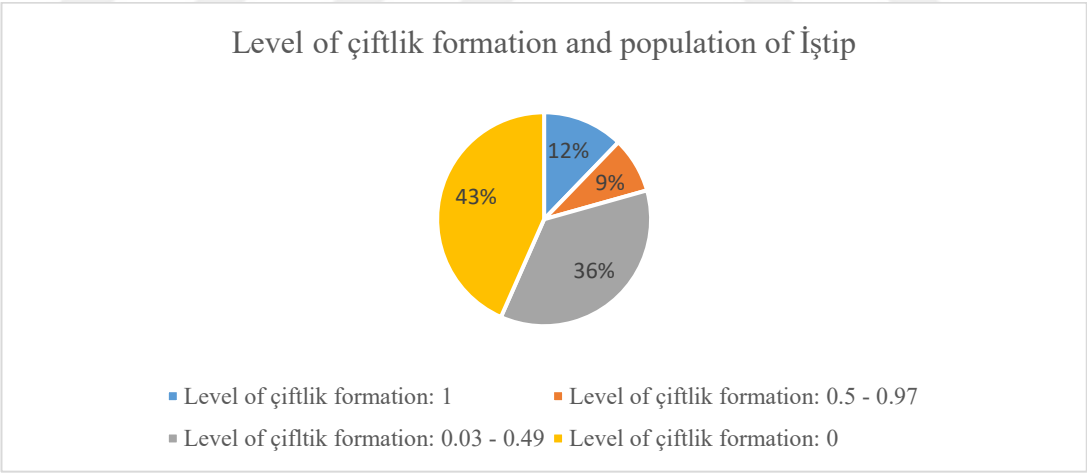


Figure 58. Level of çiftlik formation (number of households) and the population of İştip.

Regarding all of the calculations so far, the coexistence of different types of rural residents -villagers and çiftlik workers- within the same settlement raises the question of the processes of acquisition of land and çiftlik formation. Furthermore,

the data under study indicates that there is a certain degree of polarization between village and çiftlik-dominated settlements in addition to the existence of a transitional area which displays mixed features of both forms. In the face of such polarization, generalizing on the basis of a whole district by taking averages can be misleading to understand the dynamics at work. This, in turn, raises the question of whether these settlements can be shown to cluster topographically in specific places following a pattern.

To answer this question and indicate the geographical distribution of different categories of settlements, their level of çiftlik formation has been used as the main index. The table below (Table 55) displays the level of çiftlik formation of each settlement while the following table (Table 56) displays the color-coding system used in the preparation of the map on Figure 59, which indicates the locations of different types of settlements in the district of İştip in the mid-19th century.[263]

[263] In the table below, entries highlighted in light gray indicate a degree of uncertainty of location while the entries highlighted in dark gray indicate settlements whose locations could not be found.

Table 55. Level of Çiftlik Formation (Number of Households) in the Settlements of İştip

Level of çiftlikization	Settlement	Level of çiftlikization	Settlement	Level of çiftlikization	Settlement	Level of çiftlikization	Settlement
0	Hacıbeyli / Hadzibejli / Hadzibegovo	0.031746032	Penius / Penush	0.5	Gajranci	1	Krividol
0	Bekirli / Bekirlija	0.036697248	Nemanica / Nemanjitsa	0.58333333	Baltalı / Baltalija	1	Sirçeler/Serçijevo/ Sarchievo
0	Cumalı / Dzumali / Lozovo	0.037735849	Kilseli / Sv. Nikola	0.69230769	Dinler-i zir / Dolno Crnilište	1	Susevo / Sushevo
0	Karacalı / Karadzali	0.040816327	Antoya / Enik Oba / Janoshevo	0.71428571	Goricino / Gorachino	1	Sarı Hamzalı / Saramzalino
0	Torfalli / Durfulli / Durfulija / Dorfulija	0.041666667	Kişino / Kishino	0.75	Krnjevci	1	Divane Hasanlı / Hüseyinli
0	Tatarlı / Milino	0.046511628	Balvan-ı bala / Gorno Balvan	0.76470588	Balvan-ı zir / Dolni Balvan	1	Hazerfanlı / Hadirfakli / Hadrafakovo / Kadrifakovo
0	Kara Osmanlı / Karatmanovo	0.054054054	Selce / Seltse	0.76470588	Sofilari	1	Ubova / Ubugo / Ubogo
0	Gorobinci	0.060606061	Damjan	0.76923077	Neokazi	1	Borilovci / Burilovci
0	Stanlujovci / Stanulovci	0.0625	Jagmurlar / Yağmurlar / Jamularci	0.8	Uljarci / Ulartsi	1	Patatino / Patetino
0	Dobrişani / Dobroshani	0.070175439	Barbarova	0.8	Cirvilve / Cirvere / Cebirve	1	Makres / Makresh
0	Maricino / Marchino	0.071428571	Sugarla / Suhogrlo / Suvo grlo	0.81818182	Torhali / Trohla	1	Strojimanci / Stroimanci
0	Strojişavci / Strisovtsi	0.088235294	Hacı Ahmedli / Haji Matovo	0.81818182	Buciste / Buchiste	1	Petrishino
0	Hadzi Yusuflu	0.103448276	Plesinci / Pleshantsi	0.85	Lipovdol	1	Toholo
0	Kara Sinanlı	0.107142857	Drenek / Drenok	0.86666667	Adzimirci / Dzimir	1	Puzderci
0	Çesmedere / Casica / Gradsko	0.108108108	Strmos / Strmosh	0.94285714	Varsakli / Varsakovo/ Vrsakovo	1	Kukovo
0	Doğanlı	0.12195122	Poçivalo	0.95652174	Ulanca / Ulanci	1	Zarabinca / Zarepinci
0	Hadzi Redzebli / Haji Rejepli	0.153846154	Testemelci	0.96428571	Karbinci	1	Çardaklı / Chardaklija
0	Pisica / Pishica	0.157894737	Köseler / Kjoselari	0.97435897	Krupişte	1	Gujnovci
0	Patrik	0.166666667	Sudik / Sudikj			1	Değirmen (çiftliği karyesi) / Dejirmen
0	Dragoevo	0.166666667	Kosevo / Koshevo			1	Vardar
0	Muzınci / Muşantsi	0.172413793	Meckujevci / Mechkuevci			1	Skandalica / Skandalci
0	Kara Hodzali	0.173913043	Bogoslovec			1	Toplik
0	Hadzi Hamzali	0.1875	Citakli			1	Jedekler / Edeklerci
0	Creska / Creshka	0.19047619	Dinler-i bala / Gorno Crnilište			1	Ribnik
0	Sehoba / Sheoba	0.2	Lezovo			1	Caşka / Caska
0	Hacı Seydli / Haji Seydeli	0.205479452	Radani / Radanje			1	Crkovci
0	Orta mahalle	0.217391304	Trogerce-i Bala / Gorno Trogerci			1	Kozjak-ı bala / Gorno Kozjak
0	Junuzlija	0.259259259	Trogerce-i zir / Dolno Trogerci			1	Kozjak-ı zir / Dolno Kozjak
0	Terzili mahallesi	0.272727273	Rurak / ruljak			1	Kalo Petrovci / Kalapetrovci
0	Kepekchelija	0.275	Beşirli / Beşerli / Beşirovo / Peshirovo			1	Vrteşka
0	Kalauzlija	0.275862069	Argulica / Argulitsa			1	Turtel
0	Dzumali	0.323529412	Prehod / Predo			1	Moyance / Meyyance / Boyanica
0	Bejtlli	0.333333333	Grizilovci / Grizlievci			1	Ljuboten
0	Kurfalli mahallesi / Kurfulli / Kurfalija	0.35	Knezce / Kneze / Knezhje			1	Tunatar / Tunadar
0	Hocalı / Hevaceli mahallesi / Odzhalija	0.365384615	Hamzabeyli / Hamzabejli / Hamzabegovo			1	Sopur / Shopur
0	Seyidli / Seyidli mahallesi	0.379310345	Stubla / Stubol			1	Dolani
0	Hacı Yusuflu mahallesi	0.4	Arbsanca / Arbasanci			1	Karaorman
0	Leskonica / Leskovica / Leskovitsa	0.434210526	Erdzeli / Erdjelija			1	Mrahor
0	Kuçilat mahallesi	0.434782609	Rancinci / Ranciste / Ranchinci			1	Tarainci / Tajranci / Tarintsi
0	Gaber / Golem Gaber	0.444444444	Yeniköy			1	Seher kösti
0	Kuçica / Kuchica	0.492537313	Mustafa Obası / Mustafino				
0	Pırnarlı mahallesi / Pernarli / Prnalija						
0	Muradlı mahallesi / Muratlija						
0	Buçin / Buchim						
0	Bres / Brest						
0	Puhce						
0	Şehsuvarlı / Şahsavarli / Shashavarlija						
0	Topolnica / Topolnitsa						
0	Piperova / Piperovo						
0	Stepance						
0	Crvilova / Crvulevo						
0	Nikoman						
0	Hebili mahallesi / Ebeplija						

Table 56. Colour-Coding of the Level of Çiftlik Formation in (Figure 59)

Level of çiftlik formation	Color-coding
1	Red
0.5 - 0.97	Pink
0.03 - 0.49	Light-blue
0	Dark-blue

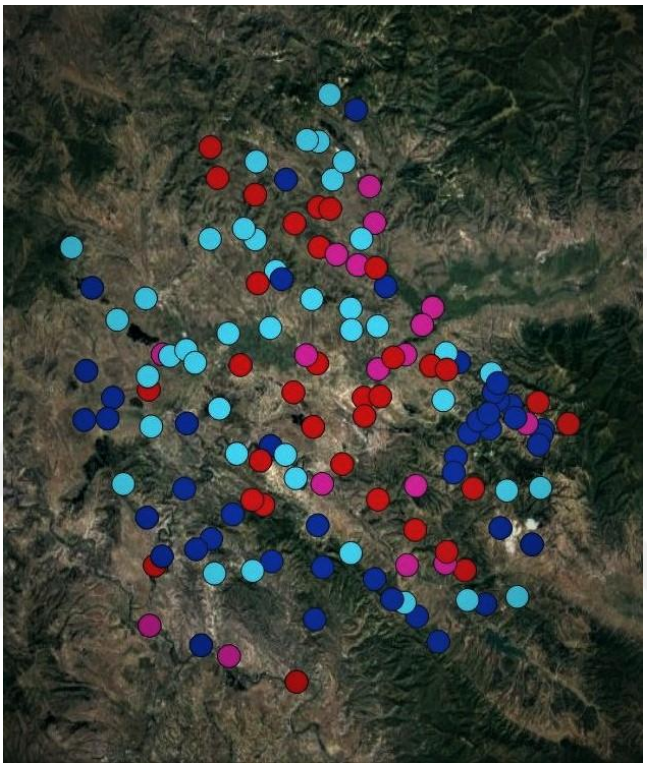


Figure 59. Level of çiftlik formation (number of households) and distribution of settlements in İştip.

While the settlement pattern of İştip is less clustered than Manastır, there is still the slight tendency of the çiftliks to be located around the central, alluvial plains of İştip while the "perfect" villages tend to cluster in the hilly areas towards the outer parts of the district. Nonetheless, the settlements remain quite intertwined. Almost half of the settlements are combinations of çiftlik and village forms while "perfect" çiftliks and villages are often located side by side.

Of all the settlements of pure çiftliks, 17 constitute single-*çiftlik* settlements while the remaining 23 settlements consist of multiple *çiftliks*. In the most extreme

case, there are as many as 8 *çiftliks* in a single settlement of pure *çiftlik* type. The relevant list can be seen in Table 57.

Table 57. Pure Çiftliks of İştip

Level of çiftlik formation	Settlement Name	Number of çiftlik owners / çiftliks within the settlement	Level of çiftlik formation	Settlement Name	Number of çiftlik owners / çiftliks within the settlement	Level of çiftlik formation	Settlement Name	Number of çiftlik owners / çiftliks within the settlement
1	Ubova / Ubugo / Ubogo	1	1	Susevo / Sushevo	2	1	Gujnovci	4
1	Makres / Makresh	1	1	Hazerfanlı / Hadirfakli / Hadrafakovo / Kadrifakovo	2	1	Tarainci / Tajranci / Tarintsi	4
1	Strojimanci / Stroimanci	1	1	Petrishino	2	1	Krividol	5
1	Toholo	1	1	Vardar	2	1	Divane Hasanlı / Hüseyinli	5
1	Kukovo	1	1	Ribnik	2	1	Puzderci	5
1	Zarabinca / Zarepinci	1	1	Kozjak-ı bala / Gorno Kozjak	2	1	Jedekler / Edeklerci	5
1	Çardaklı / Chardaklija	1	1	Sarı Hamzalı / Saramzalino	3	1	Crkovci	5
1	Değirmen (çiftliği karyesi) / Dejirmen	1	1	Patatino / Patetino	3	1	Ljuboten	5
1	Kozjak-ı zir / Dolno Kozjak	1	1	Skandalica / Skandalci	3	1	Karaorman	5
1	Kalo Petrovci / Kalapetrovci	1	1	Caşka / Casika	3	1	Sirçeler/Serçijevo/ Sarchievo	6
1	Vrteşka	1				1	Mirahor	6
1	Turtel	1				1	Borilovci / Burilovci	8
1	Moyance / Mevyance / Boyanca	1				1	Toplik	8
1	Tunatar / Tunadar	1						
1	Sopur / Shopur	1						
1	Dolani	1						
1	Seher kösti	1						

The distribution of rural population is displayed in Figure 60. Just like in the case of Manastır, albeit with a lower degree of intensity, the population tends to concentrate in the villages towards the mountains rather than alluvial plains which were largely monopolized by çiftlik-owners.

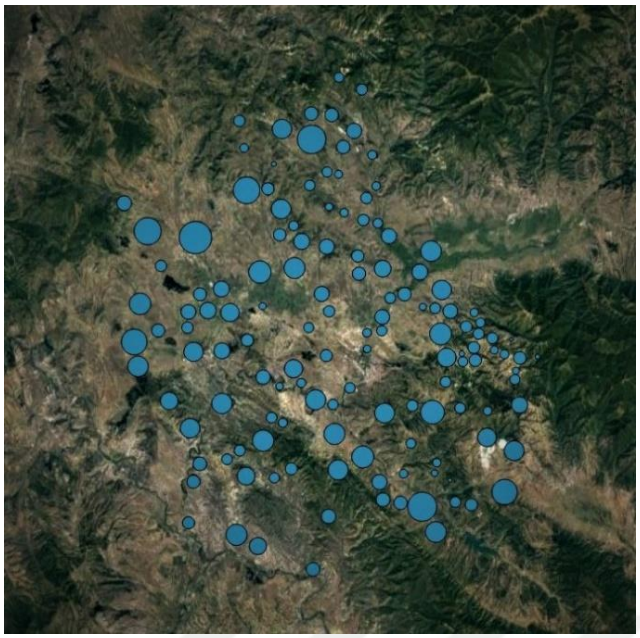


Figure 60. Distribution of rural population among settlements of İştip (based on the number of households).

Then, how much of the agricultural land in rural İştip do the çiftlik-owners have under their command? What is the proportion between the lands in the çiftlik domains and the lands in the village domains? What proportion of the cultivable land in the çiftlik boundaries are held by the rural producers rather than by the çiftlik-owners themselves? What is the situation for the corresponding distribution of draught animals between çiftliks and villages, çiftlik-owners and rural producers?

4.1.2 Ownership of agricultural means of production

The following tables (Table 58 and Table 59) display the information on landownership by villagers, çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers in İştip. Table 58 displays the distribution of landownership for each category of land among the villagers, çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers. Table 59 displays the relative weight of landownership for different types of land within each group.

Table 58. Landownership by Çiftlik-Owners, Çiftlik Workers, and Villagers (İştip) (1)

	Villagers		Çiftlik-owners		Çiftlik workers		TOTAL	TOTAL (Percentage)
Types of land	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage
Grain fields	141803	59%	95858.5	40%	1432	1%	239093.5	100%
Meadow	1217.75	65%	628	33%	31	2%	1876.75	100%
Vineyard	4106.775	81%	164.75	3%	790.5	16%	5062.025	100%
Onion field	9.5	100%	0	0%	0	0%	9.5	100%
Cotton field	708	77%	208.5	23%	3	<1%	919.5	100%
"Bostan"	492.25	72%	186	27%	4	1%	682.25	100%
Vegetable garden	32	55%	22	38%	4	7%	58	100%
Tobacco field	390.75	86%	57.5	13%	6.5	1%	454.75	100%
Rice field (rice paddy)	9	23%	30	77%	0	0%	39	100%
Sesame field	0	0%	77	100%	0	0%	77	100%
Wood grove (hatab korusu)	0	0%	40	100%	0	0%	40	100%
Winter pasture	0	0%	200	100%	0	0%	200	100%

Table 59. Landownership by Çiftlik-Owners, Çiftlik Workers, and Villagers (İştip) (2)

	Villagers		Çiftlik-owners		Çiftlik workers	
Types of land	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage
Grain fields	141803	95%	95858.5	98%	1432	63%
Meadow	1217.75	1%	628	1%	31	1%
Vineyard	4106.775	3%	164.75	<1%	790.5	35%
Onion field	9.5	<1%	0	0%	0	0%
Cotton field	708	<1%	208.5	<1%	3	<1%
"Bostan"	492.25	<1%	186	<1%	4	<1%
Vegetable garden	32	<1%	22	<1%	4	<1%
Tobacco field	390.75	<1%	57.5	<1%	6.5	<1%
Rice field (rice paddy)	9	<1%	30	<1%	0	0%
Sesame field	0	0%	77	<1%	0	0%
Wood grove (hatab korusu)	0	0%	40	<1%	0	0%
Winter pasture	0	0%	200	<1%	0	0%
TOTAL	148769.025	100%	97472.25	100%	2271	100%

In terms of relative numbers, some points worth noting here are the absolute dominance of the çiftlik-owners in the holding of sesame fields, wood grove, winter pasture and rice fields (rice paddy). The villagers have 59% of grain fields of the district while the çiftlik-owners have 40% and the çiftlik-workers have only 1%. Villagers also dominate in owning of cotton fields, tobacco fields and gardens. Nevertheless, when the question comes to absolute values, grain fields most definitely dominated the landowning categories as the production of grains remains

the backbone of the agrarian economy of the district of İştip in terms of the size and percentage of land reserved for it, followed by vineyards and meadows.

The chart below (Figure 61) displays the distribution of landownership of grain fields by çiftlik-owners, çiftlik workers, and villagers. In the district of İştip, 40% of the cultivable grain fields are concentrated in the hands of landowners.

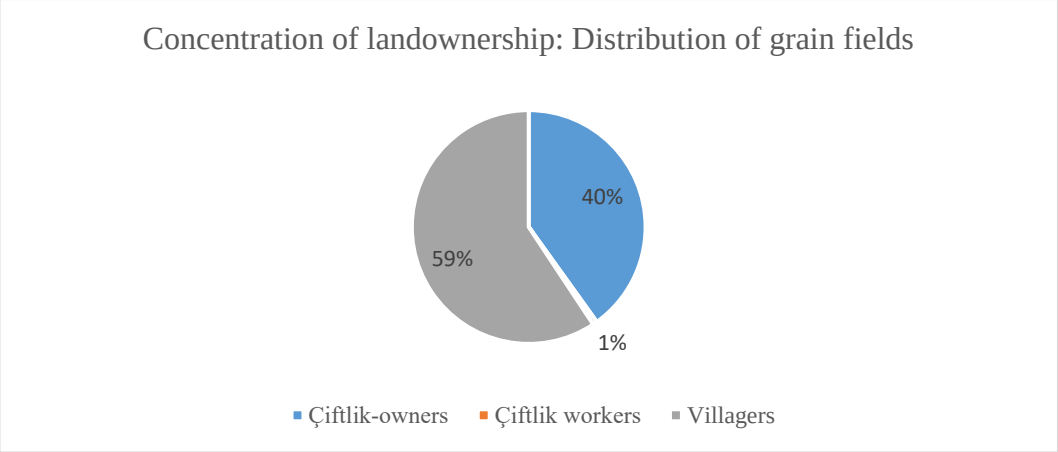


Figure 61. Distribution of landownership in İştip.

Then, the graph below (Figure 62) displays the distribution of oxen, which constitute one of the main means of production, between çiftliks and villages.[264] Here, although 40% of grain fields are located in the çiftliks and 59% in the villages, 27% of the oxen are located in çiftliks and 73% in villages. Furthermore, the contribution of oxen by çiftlik-owners to agricultural production is much higher than Manastır. As will be discussed below, the main reason behind this difference is the higher degree of the presence of çiftliks based on wage-labour, where çiftlik-owners provide the draught animals, in İştip than Manastır.[265] Furthermore, the content of sharecropping arrangements in İştip seems to be slightly different from that of Manastır: Here, even

[264] This distribution changes only by 4% in favor of çiftlik-owners compared to villagers when all the potential draught animals are included in the calculations. This categoriy includes "*öküz manda, erkek manda, kısır manda, manda, çift mandası, kısır camuş*."
[265] See: Section 4.3.

in çiftliks based on sharecropping, the çiftlik-owners usually contribute some draught animals to production, albeit on a smaller scale than çiftlik workers.

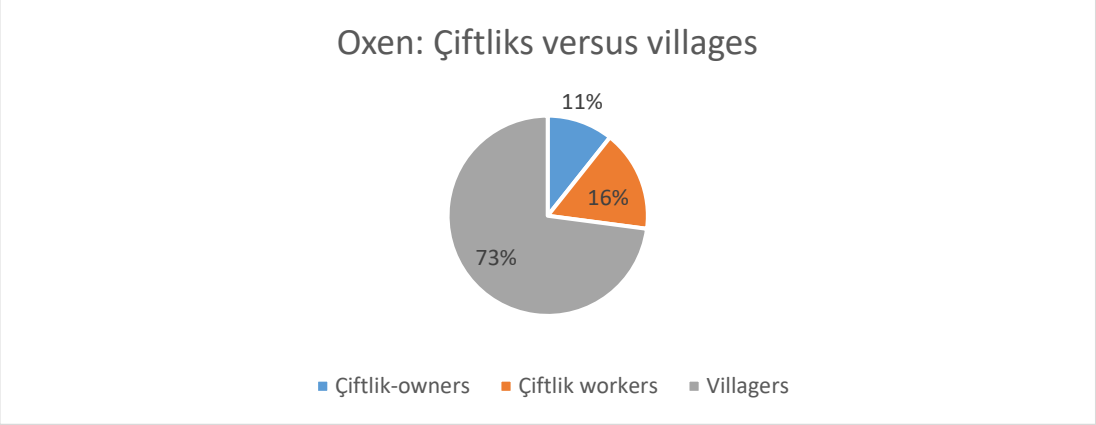


Figure 62. Distribution of oxen between çiftliks and villages in İştip.

The chart below (Figure 63) displays the distribution of factors of production, to the extent that they could be derived from the survey registers -namely, labour (in the form of potential workforce calculated on the basis of number of relevant households), land and oxen- between çiftlik and village domains.

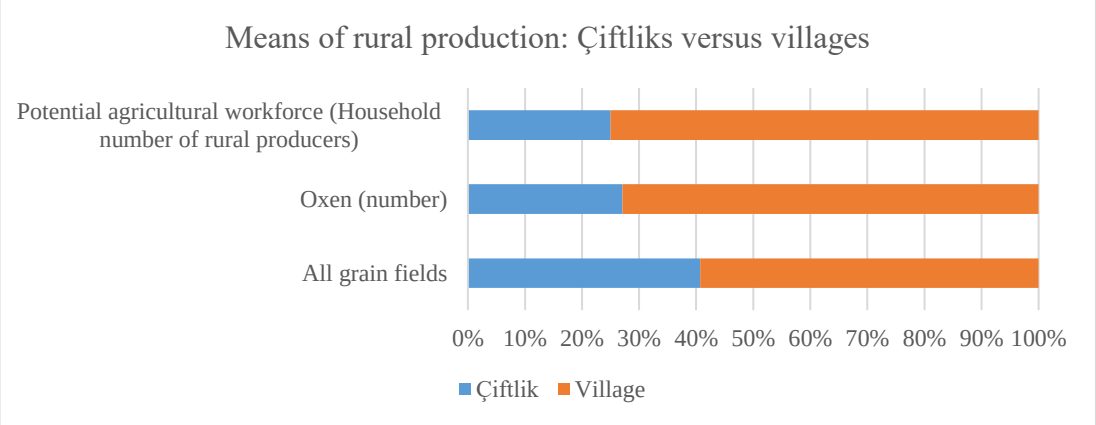


Figure 63. Means of production: Çiftliks versus villages (İştip).

When the ownership of these factors of production is considered, the degree of their concentration in the hands of a few landholders strongly suggests the dispossession of a part of the rural population (Figure 64 and Figure 65). These landowners also

directly controls around a quarter of the total labour-force in the district (i.e., çiftlik workers) who are mostly dispossessed (See: Figure 55). In contrast, 25% of the population, i.e., çiftlik workers, holds around 1% of the land, indicating the dispossession of a sizeable part of the population. Lastly, 75% of the rural population, resident in villages, is left with 59% of the cultivable fields while holding 73% of the oxen in the district.

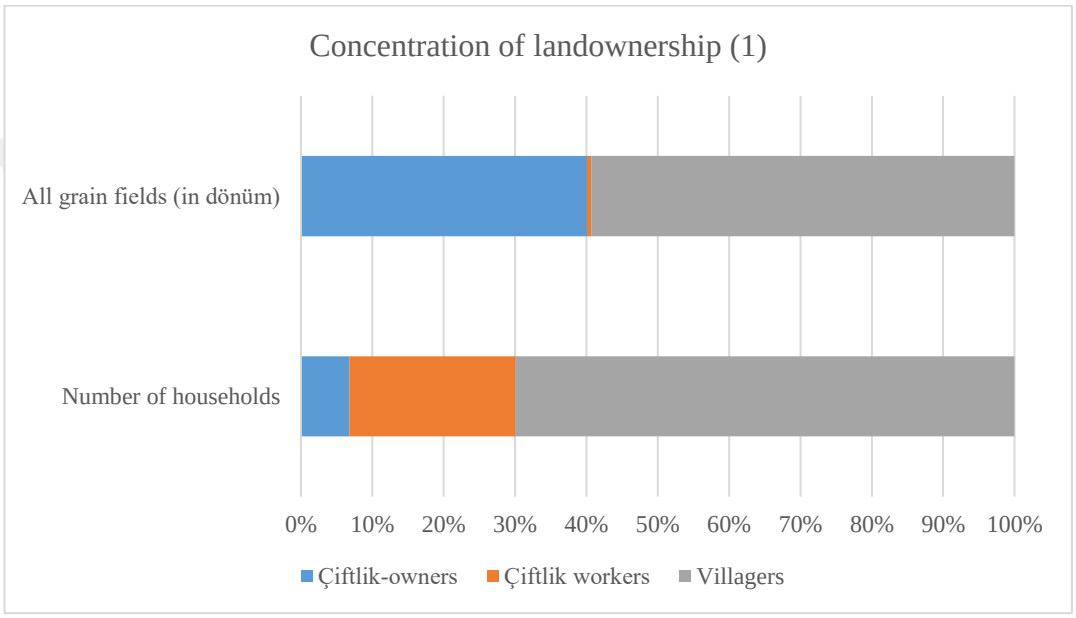


Figure 64. Concentration of landownership (1) (İştip).

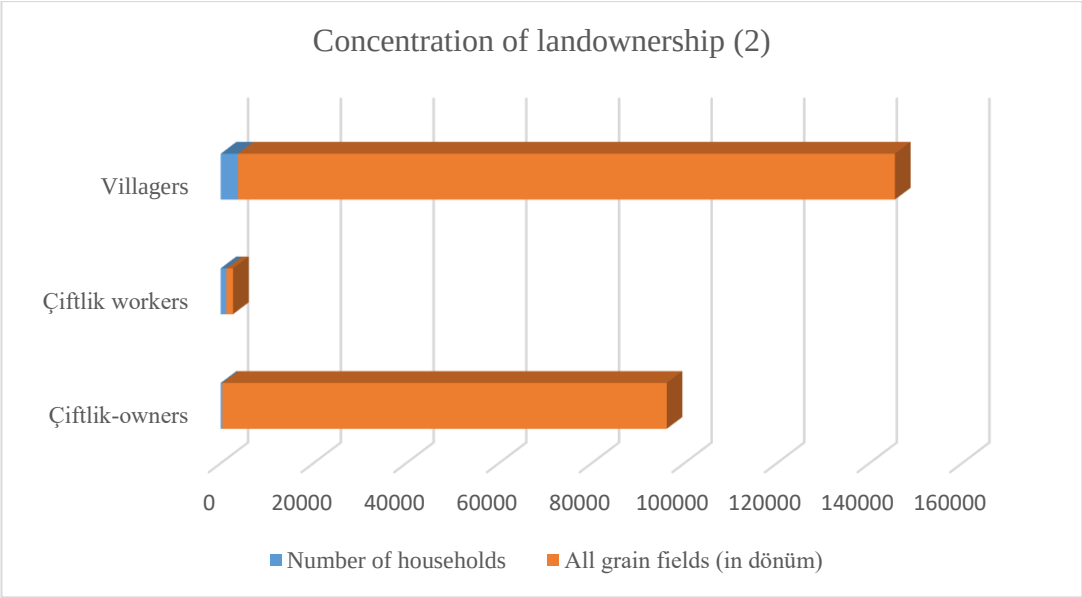


Figure 65. Concentration of landownership (2) (İştip).

The following graph (Figure 66) displays the ratio of cultivable fields owned by çiftlik-owners to all of the fields in each settlement in order to display the geographical distribution of settlements with varying degrees of çiftlik formation in terms of landownership. Here, an index has been prepared whereby the value of 0 indicates non-existence of çiftlik land and the value of 1 indicates all-encompassing existence of çiftlik land for each settlement. The resulting distribution is displayed in Figure 66.

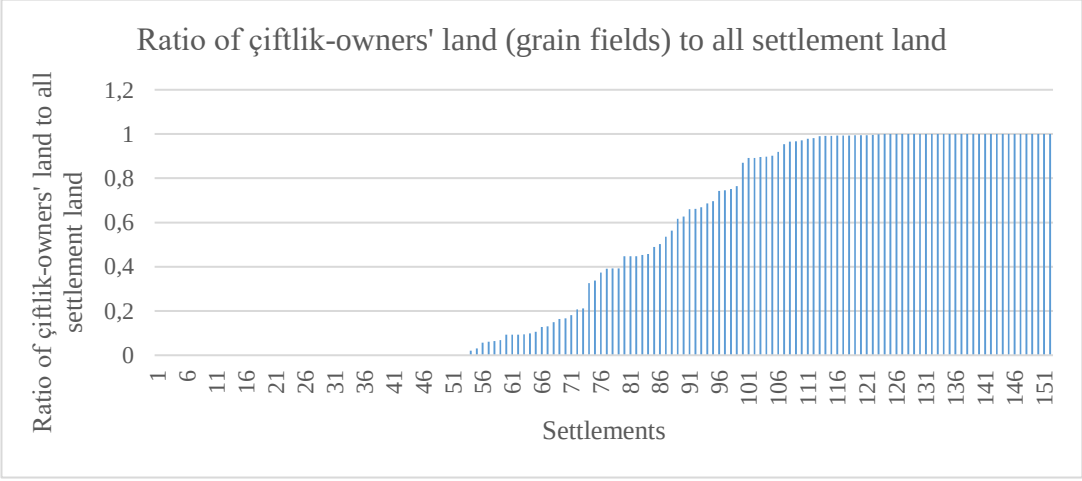


Figure 66. Ratio of çiftlik land to all settlement land (İştip).

Each settlement is indicated in the map below in accordance with its level of çiftlik formation in terms of landownership. Here, the colour white indicates the non-existence of çiftlik-owner's land, the colour pink indicates the mixture of land held by çiftlik-owners, çiftlik workers and villagers, and the colour red indicates the all-encompassing existence of çiftlik-owner's land (Figure 67).

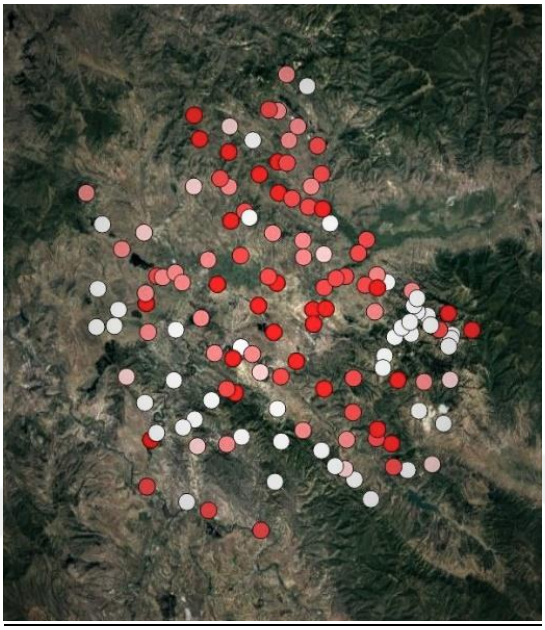


Figure 67. Distribution of settlements by landownership: Çiftliks versus villages (İştip).

The map below (Figure 68) displays the extent of cultivable land in conjunction with the distribution of ownership by çiftlik-owners, çiftlik workers and villagers within each settlement. The size of the pie charts indicates the size of the cultivable fields in each settlement. Within the pie charts, colour red indicates ownership by çiftlik-owners, colour blue indicates ownership by çiftlik workers, and colour green indicates ownership by villagers. While çiftliks tend to concentrate in the alluvial plains in central İştip, both forms of settlement remain quite intertwined.

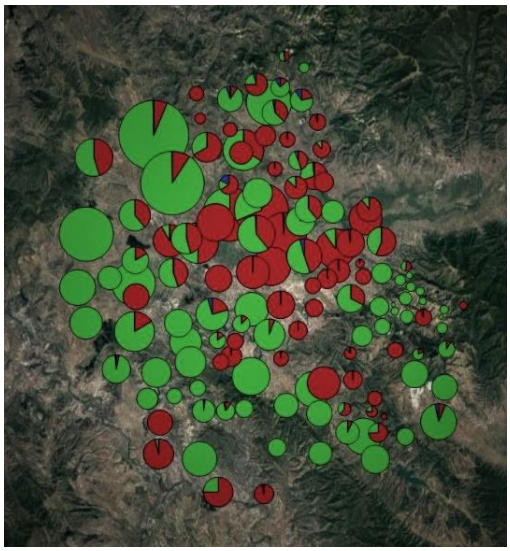


Figure 68. Distribution of land: Çiftlik-owners, çiftlik workers, and villagers of İştip.

So far, the data has been analyzed to demonstrate that there is a certain degree of concentration of land in the district of İştip in the mid-19th century. Here, the main framework has been the division between the villages and the çiftliks of the region, even though they are located close to each other, often within the same settlement. As such they display interaction and permeability to a considerable degree, in addition to significant variations within them.

4.1.3 Sources of income

The table below (Table 60) demonstrates the rural income sources and their distribution in the district of İştip as a whole, underlining the importance of agricultural production in general. Agricultural production is followed by animal husbandry and agricultural wage-labour.

Table 60. Income Sources of İştip

Income sources	In kuruş	Percentage
Agricultural production	2867606	60%
Sharecropping (main)	937113.5	19%
Animal-husbandry	462488	10%
Agricultural wage-labour	214810	4%
Animal-related wage-labour	92724	2%
Transport	76181	2%
Transport and/or provision of wood	66335	1%
Rent	42666.5	1%
Other	56055.5	1%
TOTAL	4815979.5	100%

The following series of tables (Table 61 and Table 62) display the distribution of different branches of agricultural activity, in terms of different types of land (in dönüm) and income obtained from them (in kuruş) in aggregates on çiftlik and village lands. Here, the focus is on active production and hence, only lands under cultivation, creating revenue for the owner, have been taken into account.[266]

Table 61. Agricultural Production in İştip: Çiftliks versus Villages (1)

	VILLAGE				ÇİFTLİK			
Types of land	Dönüm	Percentage	Revenue	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Revenue	Percentage
Grain fields	124628	95%	2239403	88%	85179	98%	1251839	93%
Meadow	1030.5	1%	34636	1%	672.5	1%	17565	1%
Vineyard	3566.025	3%	206257.5	8%	684.25	1%	35872.5	3%
Onion field	9.5	<1%	660	<1%	0	0%	0	0%
Cotton field	708	1%	12475	<1%	218.5	<1%	5550	<1%
"Bostan"	498.25	<1%	10092.5	<1%	194	<1%	2897.5	<1%
Vegetable garden	29	<1%	3040	<1%	63.5	<1%	9445	1%
Tobacco field	390.75	<1%	40845	2%	122	<1%	12240	1%
Rice field (rice pad	9	<1%	650	<1%	31	<1%	2500	<1%
Sesame field	0	0%	0	0%	77	<1%	1250	<1%
TOTAL	130869	100%	2548059	100%	87241.75	100%	1339159	100%

[266] Rented lands have been taken into account while leased out and uncultivated lands have been excluded since they do not produce agricultural revenue directly for the owner.

As can be observed in Table 61, the grain fields located in the villages, constituting 95% of all types of village lands, also produce the greater part of the total agricultural revenue of the villages. As for the çiftliks, 98% of all lands are constituted by grain fields that produce 93% of the total agricultural revenue. In both cases, grain fields are followed by vineyards.

Table 62. Agricultural Production in İştip: Çiftliks versus Villages (2)

	VILLAGE				ÇİFTLİK						
Types of land	Dönüm	Percentage	Revenue	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Revenue	Percentage	TOTAL (Dönüm)	TOTAL (Revenue)	TOTAL
Grain fields	124628	59%	2239403	64%	85179	41%	1251839	36%	209807	3491241.5	100%
Meadow	1030.5	61%	34636	66%	672.5	39%	17565	34%	1703	52201	100%
Vineyard	3566.025	84%	206257.5	85%	684.25	16%	35872.5	15%	4250.275	242130	100%
Onion field	9.5	100%	660	100%	0	0%	0	0%	9.5	660	100%
Cotton field	708	76%	12475	69%	218.5	24%	5550	31%	926.5	18025	100%
"Bostan"	498.25	72%	10092.5	78%	194	28%	2897.5	22%	692.25	12990	100%
Vegetable garden	29	31%	3040	24%	63.5	69%	9445	76%	92.5	12485	100%
Tobacco field	390.75	76%	40845	77%	122	24%	12240	23%	512.75	53085	100%
Rice field (rice paddy)	9	23%	650	21%	31	78%	2500	79%	40	3150	100%
Sesame field	0	0%	0	0%	77	100%	1250	100%	77	1250	100%

Table 62 displays the distribution of both the amount of land and the revenue obtained from agricultural production among the çiftliks and the villages. In general terms, the grain fields in the villages generate a higher revenue per dönüm vis-à-vis çiftliks. The distribution of agricultural revenue between çiftliks and villages can be observed in the chart below (Figure 69).

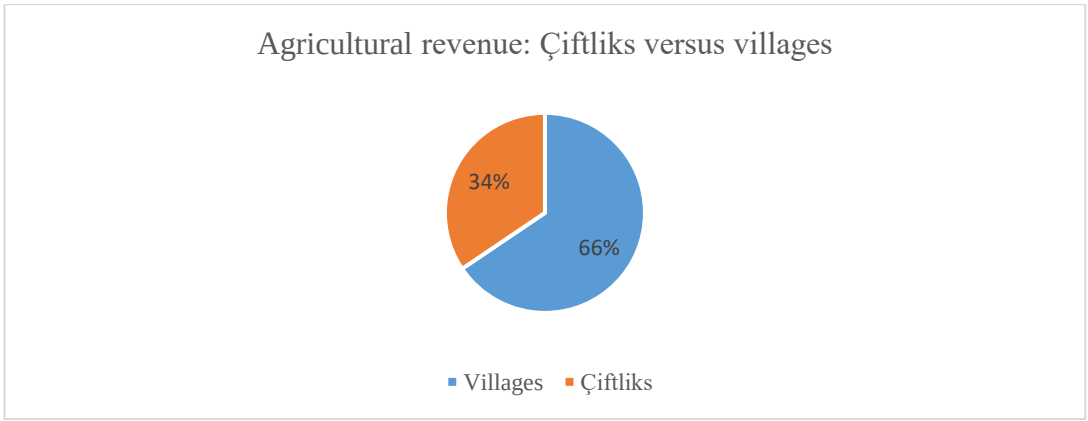


Figure 69. Agricultural revenue: Çiftliks versus villages (İştip).

The chart below (Figure 70) displays the distribution of income from animal husbandry between villagers, çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers. While the villagers earn 63% of income from animal husbandry, the greater part of the income from animal husbandry is earned by the workers of the çiftliks. As such, while the villages dominate animal husbandry, workers of the çiftliks also display a considerable participation in this activity, especially when proportioned to the size of each group under question.

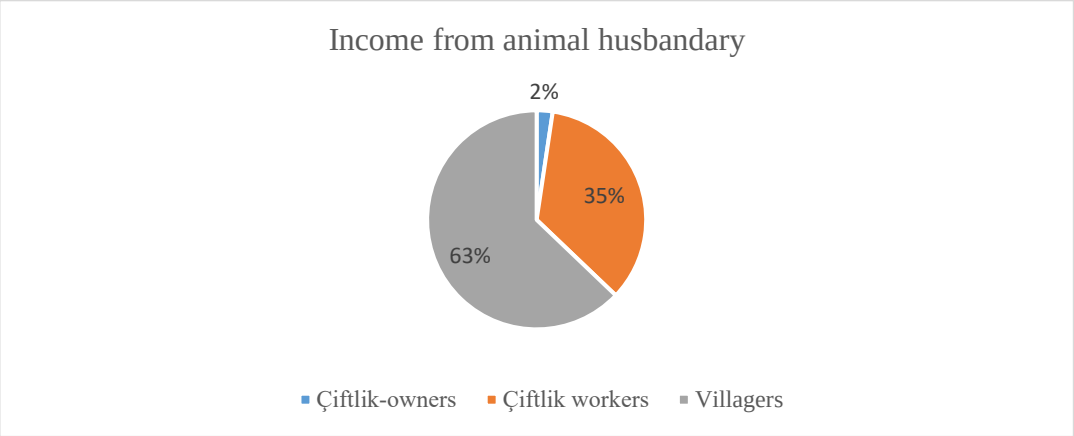


Figure 70. Income from animal husbandry: Çiftlik-owners, çiftlik workers, and villagers (İştip).

Lastly, in order to assess the level of inequality in the distribution of land (in terms of access to land, rather than income) the following calculations were made: The population[267] of the district was divided into 4 groups where the first group comprised of the bottom 10%, the second comprised of the top 10%, and the remaining population was divided into two groups with 40% each of the rural population in terms of ownership of grain fields. On this basis, the Gini coefficient was calculated to be 0.62. The same calculation with the population divided into equal shares of 20% also produced the same value. Furthermore, a calculation

[267] Including çiftlik-owners and rural residents, i.e. everyone having an interest in the agricultural economy of the district. Outsiders holding scattered parcels of land in villages are excluded.

exclusively conducted for the village lands produced a value of 0.48 (which will be discussed in further detail in Section 4.2.2). As such, there exists a certain degree of rural inequality in terms of access to land in the district of İştip in the mid-19th century even when one does not take the çiftliks into consideration.

4.2 Villages, peasants and class relations: The question of inequality in a peasant society

4.2.1 Village population of İştip

In order to have a general sense of the configuration of labour types in the villages, the distribution of income sources provides a point of start. The graph below (Figure 71) displays this distribution according to which engagement in agricultural production constitutes the main source of income, underlining the continuing importance of agricultural production for the economy of the villages of the district as a whole. This is then followed by animal-husbandry and agricultural wage-labour.

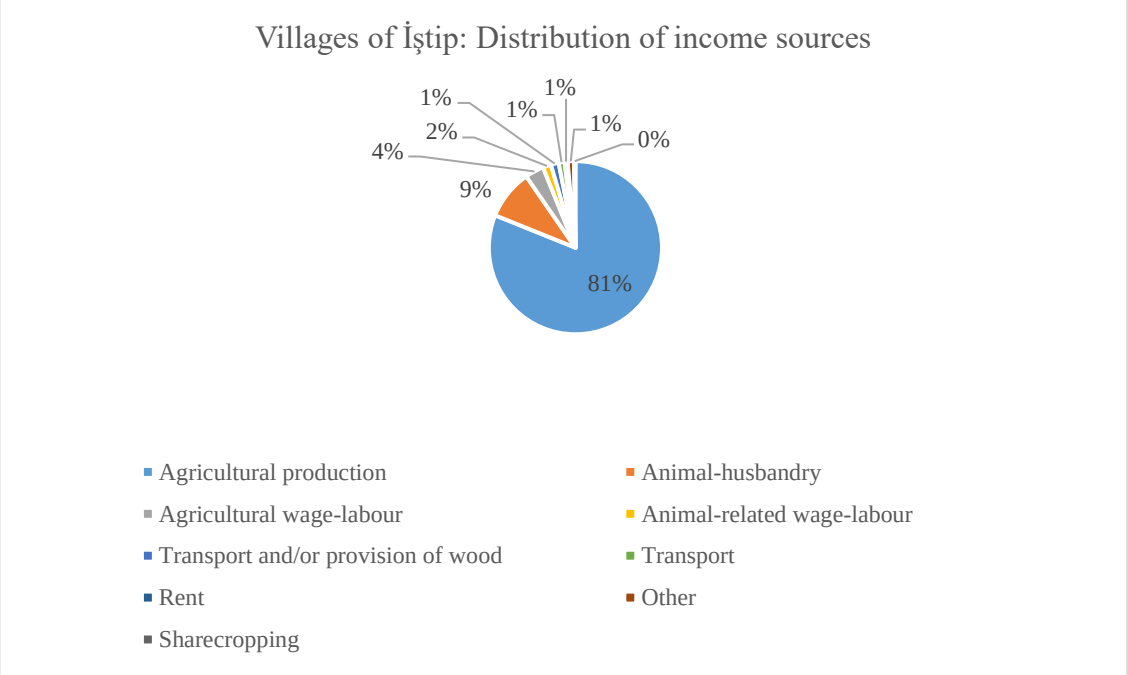


Figure 71. Villages of İştip: Distribution of income sources.

Additionally, agricultural production constituted the main source of income for most households, followed by agricultural wage-labour, as can be observed in the table below (Table 63).[268]

Table 63. Distribution of Village Households by Main Source of Income

Main source of income	Number of households	Percentage
Agricultural production	2876	78%
Agricultural wage-labour	429	12%
Transport and/or provision of wood	112	3%
Animal-related wage-labour	90	2%
Other	89	2%
Animal Husbandary	37	1%
Rent	37	1%
Transport	17	<1%
Sharecroping	5	<1%
TOTAL	3692	100%

Before moving to the details of these branches of activities, the weight of agricultural production in the villages of the district raises the main question of how the agrarian production, the main source of income for the rural district of İştip, is organized. In the idealized Ottoman agrarian universe, a village should mainly comprise of small-holding farmers who rely on family-labour and have a subsistence-oriented, self-sustaining outlook within comparatively similar conditions of life for the entire village community. How does this idealized picture compare with the actual rural conditions in the mid-19th century villages of İştip? How can the general characteristics of the internal organization and composition of the villages be understood? The following charts and tables have been prepared to find an answer, or at least some hints at an answer, to these questions.[269]

[268] 14 households which did not have any income registered have been excluded from the calculations. There is still great variety, ranging from 5 kuruş to more than 10300 kuruş.
[269] A detailed discussion on the types of labour and their concentration in specific villages will follow in Section 4.2.4.

4.2.2 Distribution of land and the question of rural inequality

The table below (Table 64) displays the distribution of all types of land held by village residents in terms of their size. Here, it becomes further visible that the holding of grain fields leads the way in terms of economic activity, followed by that of vineyards and meadows, for villages.[270]

Table 64. Distribution of Land Types among Villagers

Types of land	Dönüm	Percentage
Grain fields	141803	95%
Vineyard	4106.775	3%
Meadow	1217.75	1%
Cotton field	708	<1%
"Bostan"	492.25	<1%
Tobacco field	390.75	<1%
Vegetable garden	32	<1%
Onion field	9.5	<1%
Rice field (rice paddy)	9	<1%
TOTAL	148769.025	100%

The graph below (Figure 72) displays the distribution of land calculated on the basis of the ownership of grain fields among all the residents of the villages. Here, the greater majority of the farmers hold land below 50 dönüms while the same data also shows the difference between the smallholding peasantry as against two specific groups of landless villagers and bigger landowning peasants.

[270] Revenue also follow this trend -grains followed by vineyards and meadows.

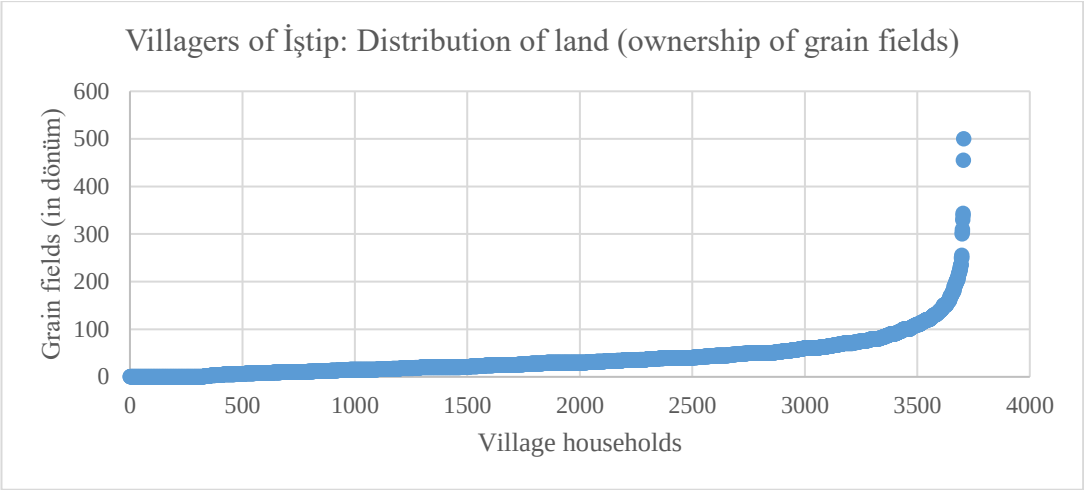


Figure 72. Villagers of İştip: Distribution of land (1).

The table below (Table 65) treats the data on landownership in the villages in a way to demonstrate the respective part of all the grain fields held by each quarter of the village population. In the bottom group, 927 households hold either no land or land of 14 dönüms and below, constituting 3% of all land, totaling 4916 dönüms. The second quarter holds land between 14 and 30 dönüms, constituting 13% of all land, totaling 18992 dönüms. The third quarter holds lands between 30 and 50 dönüms, constituting 25% of all land, totaling 34961.5 dönüms. Lastly, the top group holds land ranging from 50 to 500 dönüms, constituting 58% of all land, totaling 82933.5 dönüms. The graph following the table (Figure 73) visualizes this distribution.

Table 65. Distribution of Land among Villagers of İştip (1)

Number of households	Ranges of land ownership (in dönüm)	Total (in dönüm)	Percentage
927	0 - 14	4916	3%
927	14 - 30	18992	13%
926	30 - 50	34961.5	25%
926	50 - 500	82933.5	58%

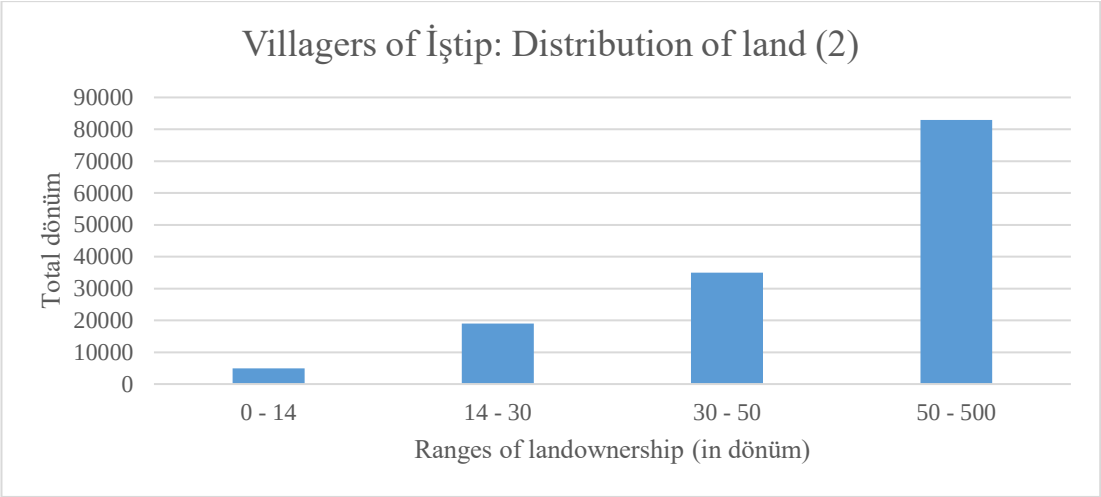


Figure 73. Villagers of İştip: Distribution of land (2).

The table and the chart following the table below (Table 66 and Figure 74) demonstrate the same data yet excluding the completely landless 329 households. In this slightly altered version, the bottom quarter holds land between 1 and 17 dönüms, totaling 8662 dönüms (6% of all land). The second quarter holds land between 17 and 30 dönüms, totaling 20166.5 dönüms (14% of all land). The third quarter holds land between 30 and 51 dönüms, totaling 34147.5 dönüms (24% of all land). The top quarter holds land between 51 and 500 dönüms, totaling 78827.5 dönüms of grain fields (56% of all land). As such, the top group here holds 9.1 times the amount of land held by the bottom group.

Table 66. Distribution of Land among Villagers of İştip (2)

Number of households	Ranges of land ownership (in dönüm)	Total (in dönüm)	Percentage
845	1 - 17	8662	6%
844	17 - 30	20166	14%
844	30 - 51	34147.5	24%
844	51 - 500	78827.5	56%

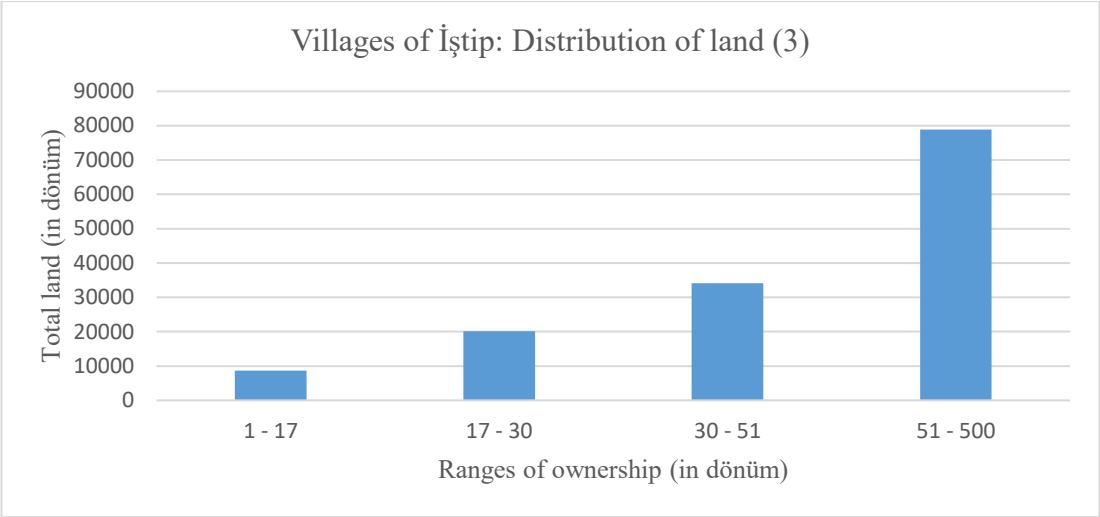


Figure 74. Villagers of İştip: Distribution of land (3).

Lastly, the table below (Table 67) displays the data on landownership with different points of break, focusing on the ranges of ownership. As such, the results demonstrate that 329 households have no land (9% of all households), 136 households hold land between 1 and 5 dönüms (4% of all households), 320 households hold land between 5.5 and 10 dönüms (9% of all households), 684 households hold land between 10.5 and 20 dönüms (18% of all households), 1386 households hold land between 20.5 and 50 dönüms (37% of all households), 611 households hold land between 50.5 and 100 dönüms (16% of all households), 210 households hold land between 101 and 200 dönüms (6% of all households), 23 households hold land between 205 and 300 dönüms (1% of all households), and a total of 7 households hold land over 300 dönüms, 5 holding land between 305 and 343.5 dönüms, and 2 holding lands of 455 and 500 dönüms. For each group of households, the number and percentages are indicated in the table below (Table 67).

Table 67. Distribution of Land among Villagers of İştip (3)

Number of households	Range of landownership (in dönüm)	Percentage in total number of households
329	no land	9%
136	1 -5	4%
320	5.5 - 10	9%
684	10.5 - 20	18%
1386	20.5 - 50	37%
611	50.5 - 100	16%
210	101 - 200	6%
23	205 - 300	1%
5	305 - 343.5	<1%
2	455 - 500	<1%

The table below has been derived from the same source of data used above in order to present a more detailed picture of landownership in the villages as calculations have been made in order to demonstrate the extent of the inequality of landownership among the village residents through the computing of a Gini coefficient based on the extent of landownership exercised by each group. The resulting Gini coefficient of 0.48 indicates the existence of a certain degree of inequality in landownership in the villages.[271] This distribution of land among villagers can be observed in the graph below (Figure 75).

[271] Here, the bottom 10% of the village households hold only 91.5 dönüms of grain fields while the top 10% of the households hold grain fields of 48005.5 dönüms, which is about 524.7 times of the former. When the landless are excluded the data demonstrates that the bottom 10% hold grain fields of 2019.5 dönüms while the top 10% hold grain fields of 45224.5 dönüms, which about 22.39 times of the former. When the landless villagers are completely excluded from the calculations, the Gini coefficient is 0.43.

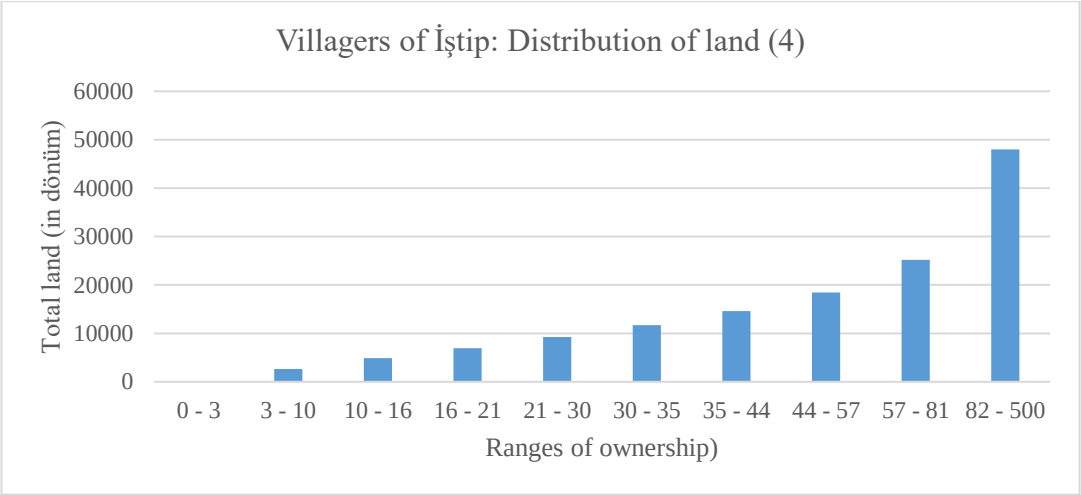


Figure 75. Villagers of İştip: Distribution of land (4).

As such, the calculations above together indicate that there is a clear distinction between the lower and the upper segments of the village-residing rural society in terms of landowning in the mid-19th century İştip. As such, the largest tracts of land were concentrated in the hands a fewer number of peasant families while the majority of the farmer households operated on smaller fields, in addition to the presence of a group of landless villagers.

4.2.3 Patterns of settlement: Villages of İştip

The tables and maps below demonstrate the spatial distribution of specific factors among the villages of the district of İştip. In the first group, a sample of villages whereby it was possible to identify a value of inequality in terms of distribution of landowning was selected for calculations. While this list is far from being exhaustive due to various statistical restrictions, it may still provide a glimpse into the general patterns.[272] The first table below (Table 68) demonstrates the sizes as well as values of Gini coefficient computed with regard to the inequality in the ownership of grain

[272] Here, only villages with number of households above 50 have been taken into account. As such, the list provided is far from being definite and exhaustive; rather, it should be considered as a sample of settlements whose levels of inequality in landowning have been calculated for purposes of demonstration of the complexity and variability of rural structures.

fields for a group of selected villages while the following table (Table 69) displays the color-coding used in the resulting map (Figure 76).

Table 68. Level of Inequality in Landownership in a Sample of Villages in İştip

Settlement	Size	Gini
Penius	61	0.54
Gorobinci	89	0.50
Radani	58	0.48
Kiliseli (Sv. Nikola)	153	0.48
Selce	70	0.46
Strojisavci	124	0.46
Dobrisani	51	0.45
Durfulija	101	0.43
Kara Osmanlı (Karatmanovo)	65	0.43
Gaber (Gir)	54	0.43
Dragoevo	68	0.40
Nemanjitsa	105	0.39
Bekirlija	58	0.37
Damjan	93	0.36
Şehsuvarlı	86	0.36
Hacı Recepli	61	0.36
Leskovica	104	0.35
Muzanci	69	0.34
Topolnica	60	0.32
Tatarlı (Milino)	71	0.31
Creska	64	0.30
Bucim	53	0.30
Barbarova	53	0.29
Hacı Hamzalı	69	0.23

Table 69. Colour-coding of (Table 68 / Figure 76)

Gini	Colour-code
>0.50	Red
0.49 -0.40	Orange
0.40 - 0.30	Blue
<0.30	Green

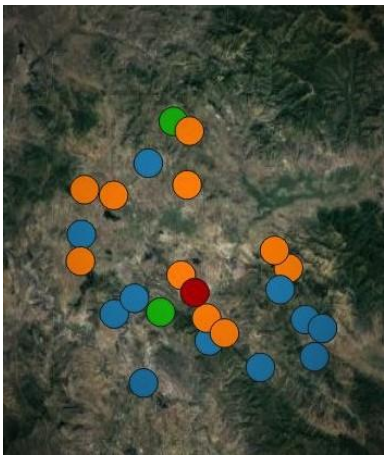


Figure 76. Inequality of the distribution of landowning in a sample of villages in İştip.

This sample demonstrates that villages with different levels of inequality co-existed in close proximity to each other, similar to the co-existence of çiftliks and villages. Also, villages with lower inequality displayed more presence in the hills compared to çiftliks. This tendency has also been observed in Manastır.

Lastly, the graph below (Figure 77) indicates the extent of inequality between individual villages in terms ownership of grain fields. Here, villages display a considerable degree of divergence in terms of landholding. Considering the overall significance of agricultural production in the rural economy of İştip, such divergence indicates the existence of inequality not only among individual villagers, but also between villages themselves.

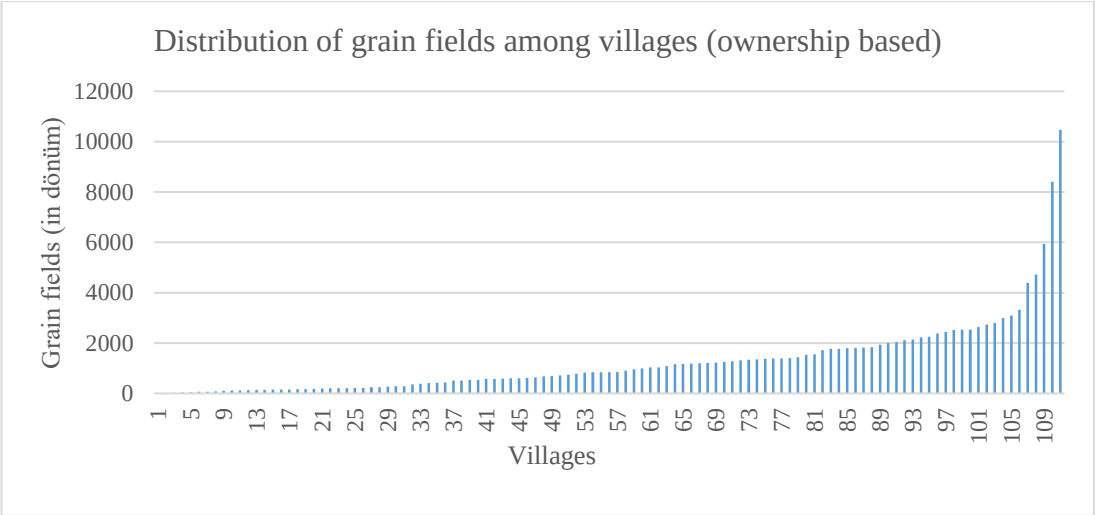


Figure 77. Distribution of grain fields among villages of İştip.

The map below (Figure 78) displays the settlements where the main source of income is non-agricultural. The colour-coding used in the map is displayed in the following table (Table 70).[273]

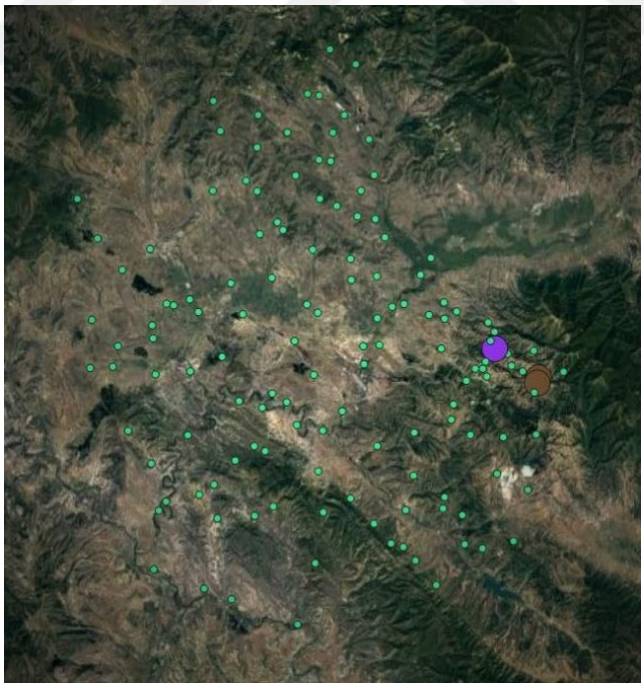


Figure 78. Settlements based on non-agricultural income (İştip).

[273] Animal husbandary is the main source of income Kepekcili (Kepekchelija) and transport and provision of wood is the main source of income in Pırnarlı/Pernalı and Muradlı/Muratlija. All three are located on hills.

Table 70. Colour-Coding of (Figure 78)

Type of activity	Colour-coding
Animal husbandary	Purple
Transport and provision of wood	Brown
Agriculture	Green

4.2.4 Forms of labour and the question of differentiation

The following tables and charts display the details of landownership and income sources in relation to the extent of wage-labour in the villages of İştip. The first table below (Table 71) demonstrates the details of the distribution of various sources of income in the villages. As a whole, agricultural production retains its importance in general, followed by animal husbandry and wage-labour. As such, before moving to the more meaningful question of who survives by doing what under this umbrella, a detailed exposition of this distribution is provided below.

Table 71. Income Sources of Villages of İştip

Category	Income (in kuruş)	Percentage in total income	Occupations
Agricultural production	2539683.5	81%	
Animal-husbandry	290761	9%	
Agricultural wage-labour	109655	4%	hizmetkar, orakçı, teroğlanı, harmancı, dörtlemeci
Animal-related wage-labour	47979	2%	çoban, öküzcü, sığırtmaç
Transport and/or provision of wood	45875	1%	hatabkeş, oduncu
Transport	34481	1%	kiracı
Rent	17548.5	1%	
Other	37500	1%	
Sharecropping	7985	0%	çömlekçi, dülger, sergici, şürugancı, kahya, bekçi, imam, terzi, terzi çırağı, nalband, hancı, papaz, abacı, değirmenci, kömür yakıcı/kömürcü, hatab ve kömür yakımı, misc
TOTAL	3131468	100%	

In the chart below (Figure 79), main agrarian income sources are indicated.

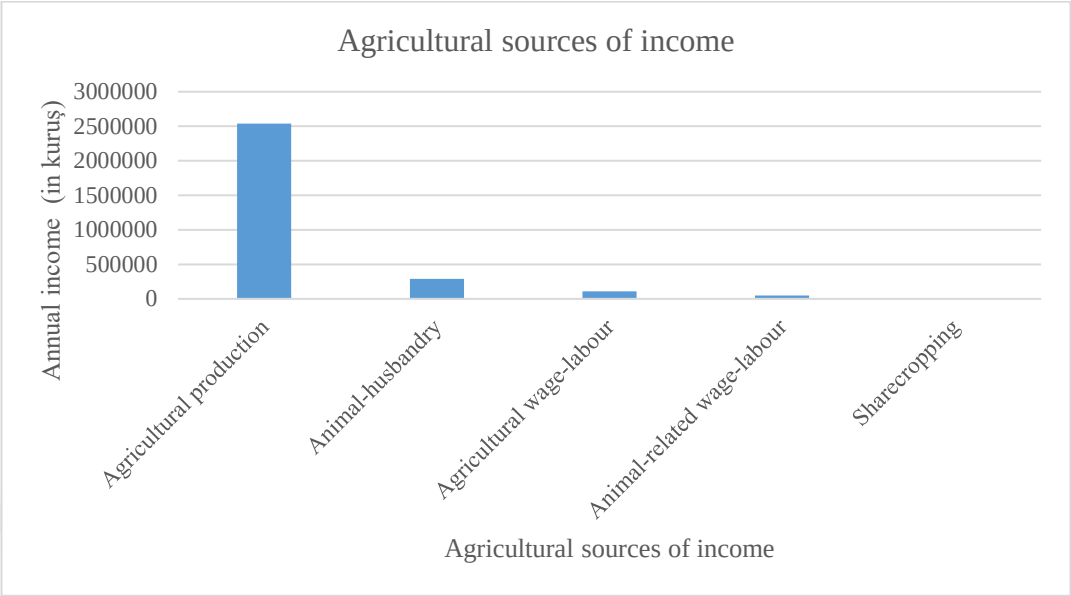


Figure 79. Agrarian income sources of villages of İştip.

In the chart below (Figure 80), main non-agrarian income sources are indicated. Here, the level of occupational differentiation is much lower than Manastır as the only formidable individual alternatives are transportation as well as transport and provision of wood.

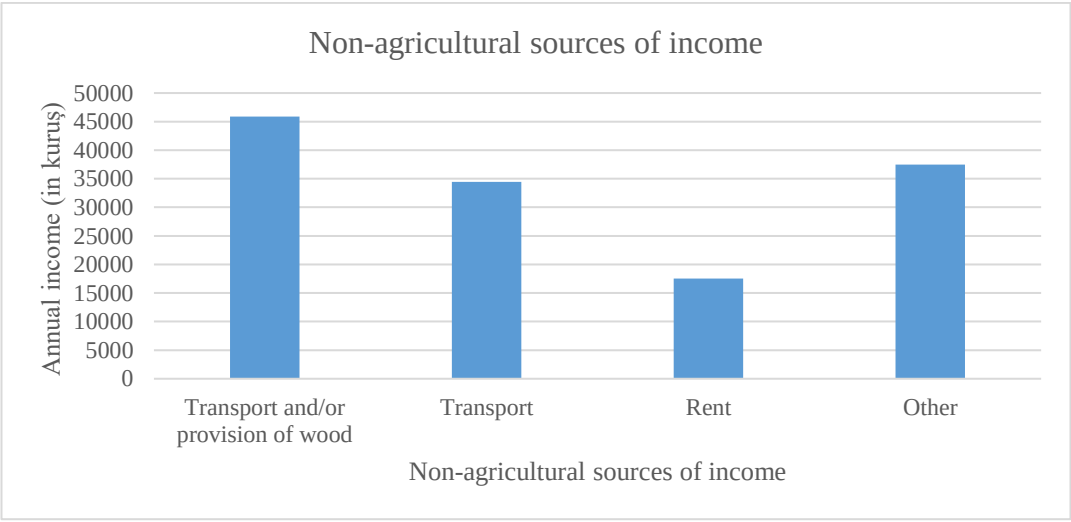


Figure 80. Non-agricultural income sources of villages of İştip.

Then, how are these activities related to traditional agricultural production and small-holding peasantry? What is the nature of the relationship between peasant farmers and agricultural wage-workers?

The labour relations noted in the village registers are mostly relations of wage-labour between the villagers themselves whereby agricultural and animal-husbandry related wage-workers are employed by their wealthier neighbors in the villages. Nevertheless, there are some cases of employment by çiftlik-owners as well. Unfortunately, in the sources, it was possible to identify relations of wage-labour only when peasant households were indicated as the specific employers of wage-workers (mostly "*hizmetkar*") since the latter were not only landless, but also houseless, and were specifically indicated to dwell in the lodgings of their employers.[274] As such, it was not possible to trace the employers of the workers holding a dwelling or a piece of land and a few animals. In the registers, the specific employers of around 160 worker households have been identified. Sometimes, multiple wage-workers were living in the household of a specific peasant family, indicating that the latter's employment of wage-labour was relatively significant. Other than wage-labour, 3 relations of sharecropping have been observed in the registers. In these cases, one landowner was also the owner of a çiftlik and another one owned a winter pasture ("kışlak"). Overall, villagers are noted to own a total of 5 mills, 2 çiftliks and a winter pasture in the sources.[275]

Even at this level of information, it is possible to detect that the relations between the members of the different segments of the peasantry is far from being one

[274] Formulated in the clauses of "X hanesinde mütemekkin" as well as "ağası X hanesinde mütemekkin". Around 30 households are specifically indicated to lack land or housing or both. In such cases, the clauses of "emlak ve araziye bir nesnesi dahi olmayub", "emlağa dair bir nesnesi olmayub" or "hanesinden başka bir nesnesi olmayub" are used. Nevertheless, such notes remain to be only cursory in the registers. Also, 3 people are noted to be missing ("nerede olduğu bilinmiyor"), implying flight.

[275] These are also cursory notes. The number of peasant çiftlik-owners as identified in the registers of respective çiftliks turned out to be much higher than indicated in the village registers.

of equals. Rather, there are considerable gaps between the members of the agrarian society -between a segment of land and property-owning, labour-employing peasantry, a group of small-holding farmers mainly relying on family-labour while sometimes getting engaged in supplementary activities for additional sources of income, and the existence of a completely dispossessed group of rural residents, even though the relative weight of each group differs in the districts under study. As such, there is no single type of villager and the existing networks as well as relations of labour between the members of the peasantry are quite complex.

As discussed in relation to Manastır (See: 3.2.4), the mere existence or the absence of wage-labour as a source of income in a household falls short of properly indicating the economic position of the peasant family under question. Accordingly, a number of relations between landownership (of grain fields) and involvement in different forms of economic activity have been established in the following tables. Here, the main purpose is to identify the degree of dependency on the food market.[276]

The first table below (Table 72) displays the rate of acquisition of different sources of income by the landless families of the district compared to all village households.

Table 72. Income Sources of Landless Villagers of İştip

Income sources	Income obtained by landless households (in kuruş)	Percentage of the income earned by landless households in all village households	Income obtained by all households (in kuruş)
Agricultural wage-labour	37745	34%	109655
Animal-related wage-labour	8995	19%	47979
Other	3485	9%	37500
Animal Husbandary	9869	3%	290761
Transport and/or provision of wood	2905	6%	45875
Transport	2650	8%	34481
Agricultural income	7807.5	<1%	2539683.5
Sharecropping	860	11%	7985

[276] 4 households with no income and 8 households that were engaged in production on rented lands have been excluded from the calculations. As such, 317 out of 329 landless households are included in the calculations.

Foremost observations based on the table above are as follows:

Around one-third of the total income from wage-labour is obtained by the landless households of the district. As such, agricultural wages should have a primary character for this group while it is likely to be a supplementary source of income to agricultural production for the remaining (yet, the ratio between the two variables is crucial for the general character of peasants under question). This is followed by animal-related wage-labour, sharecropping, transport, and transport/provision of wood.

The table below (Table 73) displays all the income sources of landless village population as the main source of income has been calculated for each landless village household. Here, agricultural wage-labour constitutes the main source of income for 67% of the landless; this is followed by animal-related wage-labour which constitutes the main source of income for 13% of the landless households. As such, engagement in agricultural wage-labour is the most significant source of income for the landless population of villages.

Table 73. Main Sources of Income for Landless Villagers of İştip (Number of Households)

Landless village households		
Main source of income	Number of households	Percentage
Agricultural wage-labour	213	67%
Animal-related wage-labour	40	13%
Other	17	5%
Transport and/or provision of wood	15	5%
Transport	10	3%
Agricultural income	14	4%
Animal Husbandary	7	2%
Sharecropping	1	0%
TOTAL	317	100%

The table below (Table 74) displays the relative weight of all the income sources obtained by the landless villagers. Once again, income from agricultural wage-labour constitutes the bulk of the income bundle.

Table 74. Main Sources of Income for Landless Villagers of İştip (Level of Income)

Landless village households		
Income sources	Income (in kuruş)	Income (percentage)
Agricultural wage-labour	37745.5	51%
Animal-related wage-labour	8995	12%
Other	3485	5%
Animal Husbandary	9869	13%
Transport and/or provision of wood	2905	4%
Transport	2650	4%
Agricultural income	7807.5	11%
Sharecropping	860	1%

While the categorization of the data in the table above simply divides the rural population between the landless and the landowning, without regard to the extent and nature of the latter, the series of tables below aim to provide a more nuanced exposition of the relationship between degrees of landownership and the most important form of economic activity after independent farming and animal husbandry – that is, agricultural wage-labour.

Table 75. Landownership and Income from Agricultural Wage Labour in the Villages of İştip (1)

All fields (dönüm)					
Ranges of ownership (dönüm)	Number of households	Total land (dönüm)	Percentage in total land	Income from agricultural wage-labour (kuruş)	Percentage in total agricultural wage-labour
0 - 18	1236	9748.5	7%	71960	66%
18 - 40	1235	35214.5	25%	24705	23%
40 - 500	1235	96840	68%	12990	12%
TOTAL	3706	141803	100%	109655	100%

As Table 75 shows, the households in the bottom group, holding 7% of all village land, earn 66% of the total income from agricultural wage-labour while 23% is obtained by the households holding land between 18 and 40 dönüms (25% of all

village land) and remaining 12% is obtained by the households holding land over 40 dönüms (68% of all land).

Of the 676 households obtaining an income from agricultural wage-labour, 229 are completely landless while the remaining households hold a total of 11883 dönüms of land which constitutes 8% of all land indicating the existence of a degree of market dependency in the form of the erosion of the traditional (and relative) peasant self-sufficiency. Here, the average income from agricultural wage-labour per household is 162.21 kuruş. The relevant data is displayed in the tables below (Table 76 and Table 77).

Table 76. Landownership and Income from Agricultural Wage Labour in the Villages of İştip (2)

Agricultural wage-labour	
Total landownership of land by earners of agricultural wage-labour (dönüm)	11883
Total land (dönüm)	141803
Percentage	8%

Table 77. Income from Agricultural Wage Labour in the Villages of İştip

Agricultural wage-labour	
Number of households	676
Income from agricultural wage-labour (kuruş)	109655
Average per household (kuruş)	162.21

As Table 78 indicates in general lines, the households in the bottom group, holding 7% of all village land, earn 36% of the total income from engagement in animal-related wage-labour while 35% is obtained by households holding land between 18 and 40 dönüms (25% of all village land) and 29% is obtained by the households holding land over 40 dönüms (68% of all village land). In general, therefore, engagement in animal-related wage-labour has a largely supplementary character.

Table 78. Landownership and Income from Animal-Husbandry Related Wage Labour in the Villages of İştip (1)

Animal-husbandary related wage-labour					
Ranges of ownership (dönüm)	Number of households	Total land (dönüm)	Percentage in total land	Income from animal-husbandary related wage-labour (kuruş)	Percentage in total animal-husbandary related wage-labour
0 - 18	1236	9748.5	7%	17370	36%
18 - 40	1235	35214.5	25%	16600	35%
40 - 500	1235	96840	68%	14009	29%
TOTAL	3706	141803	100%	47979	100%

Of the 344 households obtaining an income from animal-related wage-labour, 61 are completely landless while the remaining households hold a total of 12022 dönüms of land which constitutes 8% of all land. Here, the average income from animal-related wage-labour per household is 139.47 kuruş. The relevant data is displayed in the tables below (Table 79 and Table 80).

Table 79. Landownership and Income from Animal-Husbandry Related Wage Labour in the Villages of İştip (2)

Animal-husbandary related wage-labour	
Total landownership of land by earners of animal-husbandary related wage-labour (dönüm)	12022
Total land (dönüm)	141803
Percentage	8%

Table 80. Income from Animal-Husbandry Related Wage Labour in the Villages of İştip

Animal-husbandary related wage-labour	
Number of households	344
Income from agricultural wage-labour (kuruş)	47979
Average per household (kuruş)	139.47

Lastly, based on the data below (Table 81), it is safe to argue that of all the rural population in the district of İştip, only 11% refrains from engagement in non-agricultural activities, especially concerning production of grains (i.e., food), while 9% is completely cut-off from it and pursue alternative directions.

Table 81. Dependency on Food Market in the Villages of İştip

	Number of households	Percentage in all households
No income	14	<1%
No non-agricultural income	395	11%
No grain fields	329	9%

4.3 Çiftliks, landowners and producers: Land, labour and agricultural production

4.3.1 Organization of labour and types of çiftliks

In the income survey registers, 4 main types of çiftliks have been identified on the basis of the form of labour employed. The chart in Figure 81 displays the distribution of çiftlik workers among different types of çiftliks. In İştip, 61% of çiftlik workers resided in çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour, 19% of çiftlik workers resided in çiftliks based on sharecropping, 14% of çiftlik workers resided in çiftliks based on wage-labour, and 6% of çiftlik cultivators consisted of tenant farmers. The chart in Figure 82 displays the distribution of individual çiftliks among different types of çiftliks. In İştip, 46% of çiftliks are based on sharecropping, 30% of çiftliks are based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour, 20% of çiftliks are based on wage-labour, and 4% of çiftliks are based on tenancy.

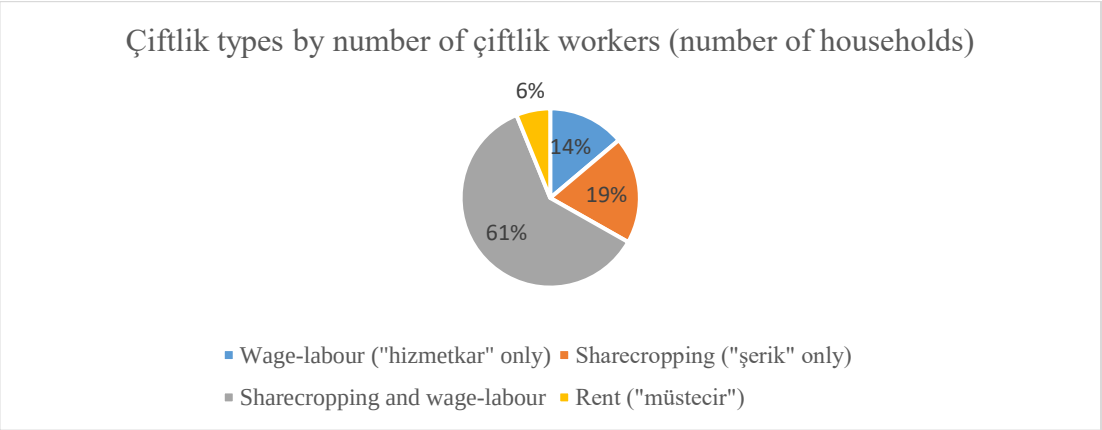


Figure 81. Çiftlik types by the number of çiftlik workers (İştip).

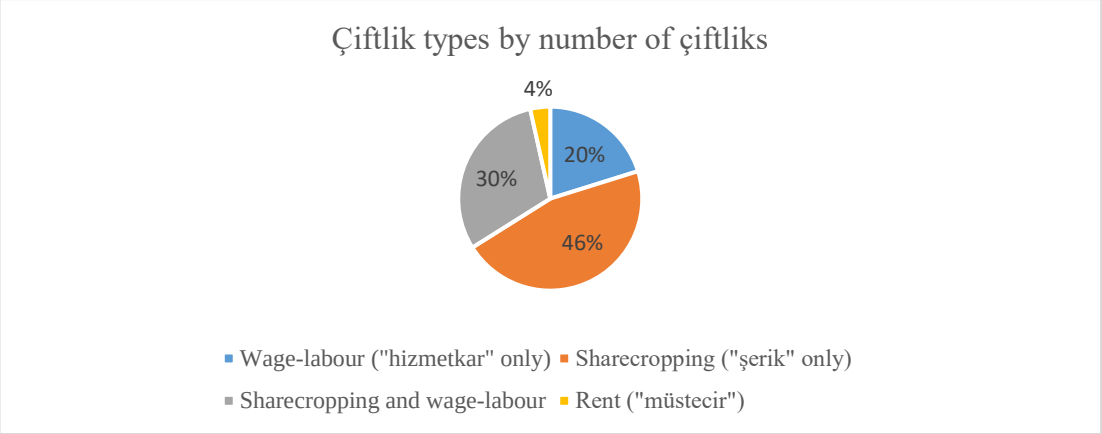


Figure 82. Çiftlik types by the number of çiftliks (İştip).

As such, it is evident that sharecropping constitutes the most prevalent form of labour arrangement while tenancy ("isticar") remains to be the least common method. Furthermore, the presence of çiftliks exclusively based on wage-labour is much more prevalent than Manastır.

In the district of İştip, the çiftliks based on the exclusive use of wage-labour consist of 171 households in 69 çiftliks the majority of which is constituted by wage-labourers, or "hizmetkar", who can be defined as wage workers engaged in long-term labour arrangements, rather than being temporary or based on the performance of a specific type of labour. Other than the predominance of the "hizmetkar", these çiftliks contain a few specialized workers as well as day labourers as well, including a few "ırgat", "orakçı", "teroğlanı", "çoban", and "sığırtmaç". Besides the more permanent category of labourers, therefore, a number of temporary and specific labour types are also employed in the çiftliks based on agricultural wage-labour.[277] The number of labourer households in çiftliks based on wage labour range from 1 to 8, with a mean of 2.47 and a median of 2 (Figure 83).

[277] In this category, the existence of two wage-workers obtaining a share from the çiftlik-owner ("ağasından aldığı hisse") has been observed, even though these workers are specifically defined as "servants" in the registers and the lands in this çiftlik are not registered in the way lands under sharecropping are always registered. Is it possible that these workers have a responsibility of supervision?



Figure 83. Çiftliks based on wage-labour: Number of labourers' households (İştip).

The çiftliks exclusively based on sharecropping arrangements consist of 239 sharecropping households in 157 çiftliks. Of these, only 7 households do not have any source of income other than their shares from agricultural production under sharecropping. As such, 232 households obtain income from independent agricultural production, animal husbandry, as well as various types of wage-labour and activities of transport, carpentry, milling etc. In the majority of çiftliks based on sharecropping, agricultural produce is divided in half after "aşar" is subtracted while the division favors the landowner in a number of cases. Shares are mostly equal among multiple sharecroppers while a number of divergences have been observed as well. The number of sharecroppers' households in this type of çiftliks range from 1 to 7, with a mean of 1.52 and a median of 1 (Figure 84).

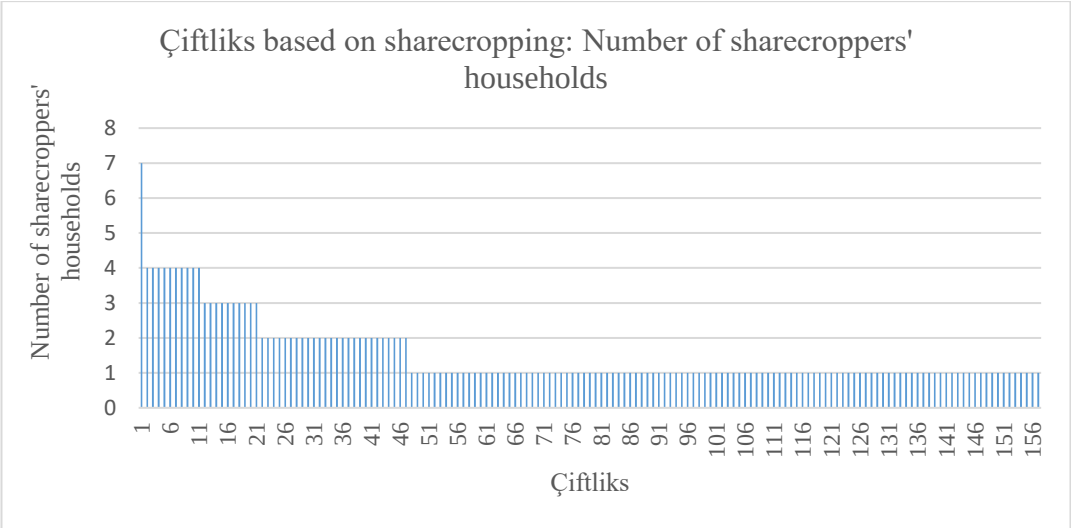


Figure 84. Çiftliks based on sharecropping: Number of sharecroppers' households (İştip).

The çiftliks of mixed labour type are mainly based on sharecropping with the additional employment of wage-labour, both in its permanent and temporary / function specific versions. Of the total number of 749 households resident in this type of çiftliks, 361 households consist of sharecropping families, the members of which are often engaged in additional sources of income. The remaining residents in this category of çiftliks mainly comprise of wage workers.[278] In most of the çiftliks based on this combination, the general rule is also that agricultural produce is divided in half after "aşar" is subtracted. Shares are often equal among multiple sharecroppers. Nevertheless, there are also several cases in this group whereby the division proceeds in favor of the landowner. In some cases, there are also considerable variations regarding the share given to each sharecropper in a given çiftlik. The number of households in these çiftliks range from 2 to 60, with a mean of 7.2 and a median of 5 (Figure 85).

[278] In this category, the existence of nine wage-workers obtaining a share from the çiftlik-owner ("ağasından aldığı hisse") has been observed.

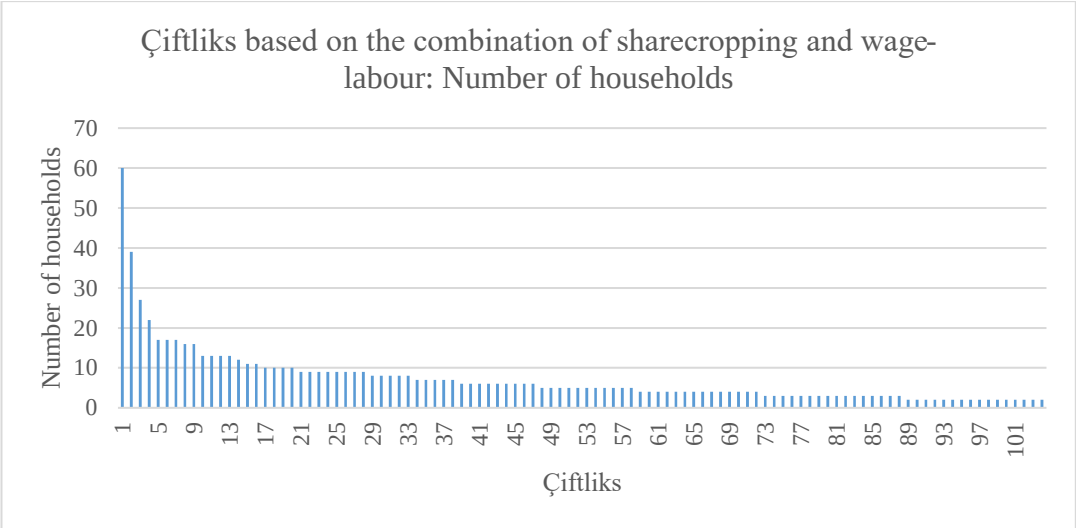


Figure 85. Çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage labour: Number of households (İştip).

Of the total number of 1235 households of çiftlik workers residing in 342 çiftliks, 1203 households have been indicated to dwell in lodgings belonging to their landowners.[279] Of these çiftlik workers, 2 wage-labourers have been noted to have rented out grain fields of 6 dönüms and 15 dönüms. As both of these wage-labourers were devoid of draught animals, that fact that they rented out their fields to work in çiftliks as wage-workers attests to the relationship between the owning of oxen and the formation of sharecropping arrangements. Of the sharecroppers of çiftliks, two households are noted to have rented out mills, from which they earn incomes of rent of 150 kuruş and 80 kuruş respectively. In general, the workers of 19 çiftliks of a total of 361 çiftliks were not registered. As such, it seems reasonable to assume that they might have been coming from nearby çiftliks and villages, which attests to the existence of labour mobility and interaction between different forms of settlement.[280]

[279] Of these, 221 households are specifically noted to dwell in the houses of their "ağa". 5 households are specifically indicated to dwell in their own houses.
[280] Other than various forms of land and animals, in terms of property, the list goes as follows: 1 çiftlik-owner own a wood grove ("hatab korusu") of 40 dönüm, 1 çiftlik-owner owns a winter pasture ("kışlak") of 200 dönüm, 5 çiftlik-owners have rented-out inns generating a total rent of 1420 kuruş, 1 çiftlik-owner has a rented-out store generating a rent of 1250 kuruş, 4 çiftlik-owners have rented out mills and 1 çiftlik-owner has a mill.

The details of such co-existence can be observed in the map below (Figure 86)[281]. The colour-coding is indicated in Table 82.

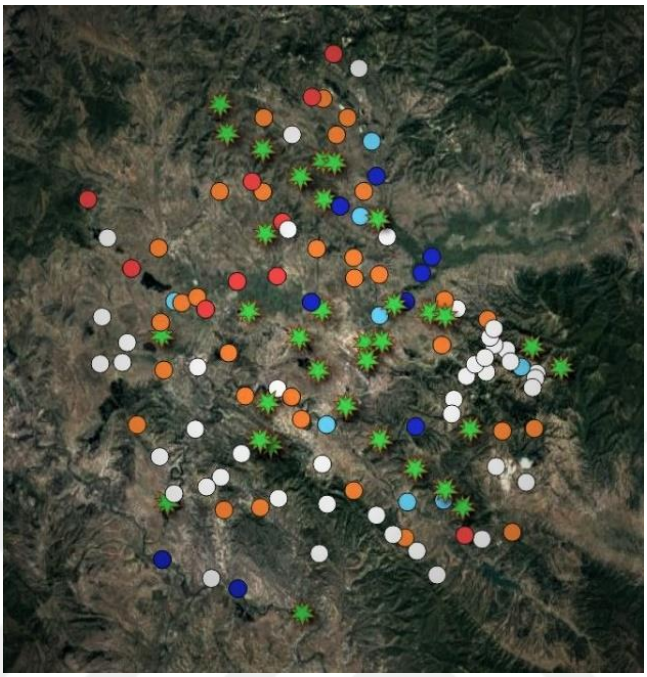


Figure 86. Çiftliks and villages of İştip.

Table 82. Colour-Coding of (Figure 86)

Level of çiftlik formation	Colour coding
0	White
0.03 - 0.28	Orange
0.32 - 0.49	Pink
0.5 - 0.77	Blue
0.8 - 0.97	Navy blue
1	Green star

4.3.2 Patterns of ownership and agricultural production

The following charts have been prepared to demonstrate the distribution of landownership across as well as within different types of çiftliks.

[281] This map is a more detailed version of the map in Figure 59 (Section 4.1.1)

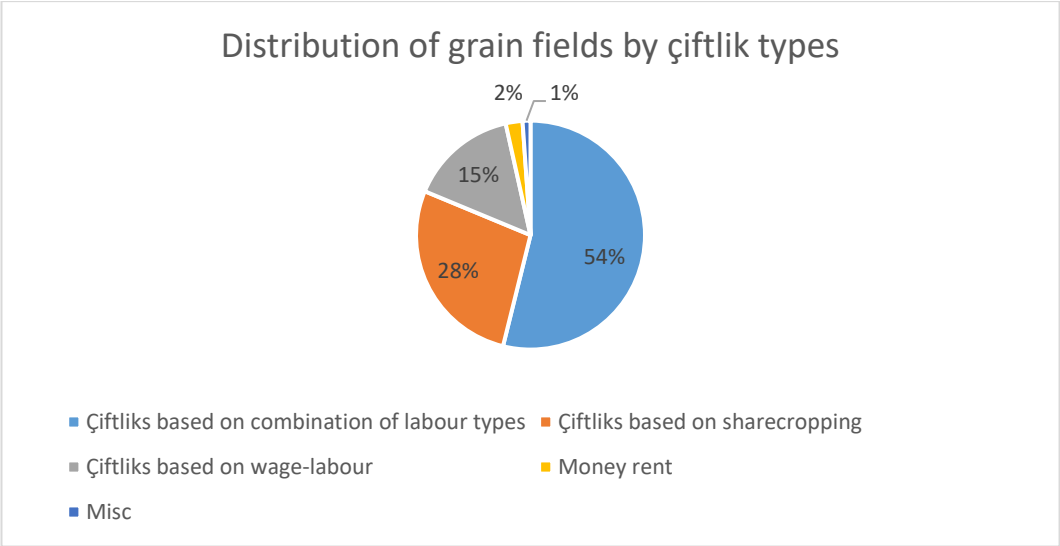


Figure 87. Distribution of grain fields by çiftlik types (İştip).

The chart on Figure 87 displays that the majority of the grain fields in the çiftliks of the district are mainly concentrated under arrangements of sharecropping while 15% is exclusively under wage-labour.

The two tables below (Table 83 and Table 84) display the basic information of landownership for all types of land in different types of çiftliks. In Table 83, percentages have been calculated with reference to the total amount of land for each type of çiftlik; in Table 84, percentages demonstrate which part of each type of land is apportioned to each type of çiftlik. Here, both calculations attest to the importance of grain fields in terms of landholding practices.

Table 83. Landownership in the Çiftliks of İştip (1)

	Grain fields		Meadow		Vineyard		Cotton field		Winter pasture		Bostan tarlası		Sesame field		Tobacco field		Wood grove		Rice field		Vegetable garden		TOTAL	
Types of çiftlik	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage
Çiftliks based on wage-labour	14839	99%	89	1%	86.25	1%	1.5	0%	0	0%	6	0%	0	0%	10.5	0%	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%	15034.3	100%
Çiftliks based on sharecropping	26648	98%	248.5	1%	285	1%	33	0%	0	0%	18	0%	0	0%	22	0%	40	0%	0	0%	4	0%	27298.5	100%
Çiftliks based on combination of labour types	52408.5	97%	289	1%	563.25	1%	177	0%	200	0%	166	0%	77	0%	31.5	0%	0	0%	27	0%	15.5	0%	53954.8	100%
Money rent	2311.5	99%	11	0%	16	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	3	0%	2341.5	100%
Misc	1083.5	97%	21.5	2%	4.75	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0%	2.5	0%	1114.25	100%

Table 84. Landownership in the Çiftliks of İştip (2)

	Grain fields		Meadow		Vineyard		Cotton field		Winter pasture		Bostan tarlası		Sesame field		Tobacco field		Wood grove		Rice field		Vegetable garden	
Types of çiftlik	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage
Çiftliks based on wage-labour	14839	15%	89	14%	86.25	9%	1.5	1%	0	0%	6	3%	0	0%	10.5	16%	0	0%	1	3%	1	4%
Çiftliks based on sharecropping	26648	27%	248.5	38%	285	30%	33	16%	0	0%	18	9%	0	0%	22	34%	40	100%	0	0%	4	15%
Çiftliks based on combination of labour types	52408.5	54%	289	44%	563.25	59%	177	84%	200	100%	166	87%	77	100%	31.5	49%	0	0%	27	90%	15.5	60%
Money rent	2311.5	2%	11	2%	16	2%	0	0%	0	0%		0%	0	0%		0%	0	0%	0	0%	3	12%
Misc	1083.5	1%	21.5	3%	4.75	0%	0	0%	0	0%		0%	0	0%		0%	0	0%	2	7%	2.5	10%
TOTAL	97290.5	100%	659	100%	955.25	100%	211.5	100%	200	100%	190	100%	77	100%	64	100%	40	100%	30	100%	26	100%

The series of tables and charts below display the landownership data for each different type of çiftlik separately. The table below (Table 85) displays the distribution of the ownership of all types of land between the çiftlik-owners and the wage-labourers in the çiftliks based on wage-labour. In general, the majority of the lands consist of grain fields, followed by meadows and then vineyards. Here, the ownership of grain fields and meadows are almost completely monopolized by the çiftlik-owners.

Table 85. Landownership in the Çiftliks Based on Wage Labour (İştip)

Çiftliks based on wage labour	Çiftlik-owner (dönüm)	Çiftlik worker (dönüm)	TOTAL (dönüm)	Çiftlik-owner (percentage)	Çiftlik worker (percentage)	TOTAL (percentage)
Grain fields	14672	167	14839	99%	1%	100%
Meadow	88	1	89	99%	1%	100%
Vineyard	27.5	58.75	86.25	32%	68%	100%
Cotton field	1.5	0	1.5	100%	0%	100%
Bostan	6	0	6	100%	0%	100%
Vegetable garden	1	0	1	100%	0%	100%
Tobacco field	10	0.5	10.5	95%	5%	100%
Rice field	1	0	1	100%	0%	
TOTAL	14807	227.25	15034.25	98%	2%	100%

Regarding all of the çiftliks based on wage-labour, the biggest agglomeration of fields held by a çiftlik-owner in a single çiftlik comprises of 626 dönüms while the average is 212.63 with a median of 180. The distribution of the grain fields among

this type of çiftliks is displayed in the chart below (Figure 88).[282]

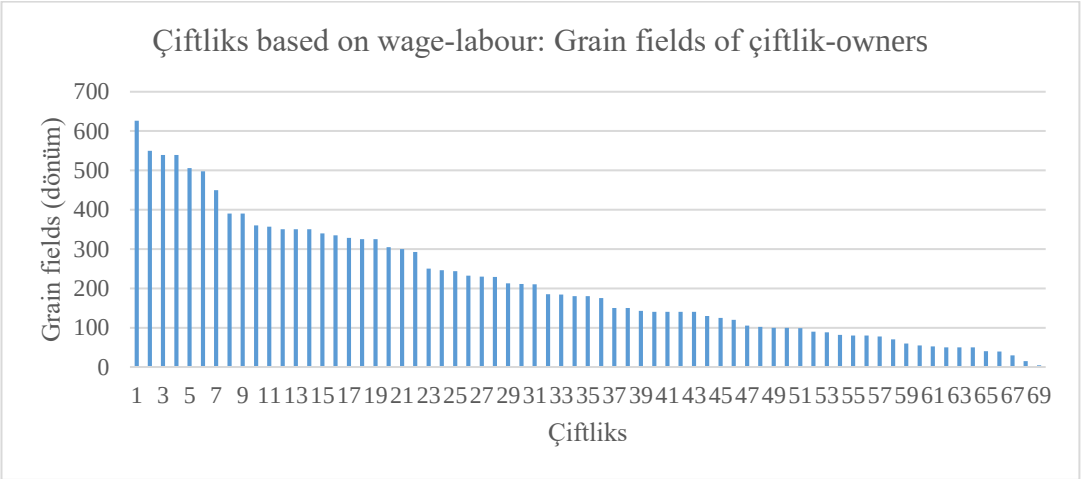


Figure 88. Çiftliks based on wage labour: Grain fields of çiftliks-owners (İştip).

The table below (Table 86) displays the distribution of the ownership of all types of land between çiftlik-owners and sharecroppers in the çiftliks based exclusively on sharecropping. In general, the majority of the lands consist of grain fields, followed by meadows and vineyards. Here, the çiftlik-owners display almost complete presence in the ownership of grain fields and meadows while the greater part of the vineyards is held by çiftlik workers.

Table 86. Landownership in the Çiftliks Based on Sharecropping (İştip)

Çiftliks based on sharecropping	Çiftlik-owner (dönüm)	Çiftlik worker (dönüm)	TOTAL (dönüm)	Çiftlik-owner (percentage)	Çiftlik worker (percentage)	TOTAL (percentage)
Grain fields	25690.5	957.5	26648	96%	4%	100%
Meadow	222.5	26	248.5	90%	10%	100%
Vineyard	52	233	285	18%	82%	100%
Cotton field	33	0	33	100%	0%	100%
Bostan	17	1	18	94%	6%	100%
Vegetable garden	3	1	4	75%	25%	100%
Tobacco field	18	4	22	82%	18%	100%
Wood grove	40	0	40	100%	0%	100%
TOTAL	26076	1222.5	27298.5	96%	4%	100%

[282] In this category, 1 çiftlik owner is defined as "müstecir-i çiftlik" having rented grain fields of 108.5 dönüms under wage-labour. 1 çiftlik-owner rent fields of 38 dönüms in addition to his fields of 47 dönüms. 1 çiftlik-owner rents meadows of 5 dönüms. The çiftlik workers rent grain fields of 36 dönüms, gardens of 4 dönüms, and tobacco fields of 9 dönüms in addition to their work in the çiftliks.

Regarding all of the çiftliks based exclusively on sharecropping, the biggest agglomeration of all fields held by the çiftlik-owner in a single çiftlik consists of 1482.5 dönüms of land while the average is 163.63 with a median of 126.5. The distribution of the fields among this type of çiftliks is displayed in the chart below (Figure 89).[283]

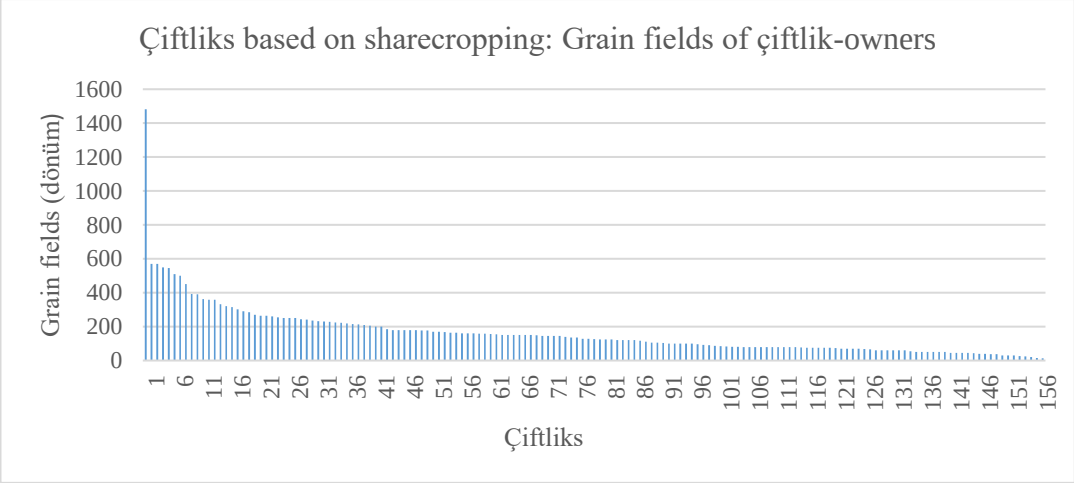


Figure 89. Çiftliks based on sharecropping: Grain fields of çiftlik-owners (İştip).

The table below (Table 87) displays the distribution of the ownership of all types of land between the çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers in the çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour. In general, the majority of the lands consist of grain fields, followed by vineyards and then meadows. Here, the çiftlik-owners hold practically all of the grain fields, and dominated the ownership of meadows while the çiftlik workers display a significant presence in the ownership of vineyards.

[283] In this category, 1 çiftlik owner is defined as "müstecir-i çiftlik" while the lands under cultivation are registered as his own. 1 çiftlik-owner rents tobacco fields of 0.5 dönüm. The sharecroppers rent grain fields of 36.5 dönüms, cotton fields of 2 dönüms, gardens of 4.5 dönüms, tobacco fields of 10.5 dönüms, and meadows of 10.5 dönüms.

Table 87. Landownership in the Çiftliks Based on the Combination of Sharecropping and Wage Labour

Çiftliks based on combination of labour types	Çiftlik-owner (dönüm)	Çiftlik worker (dönüm)	TOTAL (dönüm)	Çiftlik-owner (percentage)	Çiftlik worker (percentage)	TOTAL (percentage)
Grain fields	52185	223.5	52408.5	100%	0%	100%
Meadow	285	4	289	99%	1%	100%
Vineyard	78	485.25	563.25	14%	86%	100%
Cotton field	174	3	177	98%	2%	100%
"Bostan"	163	3	166	98%	2%	100%
Vegetable garden	12.5	3	15.5	81%	19%	100%
Tobacco field	29.5	2	31.5	94%	6%	100%
Winter pasture	200	0	200	100%	0%	100%
Sesame field	77	0	77	100%	0%	100%
Rice field	27	0	27	100%	0%	100%
TOTAL	53231	723.75	53954.75	99%	1%	100%

Regarding all of the çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour, the biggest agglomeration of grain fields under sharecropping arrangements consists of more than 2500 dönüms with an average of 501.7 and a median of 399. This category is where the biggest production operations are taking place, in addition to the greater number of producers employed (Figure 90).[284]

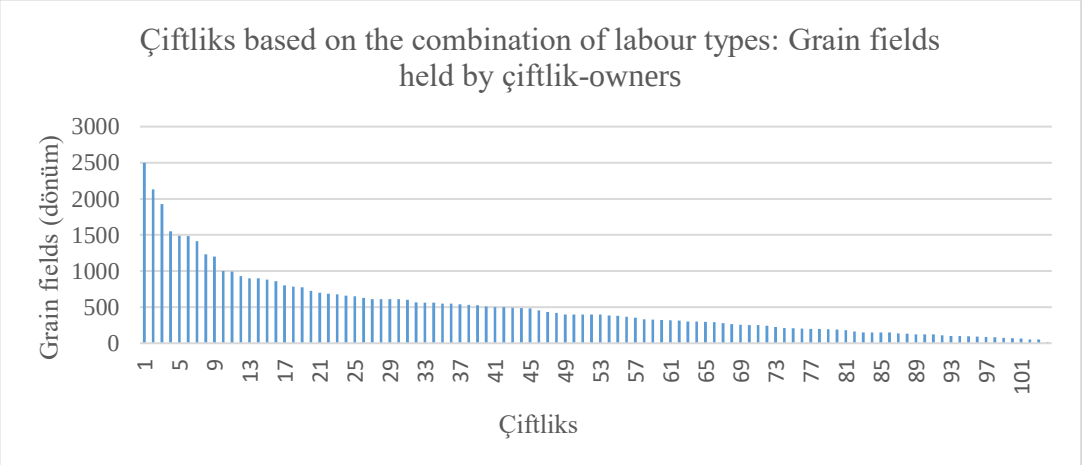


Figure 90. Çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage labour: Grain fields of çiftlik-owners (İştip)

[284] 1 çiftlik-owner rents grain fields of 40 dönüms, 1 çiftlik-owner rents gardens of 3 dönüms. The çiftlik workers rent grain fields of 321.5 döüms, cotton fields of 5 dönüms, tobacco fields of 38 dönüms, meadows of 22.5 dönüms, and rice fields of 1 dönüm. Also there is one tenant among the çiftlik residents renting grain fields of 135 dönüms, which constitute half of the fields of the çiftlik-owner, while the other half is under sharecropping.

To sum up, the table below (Table 88) summarizes the distribution of all types of land between çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers for all the çiftliks located in the district of İştip whereby the majority of the lands, and mainly grain fields, is monopolized by the çiftlik-owners while the producers display their main presence in the ownership of vineyards.

Table 88. Distribution of All Types of Land among Çiftlik-Owners and Çiftlik Workers (İştip)

Land types	Çiftlik-owners (dönüm)	Çiftlik workers (dönüm)	TOTAL (dönüm)	Çiftlik-owners (percentage)	Çiftlik workers (percentage)
Grain fields	95858.5	1432	97290.5	99%	1%
Meadow	628	31	659	95%	5%
Vineyard	164.75	790.5	955.25	17%	83%
Cotton field	208.5	3	211.5	99%	1%
Winter pasture	200	0	200	100%	0%
Bostan tarlası	186	4	190	98%	2%
Sesame field	77	0	77	100%	0%
Tobacco field	57.5	6.5	64	90%	10%
Wood grove	40	0	40	100%	0%
Rice field	30	0	30	100%	0%
Vegetable garden	22	4	26	85%	15%
TOTAL (dönüm)	97472.25	2271	99743.25	98%	2%

All in all, the çiftlik economy of İştip was mainly based on the ownership of grain fields and production of grains. Grains were not confined to wheat, but it was practically the most significant product in the çiftlik economy of İştip of the mid-19th century. In the following charts, the respective amounts of income obtained from grain production on fields held by çiftlik-owners and çiftlik-workers are displayed in comparison.[285]

The chart below (Figure 91) displays the distribution of the revenue obtained from the production of grains on the fields of çiftlik-owners. Here, the main income originates from the production of wheat, constituting 51% of total revenue obtained

[285] Unit prices of grains (in *kuruş* per *kile)* as calculated on the basis of agricultural tax, are as follows: Wheat ("*Hınta*"): 10; Rye ("*Çavdar*"): 6; Barley ("*Şair*"): 5; Oat ("*Alef*"): 3; Corn ("*Mısır*"): 6; Vetch ("*Burçak*"): 4.

from the production of grains, followed by barley, constituting 26%, and then by rye, constituting 19%. These are followed by oats (3%) and corn (1%).[286]

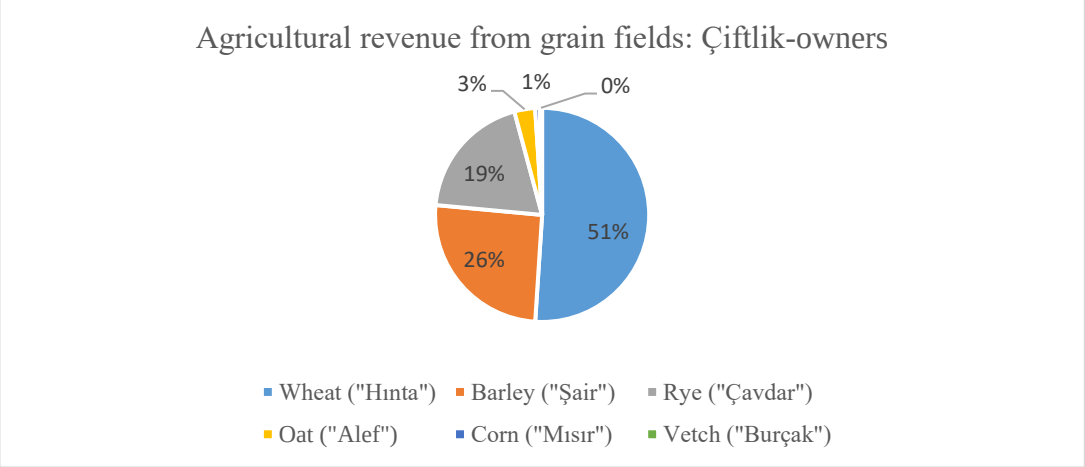
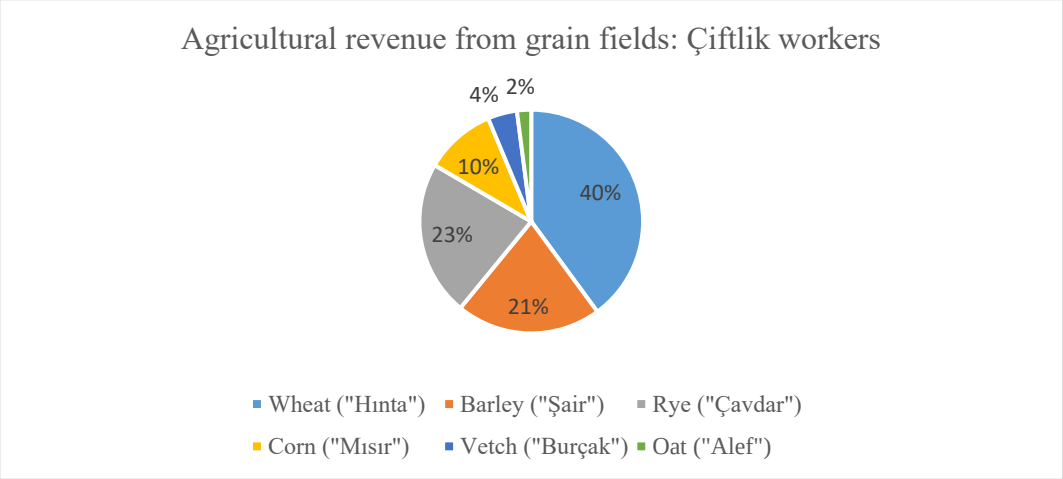


Figure 91. Agricultural produce from grain fields: Çiftlik-owners (İştip).

The chart below (Figure 92) displays the distribution of the revenue obtained from the production of grains on the fields of çiftlik-workers. Here, the main revenue originates from production of wheat, constituting 40% of total income obtained from grains, followed by rye, constituting 23%, and then by barley, constituting 21%. These are followed by corn (10%), vetch (4%) and oats (2%).



[286] Millet ("erzen") of 6 kiles is produced in only 1 çiftlik and it has not been included in the calculations. Also chickpeas of 296 kıyye have been excluded.

Figure 92. Agricultural produce from grain fields: Çiftlik workers (İştip).

The series of charts below display the same distribution for each specific type of çiftlik.[287] While the specific percentages vary, the general pattern is the same, in decreasing importance: wheat – barley – rye (Figures 93, 94, and 95).

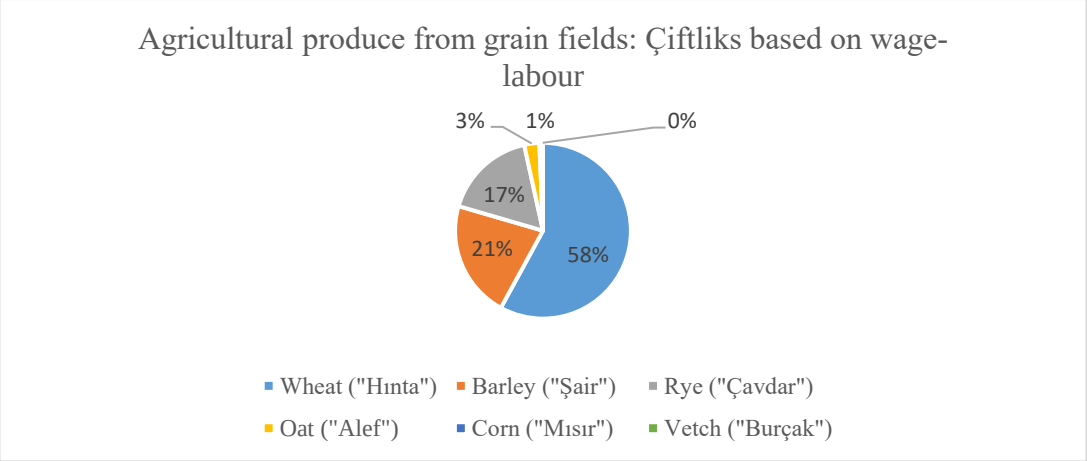


Figure 93. Agricultural revenue from grain fields: Çiftliks based on wage labour (İştip).

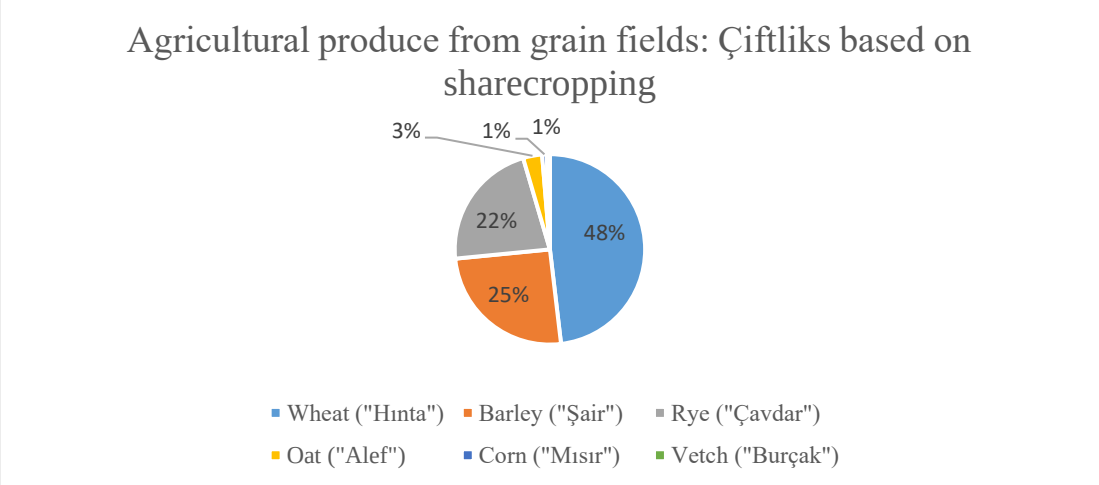


Figure 94. Agricultural revenue from grain fields: Çiftliks based on sharecropping (İştip).

[287] Land of the çiftlik-owner.

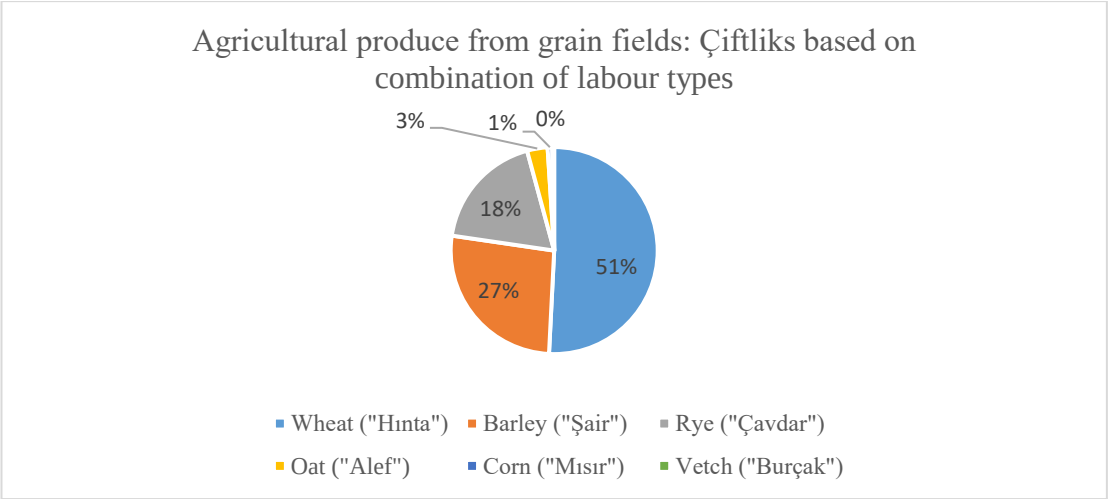


Figure 95. Agricultural revenue from grain fields: Çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage labour (İştip).

The graph below (Figure 96) combines the data given separately in the three charts above.

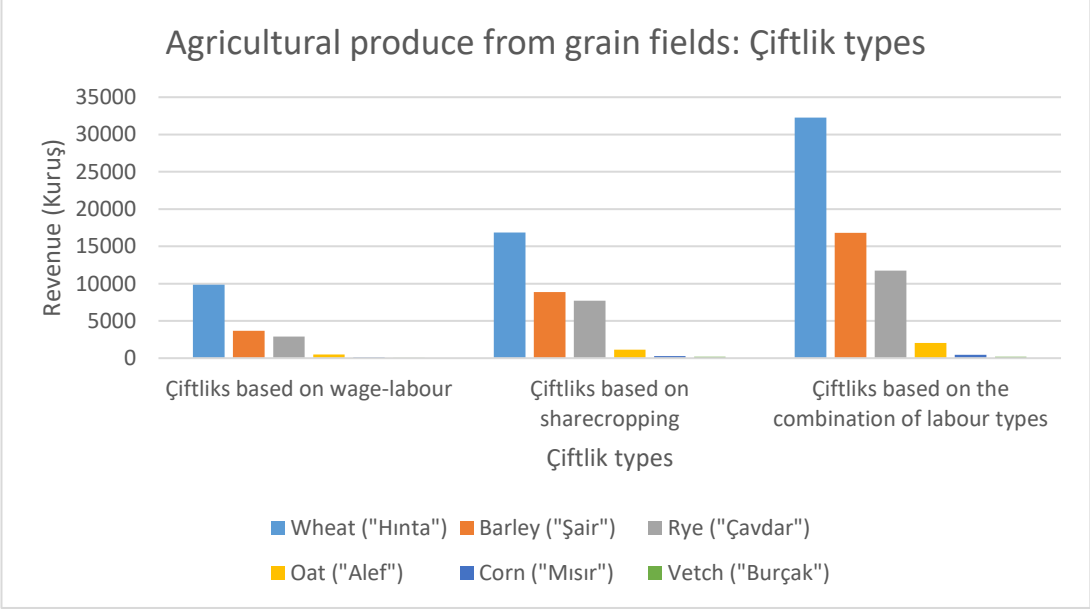


Figure 96. Agricultural revenue from grain fields: Çiftlik types (İştip).

Lastly, the distribution of grains in terms of their amount can be observed in the chart below (Figure 97 and Figure 98).

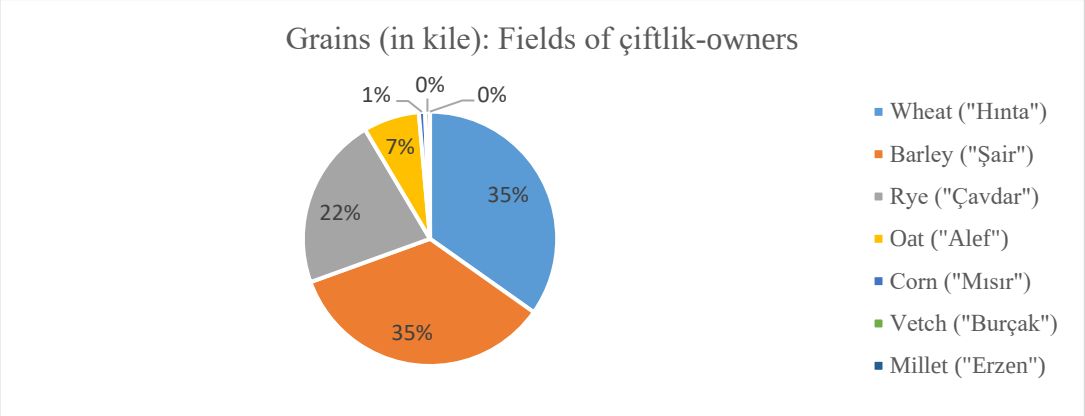


Figure 97. Grains from the fields of çiftlik-owners of İştip.

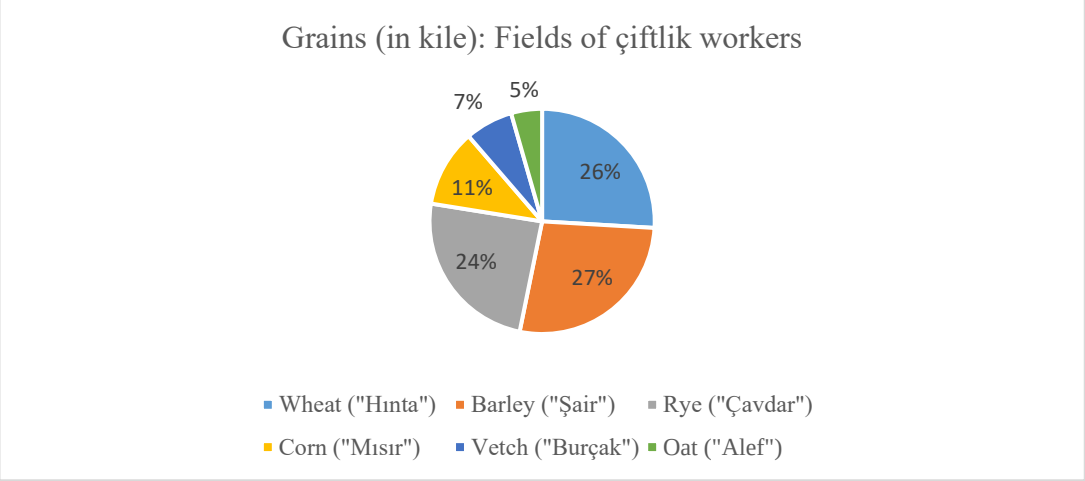


Figure 98. Grains from the fields of çiftlik workers of İştip.

The tables below (Table 89 and Table 90) display the lands under cultivation and the revenue obtained from them in the lands owned by çiftlik-owners and çiftlik-workers.

Table 89. Agricultural revenue from land under production in the çiftliks of İştip (1)

	Çiftlik-owner		Çiftlik worker		Total	
Agricultural produce	Kuruş	Percentage	Kuruş	Percentage	Kuruş	Percentage
Grains	1175376.5	94%	76462.5	6%	1251839	100%
Vineyard	5570	16%	30302.5	84%	35872.5	100%
Meadows	14120	80%	3445	20%	17565	100%
Sesame fields	1250	100%	0	0%	1250	100%
Cotton fields	5220	94%	330	6%	5550	100%
"Bostan"	2685	93%	212.5	7%	2897.5	100%
Vegetable garden	1115	12%	8330	88%	9445	100%
Tobacco field	5800	47%	6440	53%	12240	100%
Rice field	2350	94%	150	6%	2500	100%

Table 90. Agricultural revenue from land under production in the çiftliks of İştip (2)

	Çiftlik-owner		Çiftlik worker	
Agricultural produce	Kuruş	Percentage	Kuruş	Percentage
Grains	1175376.5	97%	76462.5	61%
Vineyard	5570	<1%	30302.5	24%
Meadows	14120	1%	3445	3%
Sesame fields	1250	<1%	0	0%
Cotton fields	5220	<1%	330	<1%
"Bostan"	2685	<1%	212.5	<1%
Vegetable garden	1115	<1%	8330	7%
Tobacco field	5800	<1%	6440	5%
Rice field	2350	<1%	150	<1%
TOTAL	1213486.5	100%	125672.5	100%

The present analysis of the means of production will be concluded with the exposition of the data on the ownership of draught animals. The following tables (Table 91, Table 92 and Table 93) and the graphs derived from them (Figure 99 and Figure 100) demonstrate the distribution of draught animals between çiftlik-owners and producers for each type of çiftlik. In relation to workforce and land, the çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour contains most of the draught animals, followed by çiftliks based on sharecropping and çiftliks based on wage-labour. [288]

Table 91. Draught Animals: Çiftliks Based on Wage Labour (İştip)

Çiftliks based on wage-labour	Oxen (number)	Oxen (percentage)	All potential draught animals (number)	All draught animals (percentage)	Pack animals (number)	Pack animals (percentage)
Çiftlik-owner	195	84%	401	90%	112	32%
Çiftlik worker	37	16%	45	10%	243	68%
Total	232	100%	446	100%	355	100%

Table 92. Draught Animals: Çiftliks Based on Sharecropping (İştip)

Çiftliks based on sharecropping	Oxen (number)	Oxen (percentage)	All potential draught animals (number)	All draught animals (percentage)	Pack animals (number)	Pack animals (percentage)
Çiftlik-owner	293	38%	338	39%	91	11%
Çiftlik worker	472	62%	518	61%	773	89%
Total	765	100%	856	100%	864	100%

[288] Categories of animals include "*öküz, öküz manda, erkek manda, kısır manda, manda, çift mandası, bargir, hatabkeş merkeb/bargir, hergele bargir, kiracı bargir, merkeb, katır, kısır inek, kısrak.*"

Table 93. Draught Animals: Çiftliks Based on the Combination of Sharecropping and Wage Labour (İştip)

Çiftliks based on the combination of labour types	Oxen (number)	Oxen (percentage)	All potential draught animals (number)	All draught animals (percentage)	Pack animals (number)	Pack animals (percentage)
Çiftlik-owner	423	34%	738	45%	170	11%
Çiftlik worker	813	66%	911	55%	1315	89%
Total	1236	100%	1649	100%	1485	100%

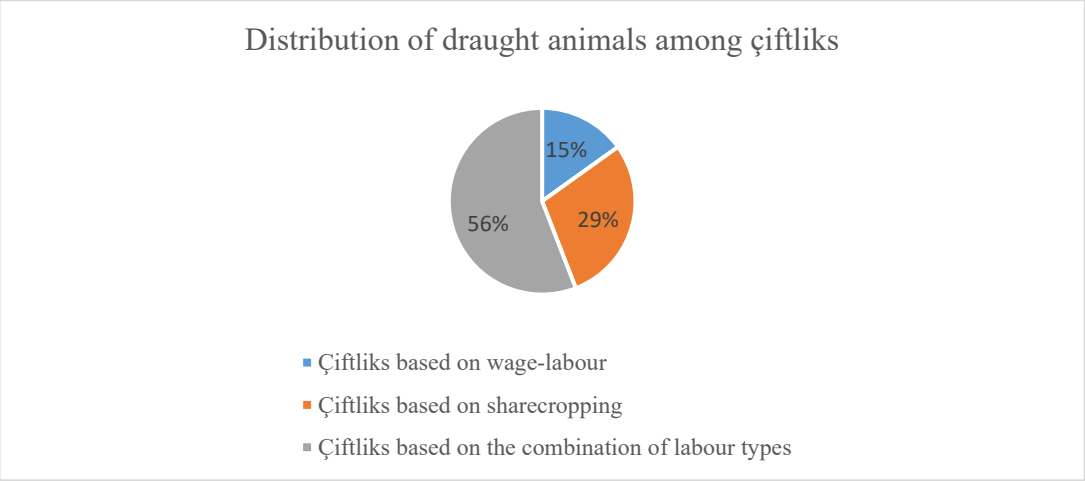


Figure 99. Distribution of draught animals among çiftlik types in İştip.

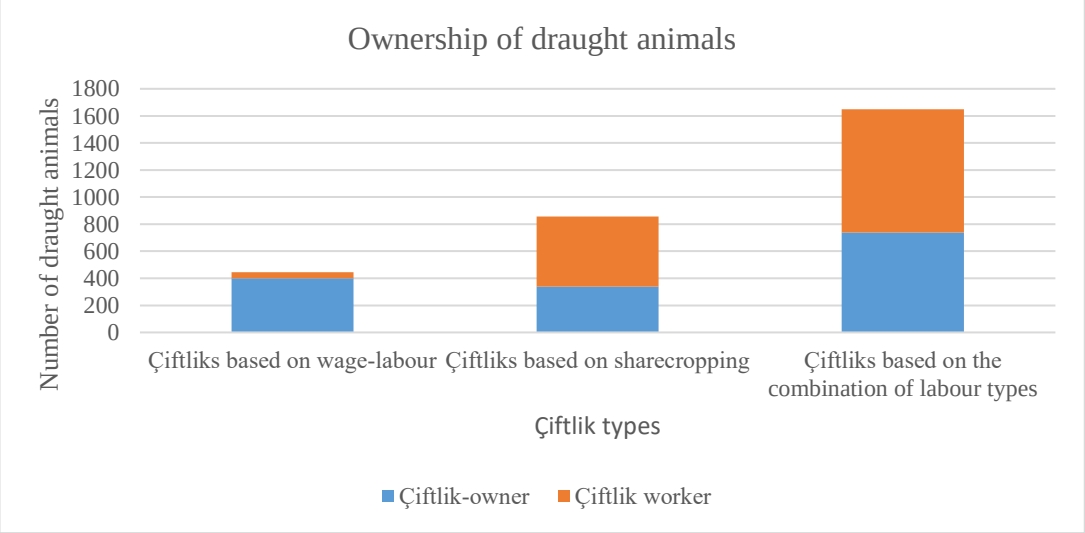


Figure 100. Ownership of draught animals by çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers of İştip.

The çiftliks exclusively based on wage-labour and sharecropping display quite different characteristics as long as production arrangements can be considered as

different combinations of the modules of land, labour and draught animals, which constitute the only visible categories in the sources under study. In the former, the çiftlik-owners not only provide the land, but also the draught animals in the majority of cases, which constitute the main tool of production in a traditional agrarian setting. In the latter, sharecroppers contribute a significant part of draught animals to the production process. As such, the ownership of draught animals, and especially of oxen, may constitute one of the main lines of division between the possibility of a landless rural producer to work as a sharecropper or as a wage-worker. Nevertheless, an important difference between İştip and Manastır is the higher rate of the contribution of draught animals by the çiftlik-owners in çiftliks based on sharecropping and combination of sharecropping and wage-labour in the former than the latter, which implies that the content of sharecropping arrangements might have been slightly different in these districts.

4.3.3 Çiftlik-owners of İştip

In the first part of the present chapter, based on the data derived from the temettuat registers of rural İştip, it has been demonstrated that çiftlik-owners had control over a quarter of the labour-force as well as around 40% of the total amount of cultivable land within the district. As such, it has been argued that, in the district of İştip in the mid-19th century, there was a certain degree of concentration of the main factors of production, and especially land, in the hands of a group of landowners, who did not themselves directly engage in agricultural production -in the fashion of small-holding farmers- but appropriated a part of the agricultural surplus due their monopoly over landownership, against the background of a mainly rural society a portion of which was completely dispossessed.

In this context, the question of the internal configuration of this specific group of landowners comes to the fore with renewed importance in the face of the existence of a degree of inequality and stratification in the villages and the cases of employment of the labour of fellow villagers by the richer segments of the peasantry as well as the cases of çiftlik-owners with rural roots in addition to the traditional members of the powerful ayan families and people of various urban backgrounds residing in the central town of the district. For the purpose of understanding the social and economic characteristics of a broad group legally labelled as "sahib-i çiftlik", the temettuat surveys of rural İştip has been analyzed in combination with the temettuat survey of the central town of İştip.[289]

To start with, the graph below (Figure 101) displays the distribution of the çiftliks of İştip on the basis of their size as the initial results indicate the existence of considerable divergence.[290]

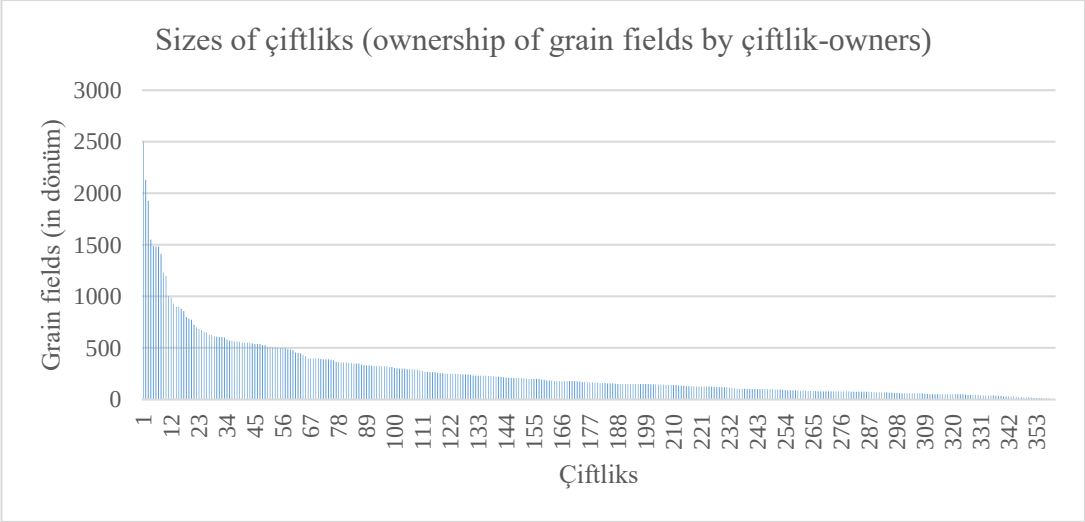


Figure 101. Distribution of the sizes of çiftliks (İştip) (1).

[289] The temettuat survey of the central town of İştip is registered in the defter titled BOA ML.VRD.TMT.d.11425.

[290] Here, the calculations have been made on the basis of ownership of grain fields by çiftlik-owners for each specific çiftlik.The lands under the possession of the çiftlik residents as well as one entry with the value of 0 have been excluded.

The table below (Table 94) displays the general distribution of çiftliks according to their size, again with a focus on the extent of landownership by çiftlik-owners in individual çiftliks. In the first two columns of this table, the çiftliks of İştip have been divided into 10 equal parts each of which consist of 36 çiftliks on the basis of their size in an ascending order.[291] In the third column, specific ranges have been indicated for the sizes of each 10% portion of the çiftliks. The following columns express in percentages and in average values, the size of each group of çiftliks under question. As the table demonstrates, the top 10% of the çiftliks encompasses almost 40% of the total çiftlik land in the district while this latter value steadily decreases, reaching a minimum of 1% for the bottom 10% of the çiftliks operating in the region.

Table 94. Distribution of the Çiftlik Sizes of İştip

	Number of çiftlik units	Percentage in all çiftlik units	Çiftlik size (ranges in dönüm)	Çiftlik land (total dönüm)	Çiftlik land (percentage)	Average land per çiftlik (dönüm)
	36	10%	4.5 - 48	1016.5	1%	28.24
	36	10%	50 - 70	2097.5	2%	58.26
	36	10%	74 - 95	2930.5	3%	81.40
	36	10%	97 - 129	4011	4%	111.42
	36	10%	130 - 160	5295.5	6%	147.10
	36	10%	163 - 213	6740	7%	187.22
	36	10%	213.5 - 290	8843	9%	245.64
	36	10%	290 - 390	12014.5	13%	333.74
	36	10%	390 - 564.5	17581	18%	488.36
	36	10%	570 - 2500	35329	37%	981.36
Total	360	100%		95858.5	100%	266.27

[291] 1 entry with the value of 0 has been excluded.

The chart below (Figure 102) has been derived from the data in Table 91 in order to display the percentages of total land in each range of çiftliks.

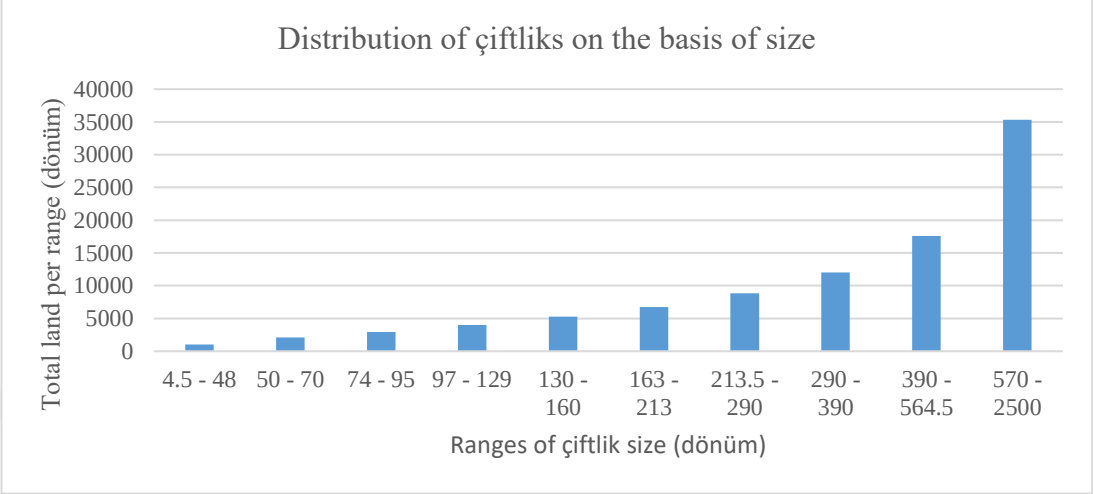


Figure 102. Distribution of the sizes of çiftliks (İştip) (2).

All in all, the data under analysis so far not only demonstrates that there are many divergences among individual çiftliks in terms of organization of labour and size, but it also indicates that the title of "sahib-i çiftlik" is applied to a broad variety of landholder types: On the one hand, there is the group of bigger çiftliks the owners of which keep great amounts of cultivable land under their control, and also control a considerable part of the labour-force of rural society and consequently attain significant levels of agricultural revenue. At the same time, there is even a larger number of çiftliks the owners of which control much humbler amounts of land and revenue, and are engaged in simpler configurations of labour relations.

Regarding all of the çiftlik-owners in the district of İştip, excluding five figures about whom there is no information, the greater majority resides in the central town of the district, while 23 çiftlik-owners have been indicated to be village residents and 53 çiftlik-owners have been noted to reside in other districts.

In the urban çiftlik-holding group, around 70 çiftlik-owners are exclusively defined as "sahib-i çiftlik" in the town registers. The remaining have income from rent as well as some official positions in addition to people of various jobs and trades, and a few military figures, labourers, farmers, orphans, and widows, in the registers of the central town of İştip.[292]

The çiftlik-owners who obtain the highest levels of income (over 1500 kuruş) in the town registers include 2 farmers ("erbab-ı ziraat") who obtain income from agricultural production and rent, 2 specifically defined çiftlik-owners ("sahib-i çiftlik") who obtain income from their respective occupations, rent and vineyards[293], and 3 people of a trade ("erbab-ı ticaret") who obtain income from their respective occupations[294], rent and vineyards. While this group seems to present a lower profile compared to the çiftlik-owners of the town of Manastır, it should be added that the great diversity of the activities of certain figures, such as the members of the Nazırzade family, as will be discussed below, is lost from sight to a considerable extent in an exclusive focus on the town registers.[295]

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[292] The jobs of the çiftlik-owners residing in the town center includes "pabuççu, nalband, leblebici, muytab kalfası, bakkal, demirci." Of the çiftlik-owners who were defined as members of the "erbab-ı ticaret" in their place of residence, the most common occupations are shoe-making ("pabucçuluk"), making of yarn ("muytabcılık"), tannery ("debbağlık") and sale of tobacco ("duhancılık"). Also, the existence of a couple of "çiftlik kethüdası" and "çiftlik kahyası" as well as a specific trader of barley ("şair") has been observed, even though there was no indication of "kethüda" or "subaşı" in the çiftlik registers of the district. Lastly, an interesting point to note is the existence of more than 10 çiftlik-owning wage workers ("adi hizmetkar") in the registers of the town center, which might possibly indicate a process of migration from the countryside to the town centers: BOA ML.VRD.TMT.d.11425. Also, 71% of town residents owned land, mostly ranging from 1 dönüm to 10 dönüms, also indicating the possibility of the continuity of links to agriculture while half of the wage labourers were completely landless: Evcil, *XIX. Yüzyıl Ortalarında İştip Kazası'nın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durumu*, 63.

[293] One of these figures is a maker/seller of roasted chickpeas ("*leblebici*") and the other is a steward ("*kahya*").

[294] Shoemaking ("*pabuççuluk*"), making of yarn ("*muytabcılık*"), and owning of a grocery store ("*bakkallık*").

[295] This also attests to the importance of establishing a complementary and comparative perspective in the study of income survey registers.

In the rural registers under study, while there are many figures among the bigger çiftlik-owners who hold the titles of Paşazade, Bey, Ağa and Efendi, as well as figures with religious and military connotations, all in all, they make up % 32 of the owner of çiftliks while 68% do not hold titles at all (Table 95).[296] This is definitely a higher level of the presence of çiftlik-owners without any title in İştip than Manastır.

Table 95. Titles of the Çiftlik-Owners of İştip

Çiftlik-units	Number of çiftlik units	Percentage of çiftlik units
No title	241	68%
Title (Bey, Ağa, Efendi, Hacı etc.)	113	32%

Table 96 demonstrates the distribution of the size of çiftliks on the basis of whether or not çiftlik-owners carry a traditional title. It shows that those çiftlik-owners with traditional titles hold 53% of cultivable lands in the region under their possession as their çiftliks tend to be operations of a larger scale.

Table 96. Titles of the Çiftlik-Owners and Landownership (İştip)

Grain fields	Dönüm	Percentage
No title	44544	47%
Title (Bey, -zade, Ağa, Efendi)	50486.5	53%

The distribution of çiftlik size for each group indicated in Table 96 is displayed in the graphs below (Figure 103 and Figure 104). Here, the mean and the median values for the distribution of çiftlik size for each group are as follows (in dönüm): For the çiftlik-owners holding titles, mean is 446.78 and median is 320; for the çiftlik-owners without titles, mean is 185.6 and median is 126.5. The following graphs visualize this data.

[296] 7 women çiftlik-owners have been excluded from the calculations.

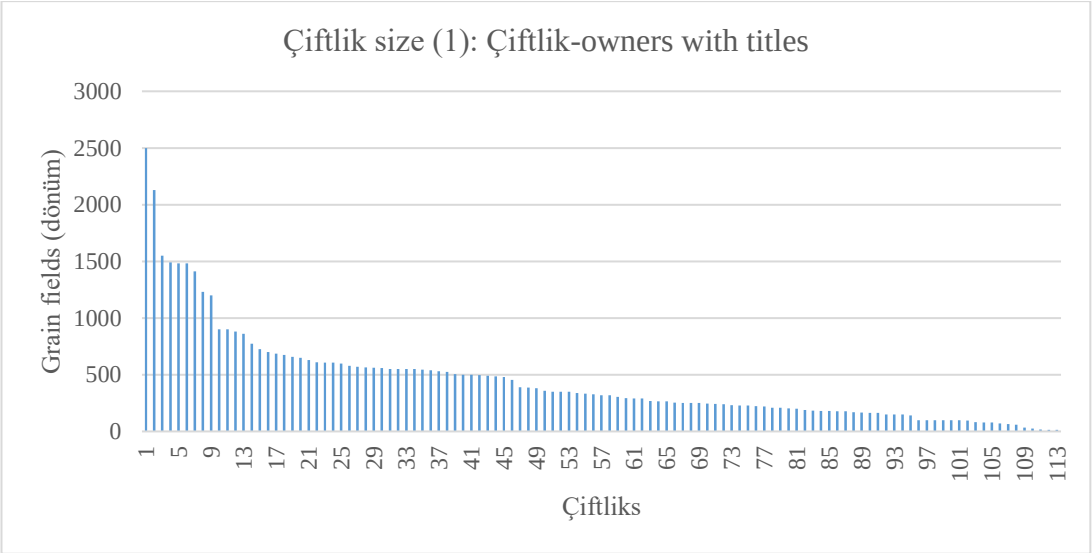


Figure 103. Sizes of çiftliks: Çiftlik-owners with titles (İştip).

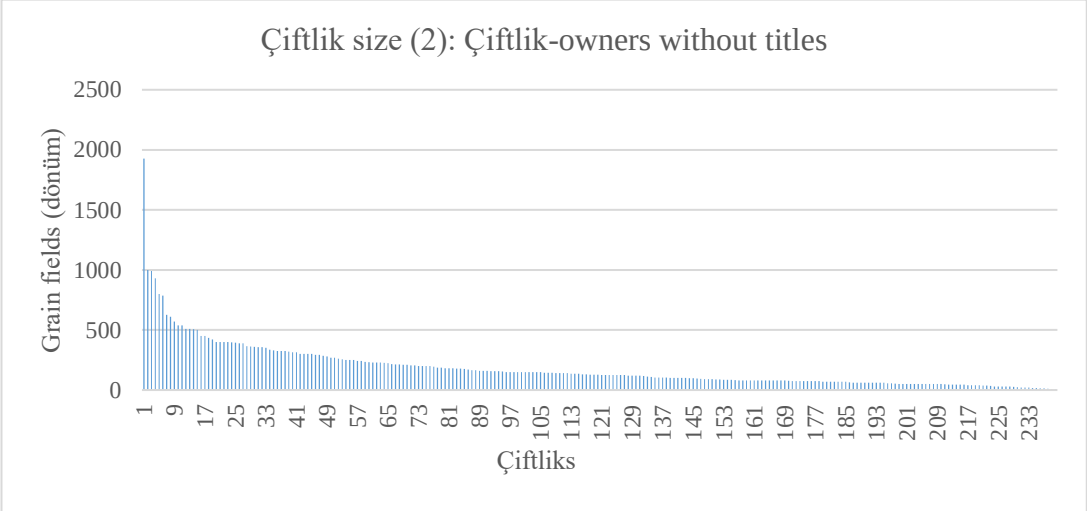


Figure 104. Sizes of çiftliks: Çiftlik-owners without titles (İştip).

A major take-away here is the absence of a clear-cut, categorical separation between çiftlik-owners with title and no title as there are many divergences among the çiftliks owned by each group in terms of their size. As such, carrying a traditional family name does not automatically translate into the holding of the bigger çiftliks, and *vice-versa*. Nevertheless, on average, çiftlik-owners with titles indeed tend to have bigger çiftliks than the çiftlik-owners without any title in general.

In terms of labour type, it is the çiftlik-owners with titles that mostly rely on bigger operations that combine sharecropping and wage-labour under their control, which might be related to their larger capacity to mobilize labor as well as apply coercion, while those who hold no title mainly rely on arrangements of sharecropping often on a smaller scale. The related data is displayed in the table below (Table 97).

Table 97. Titles of the Çiftlik-Owners and Çiftlik Types (1)

	Wage-labour		Sharecropping		Combination of labour types		Money rent		TOTAL	
	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	Number	Percentage
No title	49	21%	120	53%	51	22%	8	4%	228	100%
Title (Bey, Ağa, Efendi, Hacı etc.)	17	16%	33	31%	53	50%	4	4%	107	100%

Nevertheless, of the total number of çiftliks based on wage-labour in the district, 74% belong to the çiftlik-owners without a title. As such, this group leads the way not only in sharecropping-based arrangements (78%), but also in exclusive reliance on wage-labour in their çiftliks. The related data is displayed in Table 98.

Table 98. Titles of the Çiftlik-Owners and Çiftlik Types (2)

	Wage-labour		Sharecropping		Combination of labour types		Money rent		
	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	TOTAL
No title	49	74%	120	78%	51	49%	8	67%	228
Title (Bey, Ağa, Efendi, Hacı etc.)	17	26%	33	22%	53	51%	4	33%	107
TOTAL	66	100%	153	100%	104	100%	12	100%	335

The following series of tables demonstrate the general characteristics of the owners of the biggest çiftliks in the district. A number of these çiftlik-owners will be focused on in detail to delineate the general patterns of çiftlik-ownership in the mid-19th century İştip.

Table 99. Largest 10 çiftliks of İştip

Largest 10 çiftliks (ownership of grain fields / dönüm)	Çiftlik type	Çiftlik-owner	Residence of çiftlik-owner	Status in the place of residence	Sources of income in place of residence
2500	Combination of labour types	Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey	Cuma Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	rent, vineyard
2130	Combination of labour types	Emin Ağa oğlu Ali Bey	Dahl-i sancak bulunan Köprülü kazası sakinlerinden	*	*
1926	Combination of labour types	Ahmed oğlu Emin ve karındaşı Halil	Sinan Bey Mahallesi	erbab-ı ticaret / shoe-maker ("pabucçu")	shoe-making, rent, vineyard, animal
1550	Combination of labour types	Hüseyin oğlu Tayyib Bey	Dahl-i sancak bulunan Tikveş kazasına tabi Kavadar karyesi sakinlerinden	*	*
1490	Combination of labour types	Küçük Ali Bey ve karındaşı Mehmed Bey	Dahl-i sancak bulunan Köprülü kazası sakinlerinden	*	*
1483	Combination of labour types	Receb Paşazade Hasan Bey	Esbak Köstendil kaymakamı (?)da sakin olan	*	*
1482.5	Sharecropping	Abdülkadir Beyzade Murtaza Bey	Cuma Mahallesi	*	*
1412	Combination of labour types	Murtaza Beyzade Ahmed Bey	Sinan Bey Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	rent, vineyard
1230	Combination of labour types	Nazırzade Ruşen Bey	Cuma Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	rent, vineyard
1200	Combination of labour types	Nazırzade Süleyman (Nazırzade İbrahim oğlu Süleyman)	Tekye-i zir Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	rent, vineyard

Table 99 displays the main information on ownership for the largest 10 çiftliks of İştip from all categories of labour. In this segment, most of the owners are from the upper echelons of the society, often practice ownership of multiple çiftliks in addition to joint ownership of individual çiftliks. Of the owners of these 10 çiftliks, 4 reside outside of the district while all the remaining are residents of the central town of İştip. Of the residents of İştip, various members of the Nazırzade family attract attention in addition to the prevalence of the title of "Bey" among these figures.[297] Most interesting, however, is the existence of two brothers, who work as shoe-makers in the central town, holding the third largest çiftlik of all.

As can be observed in the table above (Table 99), the members of the Nazırzade family constitute the greater landowners of the district of İştip in the mid-19th century.[298] The registers of the central town of İştip define

[297] The history of this family goes back as early as the as 17th century while their presence in the district of İştip became visible from the 1730s onwards. Throughout their history, they were engaged in tax-farming, collection of *jizya*, arrangement of *tevzi*, *vakıf* activities and military campaigns: Pehlivan, *İştip'de Ayanlık: Nazırzade Ailesi*, 26-34. Murtaza Beyzade Ahmed Bey, the owner of the eight biggest çiftlik, was also an *ayan* in the early 1820s: Durdu, *191 Numaralı Şer'iyye Siciline Göre İştip Kazasında İdari, Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Yapı (1823-1825)*, 274.

[298] The members of this family were heavily involved in the supply of grains to İstanbul as well as nearby cities in the 1760s and 1770s ("zahire mübayaacılığı"). As such, their involvement in çiftlik production around the plains of İştip in the mid-19th century can be understood in the context of their involvement in commercial agriculture, which had a history of more than 80 years: Pehlivan, *İştip'de Ayanlık: Nazırzade Ailesi*, 26-34. One of the most prominent ancestors of the family, Nazırzade Mehmed Ağa, bought wheat from İştip, Ustrumca and Radoviş, and sent it to İstanbul through the Port

Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey as a çiftlik-owner (*sahib-i çiftlik*) residing in the mahalle of Cuma whereby he holds vineyards of 3 dönüms with an annual revenue of 60 kuruş in addition to stores and houses that generate a rent of 510 kuruş altogether. His real source of income, however, comes from his çiftlik-ownership in various locations in İştip, even though it is not registered in the income survey of the town of İştip.[299] All in all, Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey has 9 çiftliks in the settlements of Dolani, Susevo, Erdzeli, Uljarci, Krupişte, Dejirmen, Radani, Kalo Petrovci and Tunadar under his sole control in addition to one çiftlik in the settlement of Ribnik in which he holds a share in conjunction with his brothers (Figure 105 and Table 100).[300]

of Salonica. In the early 1770s, Mehmed Ağa also personally went to Salonica where he had stores, cellars, and storage facilities, to export the grains he produced or bought: Ibid, 32-33, 81. As such, Salonica constituted an important center for the trading activities of this family: Ibid, 87. In the later 19th century, İştip functioned as an important transit point between Belgrad, Salonica, Serres and İstanbul, in addition to connecting Salonica and Sofia. Accordingly, it was an active center of trade in its proximity to the bazaars of Vinica and Konçe and the fairs of Prilep, Skopje, and Nevrekop. External trade with Vienne, Milano and Munich was also encountered. In the 1890s, commodities such as clothing, flammable material, salt, soap, coffee, and sugar, were brought from İstanbul and Salonica to İştip where they were re-distributed to Kochani, Radovishta, and Palanka, while a number of agricultural and animal products, such as grains, poppy, animal wool and hide, were exported. Lastly, there were a number of joint ventures with the tradespeople from Salonica as well: Ruşid, *Salnamelere Göre XIX. Asırda İştip'te Sosyo-ekonomik ve İdari Durum*, 41-42. For the detailed exposition of the information on the çiftliks of the Nazırzade family in the 18th and 19th centuries, including ownership, location, labor, and internal composition of the çiftliks, see: Appendix C.

[299] These sources unfortunately lack activities of money-lending and usury as well as information on expenditures and various assets of wealth.

[300] "*Nazırzade Osman Bey karındaşı Abdülkadir Bey ve diğer karındaşı Hasan Bey ve diğeri Şakir Bey ve diğeri Ahmed Bey".*

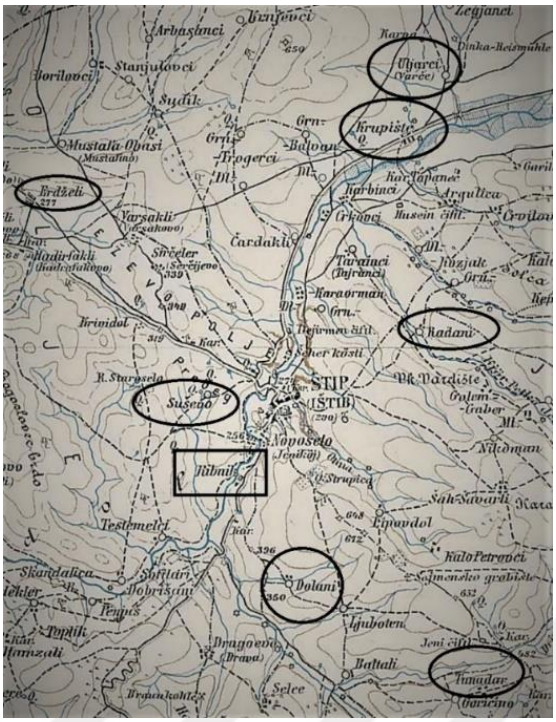


Figure 105. Çiftliks of Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey in İştip.

Table 100. Çiftliks of Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey in İştip

Çiftlik name	Grain fields (dönüm)	Percentage
Dolani	2500	34%
Susevo	900	12%
Erdzeli	860	12%
Krupişte	685	9%
Kalopetrovci	579	8%
Dejirmen	550	8%
Uljarci	530	7%
Tunadar	500	7%
Radani	190	3%
TOTAL	7294	100%

Table 100 demonstrates the distribution of lands (grain fields) for each çiftlik held by Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey in İştip in the mid-19th century. Of these, the çiftlik of Dolani, which is the biggest çiftlik of the district of İştip, consisting of one-third of the lands under the control of Abdülkadir Bey, constitutes the most important locus of çiftlik production.

The çiftlik of Dolani contains 60 registered households, consisting of 23 sharecroppers' households categorized under the title of "şerik", and 37 wage-workers' households categorized under the title of "erbab-ı ticaret", all of whom are noted to dwell in the houses of the çiftlik-owner himself, just like in the greater majority of the çiftlik cases. While many of the settlements in the district comprise various sub-divisions of village and çiftlik structures, Dolani consists of the çiftlik of Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey alone.[301] Here, all the grain fields, consisting of 2000 dönüms of cultivated and 500 dönüms of uncultivated land, are owned by Abdülkadir Bey, who does not provide any draught animals for agricultural production as all of the 49 oxen registered in the çiftlik are brought in by the sharecroppers, with a maximum of 6 oxen per sharecropper household, while the majority holds 2 oxen.[302]

In this çiftlik, almost all the residents hold a small parcel of vineyard, ranging from 0.5 to 2 dönüms with meagre revenue. While the majority of the households obtain some income from animal husbandry, the highest amount does not exceed 311 kuruş. Of the 23 sharecropping households, 21 obtain a supplementary income from transport/provision of wood ("*odunculuk*") and shepherdry ("*çobanlık*") in addition to their shares ranging from 200 to 765 kuruş, totaling 10121 kuruş, as well as 1810 kuruş from vineyards, 2799 kuruş from animal husbandry and 3050 kuruş from additional sources of labour. Of the 37 households defined as erbab-ı ticaret, 25 households function as reapers (*orakçı*), 5 as woodsmen (*oduncu*) while 2 are left unspecified, obtaining a total income of 4168.5 kuruş whose 1928.5 kuruş comes

[301] Interestingly, registers from the 16th century indicates the settlement of Dolani to be a village which consisted of 15 registers (11 "hane" and 4 "bekar") in 1519, 26 registers (22 "hane", 3 "bekar", 1 "dul") in 1550 and 63 registers (35 "hane", 25 "bekar" and 3 "dul) in 1570, all Christian. As such, this settlement seems to be quite an old one which was probably turned into a çiftlik at some point in time: Ruşid, *Salnamelere Göre XIX. Asırd İştip'te Sosyo-ekonomik ve İdari Durum*, 33-38. While Dolani, Dejirmen, Kalo Petrovci and Tunadar are single-çiftlik settlements (or "pure çiftliks), Susevo contains 2 çiftliks, Erdzeli contains a village and 15 çiftliks, Uljarci contains a village and 11 çiftliks, Krupişte contains 14 çiftliks, Radani contains a village and 3 çiftliks, and Ribnik contains 2 çiftliks.

[302] This is interesting since the çiftlik-owners of İştip often tended to contribute draught animals to production.

from vineyards and animal husbandry. The çiftlik-owner, Abdülkadir Bey, obtains a share of 10125 kuruş from grain fields of 2000 dönüms under cultivation which produces revenue of 20250 kuruş in addition to vineyards of 6 dönüms generating 450 kuruş.[303] In general terms, the çiftlik of Dolani constitutes a significantly large operation which would differ from the smaller sharecropping arrangements. Furthermore, in the face of the existing labour configuration in the çiftlik, the detailed arrangements of the specific shares for each sharecropping family, and the existence of large number of agricultural workers, temporary or not, with very well-defined functions, it may be reasonable to think that there exists a certain degree of coordination and central organization of production, with a quality different from that of smaller arrangements of sharecropping whereby a small number of families seem to work in relative independence regarding the production process.

Table 101. Income from Çiftliks of Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey

Çiftliks under sharecropping	Revenue from land under sharecropping (kuruş)	Registered aşar	Ideal aşar	Çiftlik-owner's share	Percentage of çiftlik-owner after the subtraction of aşar
Dolani	22500	2250	2250	10125	50%
Susevo	5250	400	525	3050	63%
Erdzeli	6950	300	695	5300	80%
Krupişte	5800	300	580	4150	75%
Uljarci	4475	81	447.5	4023	92%
Tunadar	4500	450	450	2025	50%
Radani	1090	109	109	490.5	50%

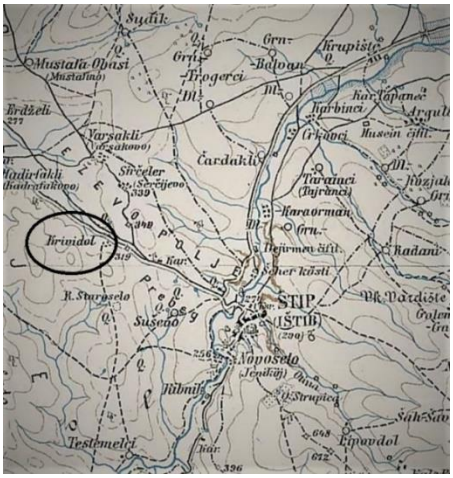
Lastly, Table 101 above demonstrates the distribution of agricultural revenue between Abdülkadir Bey and the relevant sharecroppers for each çiftlik. While the general rule of equal distribution after the subtraction of the *aşar* is applied in three

[303] In the grain fields of 2000 dönüms, wheat of 1000 kiles, rye of 1000 kiles rye, barley of 1000 kiles, and oats of 500 kiles were produced, in addition to grapes of 4500 kıyyes from vineyards of 6 dönüms.

cases (Dolani, Radani, and Tunadar), the remaining arrangements display a disproportionate advantage on the side of Abdülkadir Bey.[304]

The second case of focus will be the third biggest çiftlik, which is located in the settlement of Krividol[305] and consists of grain fields 1926 dönüms belonging to the çiftlik-owners Ahmed oğlu Emin and his brother Halil, who reside in the fifth *hane* in the mahalle of Sinan Bey in the central town of İştip. In the registers of the central town, Ahmed oğlu Emin is defined as a member of the "erbab-ı ticaret" who obtains 200 kuruş from vineyards of 4 dönüms, 700 kuruş from stores rented out, 20 kuruş from animal husbandry and 800 kuruş from shoe-making (*pabucçuluk*).

In their çiftlik in Krividol (Figure 106), there are 6 registered sharecropping households in addition to one household whose patriarch is defined to be ill or infirm ("*alil*"). Here, the grain fields are completely monopolized by the çiftlik-owners while in terms of draught animals, the parties make a roughly equal contribution as the çiftlik-owners provide 15 oxen while the sharecroppers provide 18 oxen.



[304] Most interestingly, these are also the cases whereby the general aşar rule of 1/10 of total produce is deviated from. Also, in all of these cases, a specific clause of "*şirket ile ziraat olunan mezruat*" is added to the calculations of "aşar".
[305] The settlement of Krividol contains 5 çiftliks.

Figure 106. Çiftlik of Krividol (Ahmed oğlu Emin and his brother Halil).

In terms of agricultural production, a revenue of 13265 kuruş is obtained from grain fields of 1900 dönüms. This share is divided equally between the çiftlik-owners and sharecroppers after the subtraction of an "aşar" of 10% of the total revenue (5969.25 kuruş for the çiftlik-owners and the sharecroppers, respectively).[306] The distribution of this share among the sharecroppers themselves, however, is far from being equal as they obtain shares ranging from 260 kuruş to 1788 kuruş.[307]

In the çiftlik, each sharecropper household holds a small amount of vineyard, ranging from 0.5 to 1.5 dönüms, with modest revenue of 320 kuruş in total. In addition to their shares of 5969.25 kuruş and revenue of 320 kuruş from their vineyards, sharecroppers obtain 2187 kuruş from animal husbandry as well as 1200 kuruş from supplementary sources of income such as wage-labour (*hizmetkarlık*), shepherding (*çobanlık*) and transportation (*kiracılık*). While the main occupation assigned to these çiftlik-owning brothers is shoe-making, generating an annual income of 800 kuruş, in addition to 700 kuruş they obtain from rented out stores, 200 kuruş from vineyards, and 20 kuruş from their animals, shoemaking constitutes only 10% of their total bundle of income, which mainly has agrarian origins based on their çiftlik-ownership.

While the owners of the çiftlik of Krividol seem to be of much humbler origins compared to the old and powerful ayan families of the district, their distinction in having the third biggest çiftlik in the region seems to be quite a formidable one. Nevertheless, they own only one çiftlik while

[306] In the grains fields, wheat of 805 kiles, rye of 325 kiles, barley of 590 kiles, and oats of 105 kile swere produced.
[307] The total income of the sharecroppers also diverged greatly, ranging from 377.5 kuruş to 3128 kuruş.

the Beys of the biggest çiftliks of İştip own multiple ones. The table below demonstrates the related information on çiftlik-ownership, including the number of çiftliks and the amount of lands held by the owners of the largest 5 çiftliks dwelling in the central town of İştip (Table 102).

Table 102. Largest 10 Çiftliks of Urban Dwellers of İştip

Name of çiftlik-owner	Residence	Status in town registers	Number of çiftliks owned	Total landownership of grain fields (dönüm)
Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey	Cuma Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	9	7294
Nazırzade Süleyman (Nazırzade İbrahim oğlu Süleyman)	Tekye-i zir Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	11	5103
Nazırzade Ruşen Bey	Cuma Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	6	2940
Murtaza Beyzade Ahmed Bey	Sinan Bey Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	4	2877
Ahmed oğlu Emin ve karındaşı Halil	Sinan Bey Mahallesi	erbab-ı ticaret	1	1926

While 9 of the largest 10 çiftliks are based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour, and 1 depends on sharecropping alone, none of the çiftliks based on wage-labour managed to enter the list in Table 99. The following tables below demonstrate the ownership information on the 10 largest çiftliks exclusively based on sharecropping and wage-labour respectively (Table 103 and Table 104).

In the first table on the çiftliks based on sharecropping below, we have 2 village residents defined as farmers without any titles whatsoever. All in all, there are 5 çiftlik-owners who do not hold any titles in this list.

Table 103. Largest 10 Çiftliks Based on Sharecropping

Largest 10 çiftliks based on sharecropping (ownership of grain fields / dönüm)	Çiftlik type	Çiftlik-owner	Residence of çiftlik-owner	Status in the place of residence	Sources of income in place of residence
1482.5	Sharecropping	Abdülkadir Beyzade Murtaza Bey	Cuma Mahallesi	*	*
570	Sharecropping	Murtaza Beyzade Ahmed Bey	Sinan Bey Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	rent, vineyard
570	Sharecropping	Mustafa oğlu Paşo	İştib / Village of Gorobinci	erbab-ı ziraat	agriculture, animal husbandary
550	Sharecropping	Mustafa oğlu Osman (Hacı Mustafa oğlu Osman ve karındaşı Mehmed ve diğer karındaşı Said ve diğeri İsmail)	Sinan Bey Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	vineyard
545	Sharecropping	Mahmud Bey oğlu Mustafa Bey	Cuma	sahib-i çiftlik	
510	Sharecropping	Seydi oğlu Mustafa	İştib / Village of Mustafa Obası	erbab-ı ziraat	agriculture, animal husbandary
500	Sharecropping	Nazırzade Süleyman (Nazırzade İbrahim oğlu Süleyman)	Tekye-i zir Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	rent, vineyard
451	Sharecropping	Abdi oğlu Yusuf	Cuma Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	rent, vineyard, "bakkal", animal
393	Sharecropping	Ali oğlu Yusuf ve karındaşı Emin oğlu Mehmed (Yusuf Mehmed'in vasisi; Müteveffa Emin yetimi Mehmed)	Kerameddin Mahallesi		vineyard, animal
390	Sharecropping	Nazırzade Abdülhalil Ağa	Tekye-i Zir Mahallesi	*	*

The table on the çiftliks based on wage-labour below demonstrates that 1 çiftlik-owner in the list is a village resident without a title owning 2 çiftliks while only two çiftlik-owners in this case carry the title of “bey”. Also, we have in this group 3 members of the *erbab-ı ticaret*, engaged in the activities of tannery (“*debbağlık*”, “*tabakçılık*”) and butchery (“*kasablık*”), all related to animal products, and 1 military figure, in addition to the exclusive çiftlik-owners (Table 104).

Table 104. Largest 10 Çiftliks Based on Wage Labour

Largest 10 çiftliks based on wage-labour (ownership of grain fields / dönüm)	Çiftlik type	Çiftlik-owner	Residence of çiftlik-owner	Status in the place of residence	Sources of income in place of residence
626	Wage-labour	Tahir oğlu Abdurrahman	Cuma Mahallesi	erbab-ı ticaret / tanner ("debbağ")	tannery, rent, vineyard
550	Wage-labour	Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey	Cuma Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	rent, vineyard
539	Wage-labour	Ahmed oğlu İbrahim	İştib / Village of Erdzeli	sahib-i çiftlik	
539	Wage-labour	Ahmed oğlu İbrahim	İştib / Village of Erdzeli	sahib-i çiftlik	
506	Wage-labour	İsmail oğlu İbrahim	Kerameddin Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	"muytab", rent, vineyard
498	Wage-labour	Emin oğlu Hüseyin Bey	Dahl-i sancak bulunan Köprülü mahallatından () mahallesi sakinlerinden	*	*
450	Wage-labour	Goskar? Ahmed oğlu İbrahim	Cuma Mahallesi	erbab-ı ticaret / butcher ("kasab")	butchery, rent, inn-keeping, vineyard
390	Wage-labour	Ahmed oğlu Mehmed	Sinan Bey Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	rent, vineyard
390	Wage-labour	Mehmed oğlu İbrahim	Cuma Mahallesi	sahib-i çiftlik	shoe-making, rent, vineyard
360	Wage-labour	Ahmed oğlu Mahmud	İbrahim Bey Mahallesi	military job ("tımarlı süvari, zabtiyede")	rent, vineyard, animal

With regard to the çiftliks based on wage-labour alone, the largest çiftlik is located in the settlement of Hamzabeyli (Hamzabejli/Hamzabegovo)[308] which consists of grain fields of 626 dönüms under the ownership of Tahir oğlu Abdurrahman who resides in the mahalle of Cuma in the central town of İştip. In the town registers, he is defined as a member of the "*erbab-ı ticaret"* whereby he obtains 80 kuruş from vineyards of 4 dönüms, 150 kuruş from renting out of a store and 650 kuruş from his job of tannery (*debbağlık*). In the çiftlik itself, 3 wage workers (*adi hizmetkar*), all of whom are indicated to reside in the house of the çiftlik-owner ("*ağası hanesinde mütemekkin*") are registered. In this çiftlik, cultivated fields of 626 dönüms produce a revenue of 6850 kuruş for the çiftlik-owner, in addition to 10 kuruş from vineyards of 1 dönüm, 200 kuruş from meadows of 15 dönüms and 315 kuruş from animal husbandry, generating a total of 7375 kuruş of gross income for the çiftlik-owner[309]: As such, the income generated in the town center constitutes only 10% of the overall bundle. In terms of production tools, the çiftlik-owner provides 24 draught animals

[308] This settlement contains a village and 9 çiftliks.
[309] In grain fields, wheat of 500 kiles, rye of 100 kiles and barley of 250 kiles were produced in addition to hay (giyah) of 2000 kıyyse in meadows and grapes of 100s kıyye in vineyards.

(2 oxen and 22 water buffaloes including 16 “erkek manda” and 6 “kısır manda”) while one wage labourer brings in 2 oxen.[310] All in all, the çiftlik-owner pays 700 kuruş to the landless wage workers, in addition to 100 kuruş from shepherding which one of the workers’ households is engaged in for a supplementary income and 125 kuruş generated from animal husbandry. Compared to the classic cases of sharecropping whereby 1/10 of the total revenue is subtracted as the agricultural tax and the remaining revenue / yield is divided in half between the parties of the arrangement, the çiftlik-owner here is able to hold on to most of the produce from the land.

Of the total number of 22 çiftlik-owners indicated to be residing in villages, 16 have been specifically identified in the survey registers of the relevant villages. The data is displayed in the table below (Table 105).

Table 105. Çiftlik-owners residing in villages (İştip)

Name	Status in village	Village name (residence)	Income from village	Landownership in village (grain fields)	Employment of labour in village	Sources of Income (Village)	Çiftlik name	Çiftlik type	Income from çiftlik	Landownership in çiftlik (grain fields)	Employment of labour in çiftlik	Sources of Income (Çiftlik)	Notes
Ahmed oğlu İbrahim	çiftlik-owner	Erdzeli	0	0	*	Grain fields, meadows and animal husbandry.	Borilovci and Krividol	Wage-labour	18197.5 (both)	1078	6 servants in Borilovci, 3 servants in Krividol	Grain fields, meadows and animal husbandry.	3rd biggest çiftlik based on wage-labour.
Ahmed oğlu İbrahim	farmer	Strojisavci?	3478	235	3 servants	Grain fields, vineyards, meadows and animal husbandry	Puzderci	Combination of labour types	1416.25	180	2 sharecroppers and 1 labourer (“erbab-ı ticaret / rgat”)	Grain fields and meadow	
Ali oğlu Hacı Hüseyin	çiftlik-owner	Kiliseli	*	*		*	Kiliseli	Sharecropping	1412.5	100	2 sharecroppers	Grain fields and meadow	
Emin oğlu Tahir	farmer	Crvilova	2626.5	158	1 servant, 1 sharecropper	Grain fields, tobacco fields, vineyard, meadow, animal husbandry	Turtel	Money rent	70	15	2 tenants (“müstecir”)	Rent from grain fields	
Süleyman oğlu Hasan	farmer	Strojisavci?	1301	94	*	Grain fields, tobacco field, vineyard and animal husbandry	Puzderci	Sharecropping	481.25	80	1 sharecropper	Grain fields and meadow	
Mustafa oğlu Mehmed	farmer	İstaroncofce	750	40	*	Grain fields and vineyard	Puzderci	Wage-labour	730.2	120	1 servant, 1 labourer (“erbab-ı ticaret/rgat”)	Grain fields and vineyard	
Hüseyin oğlu Tahir	farmer	Kalaguzli	991	22	*	Grain fields, tobacco fields, vineyard and animal husbandry	Rurak	Sharecropping	263.25	40	1 sharecropper	Grain fields	
İsmail oğlu Süleyman	farmer	Hocalı	191	6	*	Grain fields and animal husbandry	Vrteşka	Money rent	150	150	4 tenants (only 70 dönüm rented)	Rent from grain fields	
Kula oğlu Taşo zammi	çiftlik-owner	Buciste?	*	*	*	*	Buciste	Sharecropping	4501.75	285	1 sharecropper	Grain fields, tobacco fields, vegetable gardens, cotton fields, meadows, animal husbandry and wage-labour	The 3 sons of the household patriarch has income from shepherdy and transportation
Yusuf oğlu Ahmed	çiftlik-owner	Kiliseli	*	*	*	*	Kiliseli	Sharecropping	3170	250	1 sharecropper	Grain fields and animal husbandry	
Mustafa oğlu Paşo	farmer	Gorobinci	1065	150	*	Grain fields, meadow and animal husbandry	Knezce	Sharecropping	3070	570	4 sharecroppers	Grain fields, cotton fields, “bostan”, vineyard and meadow	2nd biggest çiftlik based on sharecropping
Ömer oğlu Yahya	farmer	Kiliseli	3634	220	*	Grain fields, vineyard, meadow and animal husbandry	Knezce	Sharecropping	1311.75	260	1 sharecropper	Grain fields, meadows	
Seydi oğlu Mustafa	farmer	Mustafa Obası	3062.5	193	1 servant	Grain fields, vineyard and meadow	Bogoslovec	Sharecropping	2528.5	510	4 sharecroppers	Grain fields, vineyard	5th biggest sharecropping based çiftlik
Ali oğlu Ahmed	farmer	Pisica	2087.5	72	3 servants, 1 shepherd	Grain fields, tobacco field, meadow and animal husbandry	Lezovo	Sharecropping	4539.5	140	1 servant	Grain fields, meadow and animal husbandry	
Bekir oğlu Emin	farmer	Pisica	4065.5	118	2 servants	Grain fields, tobacco field, rice paddy meadow and animal husbandry	Lezovo	Sharecropping	1111	140	1 sharecropper	Grain fields, meadow and animal husbandry	
Abdülkerim oğlu Salih	farmer	Hacı Yusuflu	1208	20	1 sharecropper	Grain fields, vineyard, animal husbandry, wage-labour (“oduncu”)	Kosevo	Sharecropping	243	20	1 sharecropper	Grain fields	

[310] While the other two labourer households earn 150 kuruş per person from “hizmetkarlık”, the owner of the 2 oxen earns 250 kuruş.

Of these, the biggest landowner is Ahmed oğlu İbrahim, who is a resident of the village of Erdzeli, where he is registered as a çiftlik-owner in the household numbered 31.[311] In his place of residence, it has been noted that he has only a house in which he dwells while obtaining all his income from his çiftliks[312] in the settlements of Borilovci ve Krividol, which are located in relatively close proximity to the village of Erdzeli, the former to its north and the latter to its south.

Ahmed oğlu İbrahim's çiftlik in Borilovci is based on wage-labour and in terms of the extent of grain fields under the ownership of the çiftlik-owner, it shares the third place with his other çiftlik in Krividol in this category.[313] Within the confines of this çiftlik, Ahmed oğlu İbrahim holds grain fields of 539 dönüms under cultivation, with revenue of 12050 kuruş, as well as an income of 682.5 kuruş from animal husbandry.[314] Other than one distinctive wage-worker ("*adi hizmetkar"*) earning an income of 1590 kuruş in the form of "*ağasından aldığı hisse*", there are 5 figures engaged in proper (so-to-speak) wage-labour ("*hizmetkarlık"*) in addition to supplementary income activities of shepherding ("*çobanlık"*) and transportation ("*kiracılık"*) as well as a total of 630 kuruş they obtain from vineyards, and vegetable gardens as well as 196 kuruş obtained from animal husbandry. Ahmed oğlu İbrahim's other çiftlik, located in the settlement of Krividol, is also based on wage-labour[315] whereby grain fields 350 dönüms under cultivation begets a revenue of 5375 kuruş and meadows of 2 dönüms of produce a revenue of 90 kuruş, in addition to uncultivated fields of 100 dönüms[316] and additional grain fields of 89 dönüms located within the borders of the village of Dobrişani, which is located in close

[311] "*Kaza-ı mezbur kurasından Erdzeli karyesi sakinlerinden."*
[312] "*Merkumun ikamet eylediği hanesinden başka bir nesnesi olmayub ve ticarete hiç iktidarı olmadığından çiftlikat ile meşgul olduğu ve çiftlik-i mezburun hasılatıyla geçinmekte idüğü."*
[313] Borilovci contains 8 çiftliks.
[314] Production on grain fields: Wheat of 950 kiles, rye of 150 kiles, barley of 300 kiles, oats of 50 kiles.
[315] Krividol contains 5 çiftliks.
[316] "*3 senede 1 defa zira."*

proximity in the south of Krividol.[317] In this çiftlik, 3 worker households are registered. Just like in the case of Borilovci, one of these workers has an income of 911 kuruş in the form of "*ağasından aldığı hisse*" while other workers get 150 and 120 kuruş from "hizmetkarlık" in addition to their 343 kuruş of income from animal husbandry and a revenue of 30 kuruş from vineyards of 0.5 dönüm. That both of these çiftliks are based on wage-labour, hand in hand with the existence of figures distinct from the other wage-workers in the same category may indicate that the payment defined as "*ağasından aldığı hisse"* may be in part a payment for a supervisory function exercised by these figures. In all the cases above, the çiftlik workers are indicated to dwell in the houses of their çiftlik-owner.[318]

Another villager owning a çiftlik on the larger side is Ahmed oğlu İbrahim, a resident of the village of Strojisavci whereby he is registered in the household numbered 1 as a farmer ("*erbab-ı ziraat"*). In his village, he has grain fields of 210 dönüms under cultivation with a revenue of 2800 kuruş, in addition to vineyards of 3.5 dönüms with a revenue of 180 kuruş, meadows of 10 dönüms with a revenue of 180 kuruş and 25 dönüms of additional grain fields in the borders of the settlement of Barbarova whereby land of 12.5 dönüms is left uncultivated while the remaining half begets a revenue of 250 kuruş.[319] In addition to agricultural production, Ahmed oğlu İbrahim also obtains a revenue of 318 kuruş from animal husbandry. Most importantly, while he is defined as a farmer, he by no means displays the portrait of a small-holding, self-subsisting one: In addition to his activity of çiftlik-owning,

[317] Production on grain fields: Wheat of 500 kiles, barley of 75 kiles. Also, hay of 900 kıyyes from meadows.
[318] "*Ağası hanesinde mütemekkin."*
[319] Production on grain fields: Wheat of 115 kiles, rye of 120 kiles, barley of 150 kiles, oats of 60 kiles. Also, grapes of 1800 kıyyes on vineyards and hay of 1800 kıyyes from meadows.

there are 3 wage-workers residing in his house in the village of Strojisavci, holding no land and mainly relying on their wage of 150 kuruş each, other than a meagre revenue from animal husbandry. Could this figure be representative of a transitional stage whereby a farmer, presumably still toiling with his family alongside some hired farmhands, is in the middle of a process of transformation into a çiftlik-owner per se, to be cut off from direct engagement in agricultural production in the manner of a smallholding peasant farmer?[320] Similarly to Ahmed oğlu İbrahim, the existence of a total number of 6 çiftlik-owning and village-residing farmers who employ labour not only in their çiftlik but also in their villages, besides all the çiftlik-owners of peasant origin in the district, may be hinting at the existence of a general pattern beyond a singular exception, no matter how unspectacular it may be.[321]

4.4 Conclusion

The income survey registers of rural İştip indicate a certain degree of rural inequality, peasant dispossession, and concentration of land in the hands of a group of landowners in the mid-19th century, albeit on a lower level than Manastır. First and foremost, around a quarter of the rural population of İştip were landless and directly residing and working in çiftliks. The çiftlik-owners held 40% of cultivable land and directly controlled a quarter of the rural labour force in the district. Around one-tenth of the villagers were landless and mainly survived through engagement in

[320] İbrahim's çiftlik in the settlement of Puzderci, in close proximity to the village, is a relatively small one which contains grain fields of 180 dönüms under the labour of 2 sharecroppers and 1 wage-worker (*ırgat*).

[321] Interestingly, all of these çiftlik-owners prefer to conduct agricultural production other than grains, such as cotton, tobacco and rice, in their place of residence, whereby they could arguably control the labour force more directly, rather than their çiftliks. It should also be noted that such identification of the employment of additional wage-labour in the villages has been possible only when the labourers under question were houseless and hence, dwellers in the houses of their employers, since it is only in these cases that the compilers of the surveys have noted the nature of their association. As such, the relations of labour identified in the villages may be representing only a fraction of the real processes at hand. Lastly, the total amount of grain fields owned by peasant çiftlik-owners constitutes 4% of all the çiftlik land of İştip. While this is still quite a humble amount, it is almost 10 times of its percentage in Manastır.

wage labour. Of the villagers, only 11% exclusively relied on agricultural production, while the remaining combined agricultural production with a variety of activities. There was also considerable inequality in terms of access to land among individual villagers as well as villages. The settlements of the district remained quite interrelated in terms of geographical proximity and labour mobility between them.

In terms of labour arrangements in the çiftliks of İştip and Manastır, some critical differences have been observed. First and foremost, the rural landscape of İştip did not only include çiftliks based on tenancy but also displayed a more substantial presence of çiftliks based on wage labour. The çiftlik-owners also contributed more draught animals to production than those of Manastır. The presence of peasant çiftlik-owners, who employed labour not only in their çiftliks, but also in the villages they resided, was also much more pronounced than Manastır. Likewise, the çiftlik-owners without any title also displayed more prominence in İştip than those of Manastır. In general, the level of çiftlik formation seems to be relatively lower in İştip than Manastır, while inequality in the villages persisted, and some of the peasants emerged as considerable çiftlik-owners of the district in the registers under study.

CHAPTER 5

AGRARIAN CLASS RELATIONS IN THE OTTOMAN BALKANS: *ÇİFTLİKS* AND VILLAGES, LANDOWNERS AND RURAL PRODUCERS IN PİRLEPE (MID-19TH CENTURY)

The analysis of the district of Pirlepe, a *kaza* of the *eyalet* of Rumelia during the period under question, centers on the *defters* titled ML.VRD.TMT.d.11448, ML.VRD.TMT.d.11449 and ML.VRD.TMT.d.11450, which contain income survey information on the rural settlements of the district. [322] These three defters, comprising of 1074 pages and containing information on more than 4800 households residing and producing in 144 administrative settlements with various sub-divisions of villages and *çiftliks*[323], have been analyzed with the main focus being on patterns of ownership and forms of labour in order to develop an analysis of the economic and social relations prevalent in the district of Pirlepe in the mid-19th century.

This chapter will start with a general introduction to the district as a whole focusing on a series of comparisons between the çiftliks and villages of the region to draw a general portrait of the rural landscape. Then, the villages of the district will be examined in detail. Lastly, a general typology of the çiftliks, based on the forms of labour employed, will be introduced to provide a detailed exposition of each type in a comparative perspective. Throughout this analysis, themes of property ownership and forms of labour will be the main pillars for the exposition of the data retrieved from the temettuat registers of the district of Pirlepe.

[322] For a brief survey of the history of Pirlepe, see: Kiel, "Pirlepe." Also: Emecen, "Pirlepe'nin İlk Osmanlı Tahrirleri"; Koç, "Pirlepe kırsalında nüfus-vergi yükümlülüğü bağlamında ekonomik refah düzeyinin tespiti ve gelir dağılımı üzerine bir deneme"; Aral, "Temettuat Defterlerine Göre 19. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Rumeli Eyaleti Pirlepe Kazası'nın Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu."

[323] While a couple of areas of "mezraa" were registered as well, these were used for scattered agricultural production rather than residence; thus, they have not been treated as settlements per se.

5.1 Çiftliks and villages: The socio-economic landscape of rural Pirlepe in the mid-19th century

5.1.1 Rural population and patterns of settlement

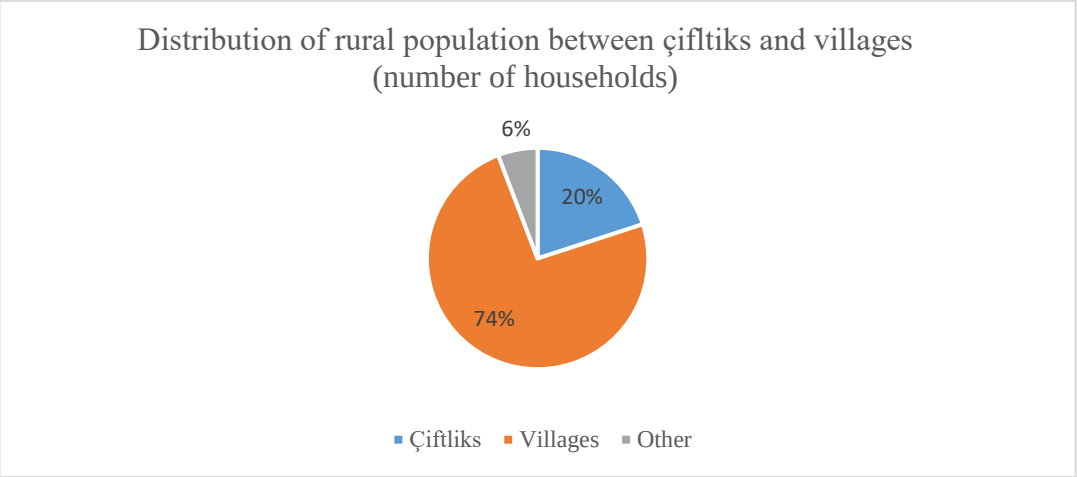


Figure 107. Distribution of rural population between çiftliks and villages of Pirlepe

Figure 107 displays the distribution of rural population, calculated based on the number of households due to the nature of the survey registers, between çiftliks and villages. In the calculations, only local rural producers are taken into account while çiftlik-owners, who mostly reside in the central town of Pirlepe as well as in other districts, have been excluded. As such, this chart displays the distribution of the rural residents themselves.

The temettuat registers display that one-fifth of the whole rural population (903 households) resided in 352 çiftliks in the district of Pirlepe around the mid-19th century. In contrast, 3352 households, constituting 74% of the rural population, lived in the villages. As will be discussed in detail below[324], because the group residing in the çiftliks consisted of mostly landless and often houseless rural producers - beyond the existence of a landless labour force in the villages - it seems safe to argue in the

[324] See: Section 5.3.

beginning that more than one-fifth of the rural population resident in the district of Pirlepe was dispossessed of their main tool of production, i.e. land, and were engaged in relations of labour arrangements different than those of small peasant farming which is ideally based on the exclusive use of family-labour and has a self-sustaining character. As such, the group of çiftlik-owners, as the holders of the main means of production, i.e. land, in an agrarian economy, directly controlled the labour-capacity of more than 20% of the district population which lacked such means.[325]

While the previous calculations of distribution of rural households among çiftliks and villages treated the data as totalities and the region as a spatially homogeneous entity, this is in fact far from the truth. On the contrary, specific loci of concentration regarding village and çiftliks formations in each administrative settlement can be identified.

Table 106. Number of Settlements and Resident Households by the Level of Çiftlik Formation in Pirlepe

Level of çiftlik formation	Number of settlements	Percentage	Number of households	Percentage
1	22	15%	304	7%
0.5 - 0.96	28	19%	637	14%
0.01 - 0.47	30	21%	1138	25%
0	64	44%	2448	54%

Table 106 demonstrates the relative weight of çiftliks, on the basis of the ratio of households engaged in production for çiftliks (i.e. number of çiftlik households / total number of households) within each administrative settlement as indicated in a value range from 0 to 1. Here, 0 indicates non-existence of çiftliks and a "perfect" village while 1 indicates all-embracing çiftlik-activity and utter absence of

[325] The mechanisms and processes behind the emergence of such dispossession will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

independent farmers. The results of the distribution of these different types are displayed in detail in the series of graphs below.

Figure 108 demonstrates the specific place assigned to each settlement in the district with regard to the level of çiftlik formation whereby perfect villages, perfect çiftliks and areas of transition in between are displayed.

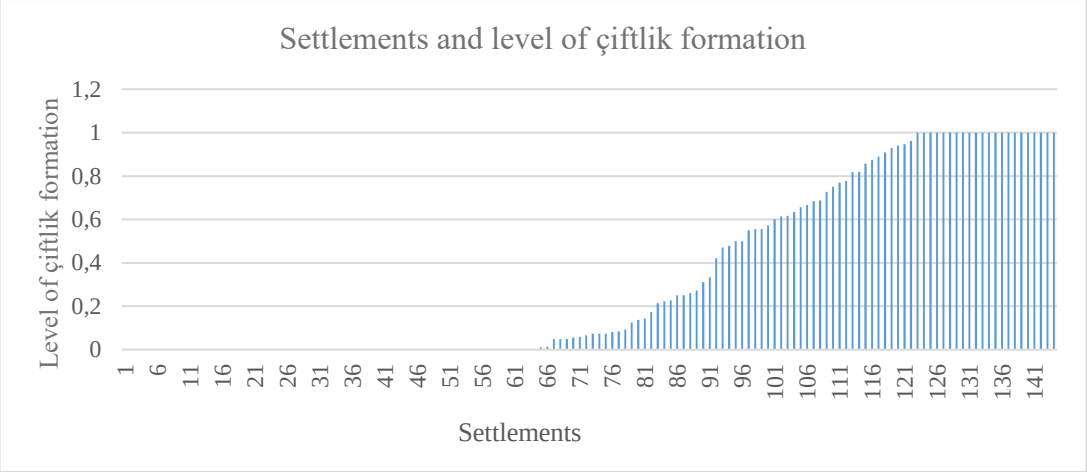


Figure 108. Distribution of settlements by level of çiftlik formation (number of households) in Pirlepe.

The graph below (Figure 109) displays the distribution of settlements on the basis of their level of çiftlik formation. In the district of Pirlepe, 15% of all settlements can be defined as perfect çiftliks and 20% as çiftlik-dominated formations while 44% of them can be defined as perfect villages and 21% as village-dominated settlements.

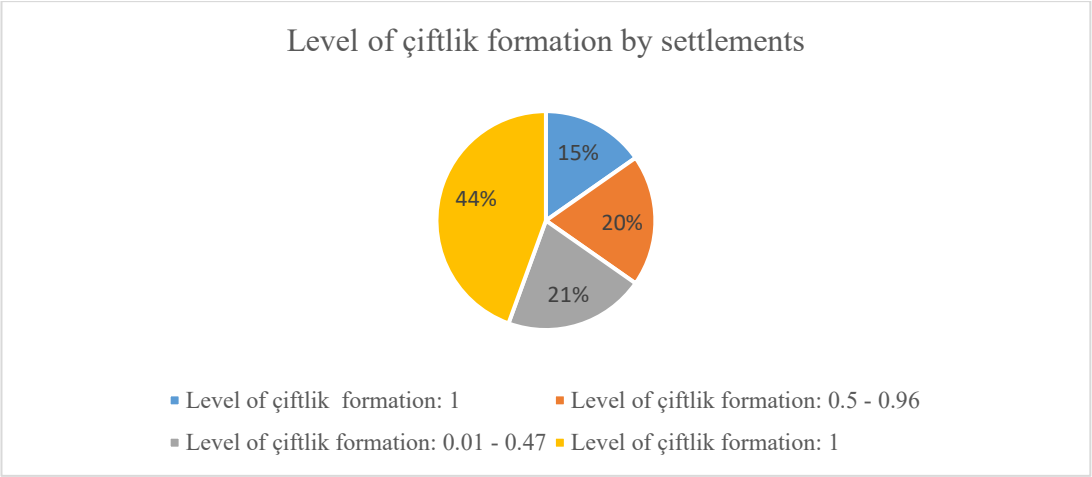


Figure 109. Level of çiftlik formation (number of households) and the settlements of Pirlepe.

The following graph (Figure 110) displays the distribution of the population among the settlements of different levels of çiftlik formation. In the district of Pirlepe, 7% of the rural population resided in perfect çiftliks and 14% in çiftlik-dominated settlements while 54% resided in perfect villages and 25% in village-dominated settlements.

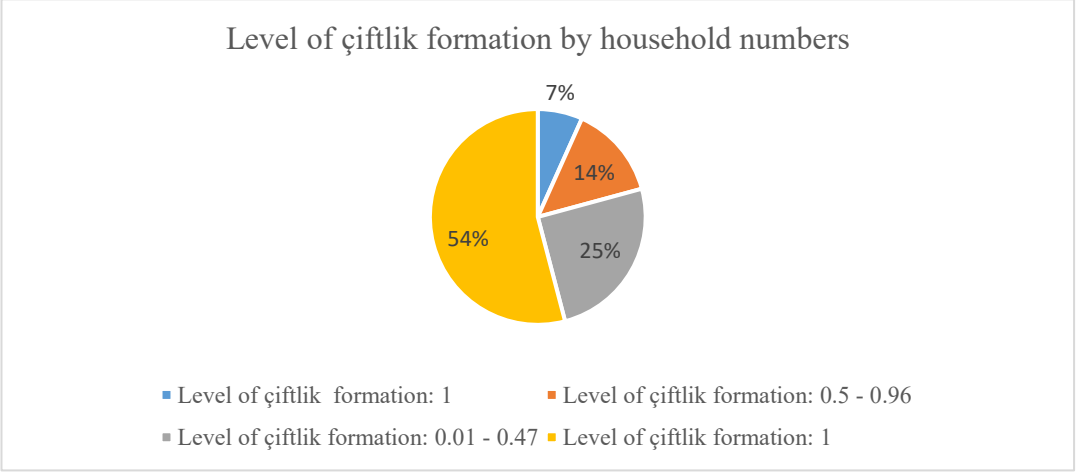


Figure 110. Level of çiftlik formation (number of households) and the population of Pirlepe.

Regarding all of the calculations so far, the coexistence of different types of rural residents -villagers and çiftlik workers- within the same settlement raises the

question of the processes of acquisition of land and çiftlik formation. Furthermore, the data under study indicates that there is a certain degree of polarization between village and çiftlik-dominated settlements in addition to the existence of a transitional area which displays mixed features of both forms. In the face of such polarization, generalizing on the basis of a whole district by taking averages can be misleading to understand the dynamics at work. This, in turn, raises the question of whether these settlements can be shown to cluster topographically in specific places following a pattern.

To answer this question and indicate the geographical distribution of different categories of settlements, their level of çiftlik formation has been used as the main index. The table below (Table 107) displays the level of çiftlik formation of each settlement while the following table (Table 108) displays the color-coding system used in the preparation of the map on Figure 111 which indicates the locations of different types of settlements in the district of Pirlepe in the mid-19th century.[326]

[326] In the table below, entries highlighted in light gray indicate a degree of uncertainty of location while the entries highlighted in dark gray indicate settlements whose locations could not be found.

Table 107. Level of Çiftlik Formation (Number of Households) in the Settlements of Pirlepe

Level of çiftlikization	Settlement	Level of çiftlikization	Settlement	Level of çiftlikization	Settlement	Level of çiftlikization	Settlement
0	Godijak, Gugjakovo	0.011494253	Kanatlar, Kanatlarci	0.5	Prilepece	1	Aşorioz
0	Galişta, Galishte	0.013157895	Desova	0.5	Crnicani, Crnichani	1	Ropotova
0	Staravina	0.047619048	Rilevo	0.55	Zagorani	1	Zabjani , Zhabjani
0	Budimirca, Budimirci	0.047619048	Dabnica, Dabnitsa	0.555555556	Dubijacani-i bala (gorno)	1	Slivje
0	Vrbecko, Vrbsko, Vrpsko	0.047619048	Carevik, Carevikj	0.555555556	Krusovjani, Krusheani	1	Lokveni
0	Zihovo, Zhivovo	0.055555556	Budakovo; Budaklar	0.571428571	Brajilovo, Berilovo, Brailovo	1	Turicko, Tursko, Podvis
0	Grunişta, Grunishta	0.058823529	Selce, Seltse	0.6	Puturos, Puturus, Potorovi	1	Mramorani-i Kebir
0	Polcista, Polchishte	0.066666667	Sekerce, Sekirtsi	0.612903226	Kadiköy, Kadinoselo	1	Dabjani
0	Vitolişta	0.074074074	Vrbovci, Vrboec	0.616438356	Oba-ı Kebir	1	Belopole
0	Zovik, Zovich	0.074074074	Debrişte, Debreshte	0.633333333	Bonce, Bonche	1	Kutlesevo
0	Manastırce, Manastir	0.074074074	Lazani	0.65625	Macovista, Mazhuchiste	1	Cumovo, Chumovo
0	Dunje	0.080645161	Elekler, Erekovci	0.666666667	Marul	1	Lak
0	Peştani	0.083333333	Zitovce (Zitose) reaya	0.684210526	Novoseljani?	1	Şerifeler, Sheleverci
0	Veprcani	0.093023256	Vrance	0.6875	Alinci	1	Pisokal
0	Kokre	0.125	Zirnek?	0.727272727	Sarandinovo	1	Makovo
0	Kaljani, Kalen	0.136363636	Senokos	0.75	Godivle, Godivje	1	Alioba, Alinci
0	Gradeşnica	0.142857143	Nebregovo	0.769230769	Borodin, Borotino	1	Cepigovo, Chepigovo
0	Melinica	0.173913043	Veselcani	0.777777778	Selbijek?	1	Dedebal, Dedebalci
0	Beşişta	0.214285714	Musa Oba, Musinci, Musintsi	0.818181818	Korenica	1	Armatus, Armatush
0	Drenovci	0.222222222	Mramorani-i Sagir (malko, malo)	0.818181818	Krusevica, Krushevica	1	Galicani
0	Slepce	0.226190476	Krivogastani	0.857142857	Dubijacani-i zir	1	Oba-ı Kebir (Golemo Konjari)
0	Crnilista	0.25	Koşino	0.875	Vrbjani	1	Orle
0	Gostrac, Gostirazhni	0.25	Topolcani, Topolchani	0.888888889	Volkovo		
0	Strovija	0.260869565	Sv. Mitran, Sveto Mitrani	0.909090909	Pesterica?		
0	Dilkofca	0.272727273	Meglenci, Meglen	0.928571429	Zabrcani		
0	Margarit, Margari	0.311111111	Peshtalevo	0.941176471	Ruvci, Pashino Ruvci		
0	Botrik?	0.333333333	Kostinci, Kostintsi	0.947368421	Berovce, Berovtsi		
0	Beluşin, Belushino	0.421052632	Nihomine?	0.961538462	İven, İveni		
0	Nerovo, Norovo	0.470588235	Birina, Birino	0.967741935			
0	Trstenik	0.47826087	Stredorek, Sredorek	0.96			
0	Adjanci, Haldance						
0	Belce-yi bala						
0	Belce-yi zir						
0	Slanciko, Slansko						
0	Borina						
0	Jakrenovo						
0	Sazdovo, Sazhdevo						
0	Drenovo						
0	Krapa						
0	Ceresnovo						
0	Zitovce (Zitose) müslim						
0	Dolneni						
0	Orehovec, Oreovets, Oreovec						
0	Krstec, Krstets						
0	Prisat, Prisad						
0	Pletvar						
0	Lenista, Lenishta						
0	Dren						
0	Beloşko?						
0	Bucin, Alcomenae						
0	Mirezicko?						
0	Kalik?						
0	Doşden?						
0	Radobilj-i Sagir (mal)						
0	Radobilj-i Kebir (golem)						
0	Mramor						
0	Drenovo-ı Kebir						
0	Stavica, Shtavica						
0	Canista						
0	Novlak?						
0	Rapes						
0	Brnik						
0	Klepac, Klepach						
0	Trikrst, Trojktsti						

Table 108. Colour-coding of the Level of Çiftlik Formation in (Figure 111)

Level of çiftlikization	Color-coding
1	Red
0.5 - 0.96	Pink
0.01 - 0.47	Light-blue
0	Dark-blue

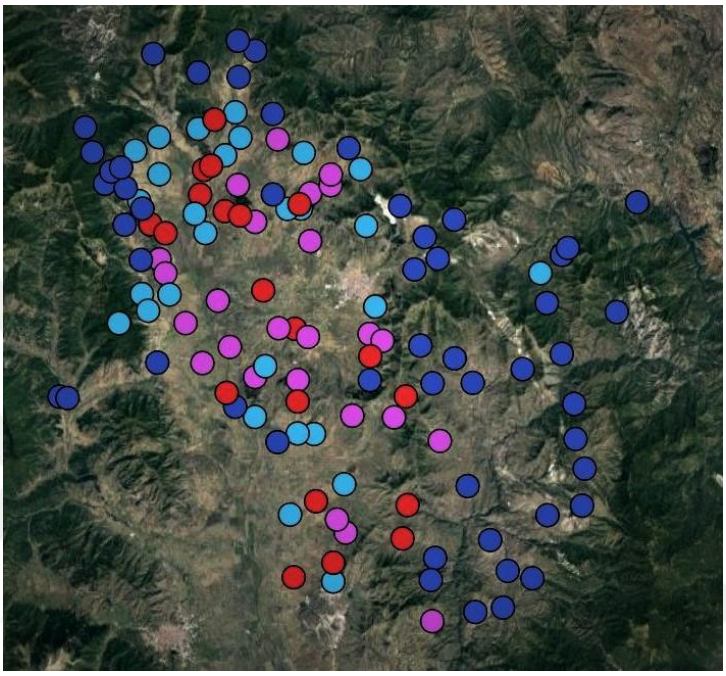


Figure 111. Level of çiftlik formation (number of households) and distribution of settlements in Pirlepe.

While the settlement patterns of both Pirlepe and İştip are less clustered than Manastır, all three cases display the common tendency of çiftliks to be located around the central alluvial plains while the "perfect" villages tend to cluster in the hilly areas. As such, the inner region of Pirlepe is a space of a rather high degree of çiftlik formation. Nevertheless, the rural landscape is marked by the co-existence of çiftliks and villages within the same settlements and the proximity between "perfect" forms. The distribution of rural population is displayed in Figure 112. Just like in the case of Manastır and İştip, the population tends to concentrate in the villages towards

the mountains rather than alluvial plains which were largely monopolized by çiftlik-owners.

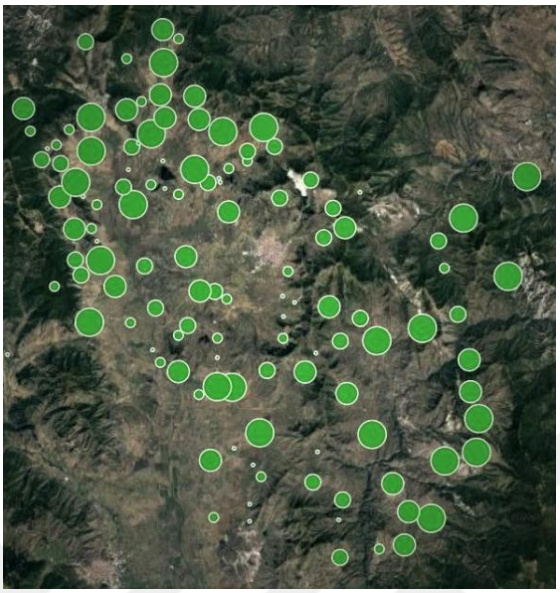


Figure 112. Distribution of rural population among settlements of Pirlepe (based on the number of households).

Of all the settlements of pure çiftliks, 7 constitute single-*çiftlik* settlements while the remaining 15 settlements consist of multiple *çiftliks*. In the most extreme case, there are as many as 10 *çiftliks* in a single settlement of pure *çiftlik* type. The relevant list can be seen in the table below.

Table 109. Pure Çiftliks of Pirlepe

Level of çiftlik formation	Settlement Name	Number of çiftlik owners / çiftliks within the settlement	Level of çiftlik formation	Settlement Name	Number of çiftlik owners / çiftliks within the settlement	Level of çiftlik formation	Settlement Name	Number of çiftlik owners / çiftliks within the settlement
1	Ropotova	1	1	Zabjani , Zhabjani	2	1	Dabjani	5
1	Lokveni	1	1	Slivje	2	1	Orle	5
1	Şerifeler, Sheleverci	1	1	Kutlesevo	2	1	Turicko, Tursko, Podvis	7
1	Pisokal	1	1	Cumovo, Chumovo	2	1	Makovo	8
1	Cepigovo, Chepigovo	1	1	Mramorani-i Kebir	2	1	Belopole	9
1	Armatus, Armatush	1	1	Lak	4	1	Galicani	9
1	Oba-ı Kebir (Golemo Konjari)	1	1	Alioba, Alinci	4	1	Aşorioz	10
			1	Dedebal, Dedebalci	4			

Then, how much of the agricultural land in rural Pirlepe do the çiftlik-owners have under their command? What is the proportion between the lands in the çiftlik domains and the lands in the village domains? What proportion of the cultivable land in the çiftlik boundaries are held by the rural producers rather than by the çiftlik-owners themselves? What is the situation for the corresponding distribution of draught animals between çiftliks and villages, çiftlik-owners and rural producers?

5.1.2 Ownership of agricultural means of production

The following tables (Table 110 and Table 111) display the information on landownership by villagers, çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers in Pirlepe. Table 110 displays the distribution of landownership for each category of land among the villagers, çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers. Table 111 displays the relative weight of landownership for different types of land within each group.

Table 110. Landownership by Çiftlik-owners, Çiftlik Workers, and Villagers (Pirlepe) (1)

	Villagers		Çiftlik-owners		Çiftlik workers		TOTAL	
Types of land	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage
Grain fields	106677	69%	46088.5	30%	1970	1%	154735.5	100%
Meadow	3652.75	54%	2788	42%	263	4%	6703.75	100%
Vineyard	2454.425	81%	176	6%	389.25	13%	3019.675	100%
Hemp field	344.5	69%	12.5	3%	142.25	28%	499.25	100%
Tobacco fields	133	79%	9	5%	26	15%	168	100%
Corn field	0	0%	0	0%	53.5	100%	53.5	100%
Vegetable garden	41.55	99%	0	0%	0.5	1%	42.05	100%
Flax field	0	0%	3	100%	0	0%	3	100%
Bean field	0.5	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0.5	100%

Table 111. Landownership by Çiftlik-owners, Çiftlik Workers, and Villagers (Pirlepe) (1)

	Villagers		Çiftlik-owners		Çiftlik workers	
Types of land	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage
Grain fields	106677	94%	46088.5	94%	1970	69%
Meadow	3652.75	3%	2788	6%	263	9%
Vineyard	2454.425	2%	176	0%	389.25	14%
Hemp field	344.5	0%	12.5	0%	142.25	5%
Tobacco fields	133	0%	9	0%	26	1%
Corn field	0	0%	0	0%	53.5	2%
Vegetable garden	41.55	0%	0	0%	0.5	0%
Flax field	0	0%	3	0%	0	0%
Bean field	0.5	0%	0	0%	0	0%
TOTAL	113303.725	100%	49077	100%	2844.5	100%

In general, the agricultural economy of Pirlepe, just like Manastır and İştip, is mainly based on the production of grains, which is then followed by meadows and vineyards. The villagers of the district have 69% of the cultivable land of the district under their control while the çiftlik-owners have 30% and the çiftlik-workers have a mere 1% (Figure 113).

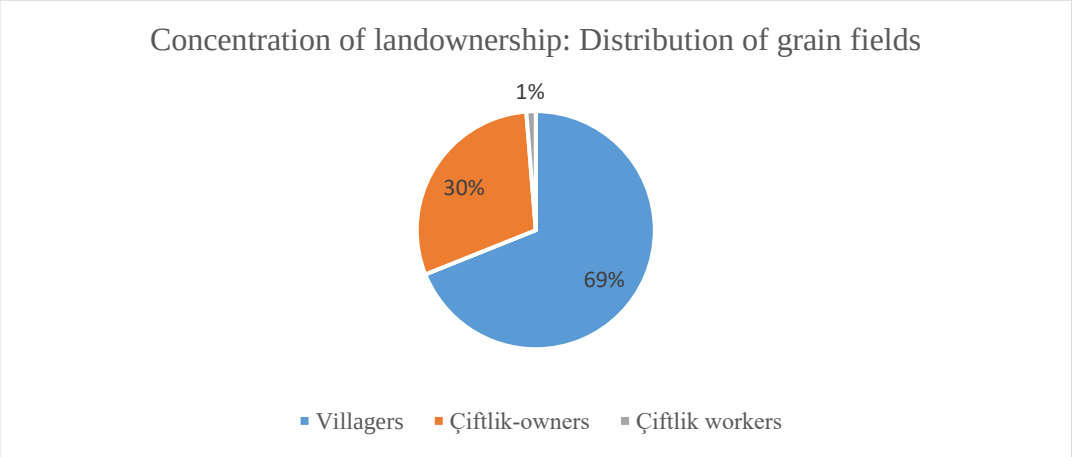


Figure 113. Concentration of landownership in Pirlepe.

Then, the graph below (Figure 114) displays the distribution of oxen, which constitute one of the main means of production, between çiftliks and villages.[327] Here, 27% of the oxen are located in the çiftliks and 73% in the villages. Similarly to the case of İştip, the contribution of oxen by çiftlik-owners to agricultural production is relatively higher than Manastır.[328] As will be discussed below[329], this can be explained, at least to some extent, by the relative significance of çiftliks based on wage-labour in Pirlepe and İştip, on the one hand, and the possibility of local variations regarding the content of labour arrangements, on the other hand.

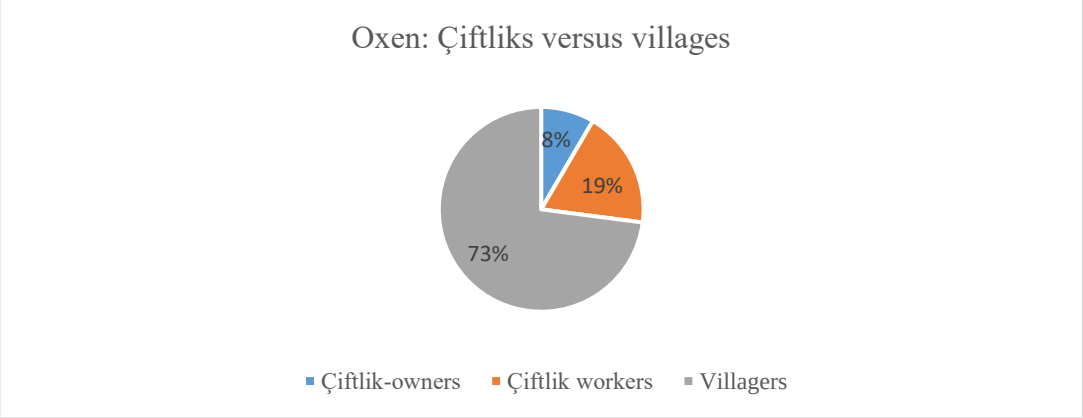


Figure 114. Distribution of oxen between çiftliks and villages in Pirlepe

The chart below (Figure 115) displays the distribution of factors of production, to the extent that they could be derived from the survey registers -namely, labour (in the form of potential workforce calculated on the basis of number of relevant households), land and oxen- between çiftlik and village domains.

[327] This distribution changes only by 1% in favor of çiftlik-owners compared to villagers when all the potential draught animals are included in the calculations. This category includes "*öküz manda, manda öküzü, erkek manda, kısır manda, manda, çift mandası, camuş, kısır camuş, kara sığır*."
[328] See: Sections 3.3 and 4.3.
[329] See: Section 5.3.

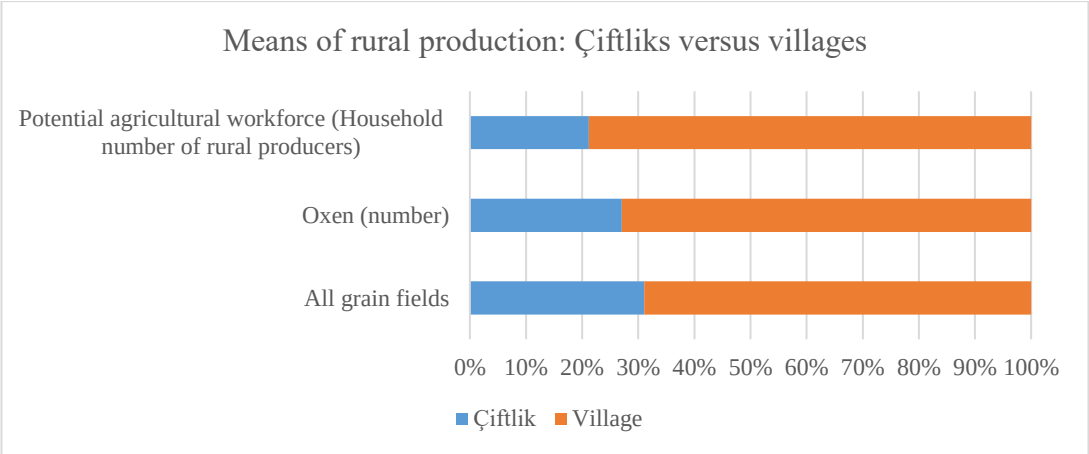


Figure 115. Means of production: Çiftliks versus villages (Pirlepe).

When the ownership of these factors of production is considered, the degree of their concentration in the hands of a number of landholders suggests the dispossession of a part of the rural population (Figure 116 and Figure 117), albeit on a smaller scale than Manastır and İştip. These landowners not only owns one-third of the cultivable land in the district, but also directly control around a quarter of the total labour-force (i.e., çiftlik workers) who are mostly dispossessed (See: Figure 107). In contrast, 20% of the rural population, i.e., çiftlik workers, holds around 1% of the land and 19% of the oxen in the district, indicating the dispossession of a part of the population. Lastly, 74% of the rural population, resident in villages, has 69% of the cultivable fields while holding 73% of the oxen in the district.

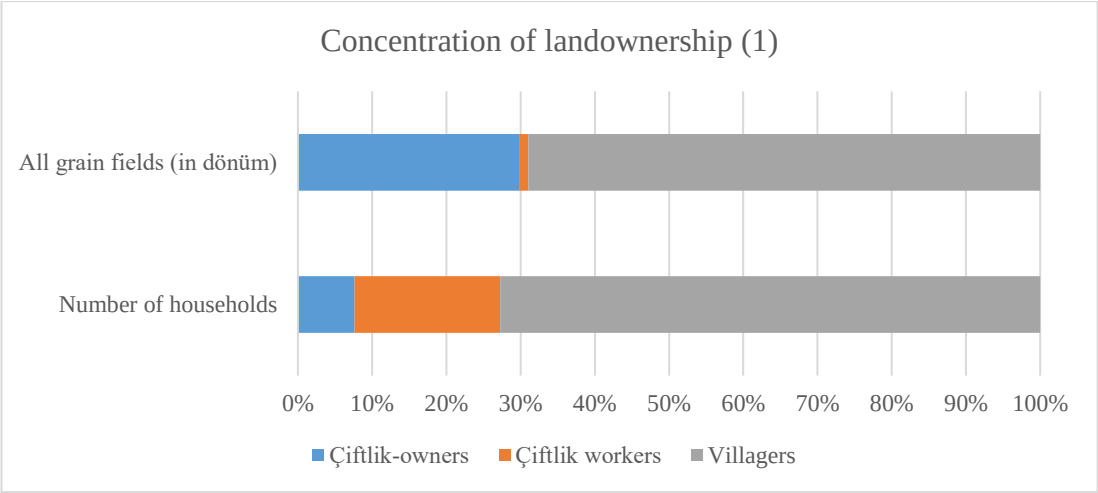


Figure 116. Concentration of landownership (1) (Pirlepe).

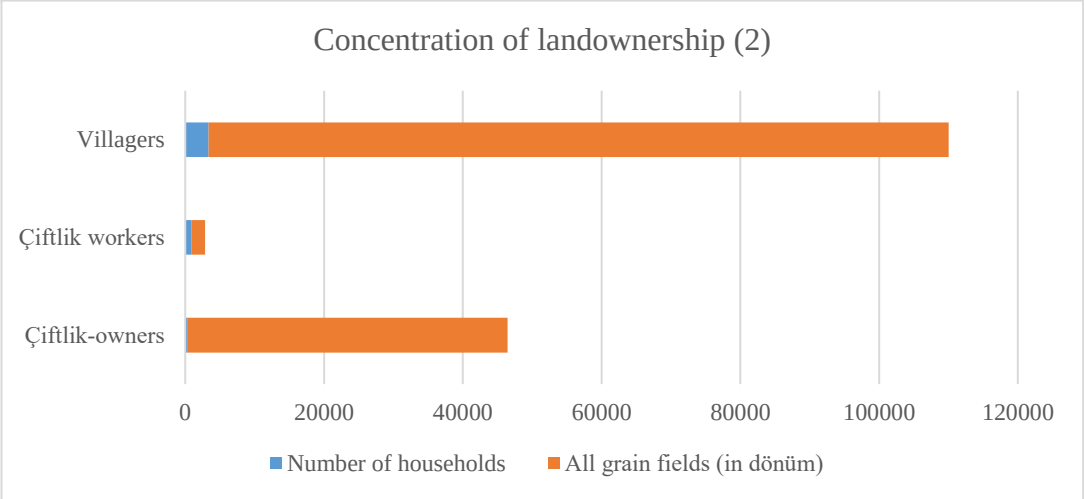


Figure 117. Concentration of landownership (2) (Pirlepe)

The following graph (Figure 118) displays the ratio of cultivable fields owned by çiftlik-owners to all of the fields in each settlement in order to display the geographical distribution of settlements with varying degrees of çiftlik formation in terms of landownership. Here, an index has been prepared whereby the value of 0 indicates non-existence of çiftlik land and the value of 1 indicates all-encompassing existence of çiftlik land for each settlement. The resulting distribution is displayed in Figure 118.

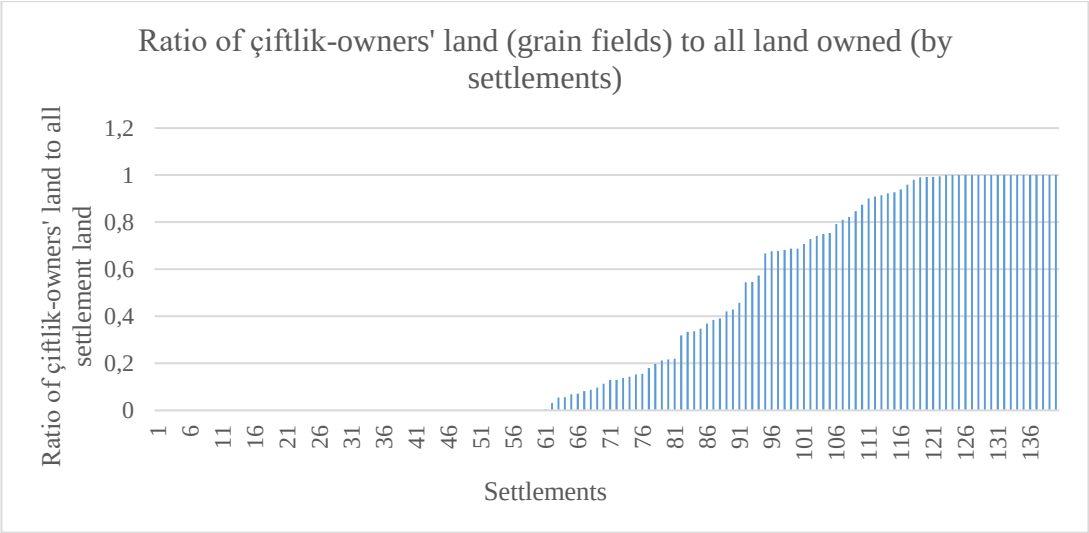


Figure 118. Ratio of çiftlik land to all settlement land (Pirlepe).

Each settlement is indicated in the map below in accordance with their level of çiftlik formation in terms of landownership. Here, the colour white indicates the non-existence of çiftlik owner land, the colour pink indicates the mixture of çiftlik-owner, çiftlik worker, and villager land, and the colour red indicates the all-encompassing presence of villager land (Figure 119).

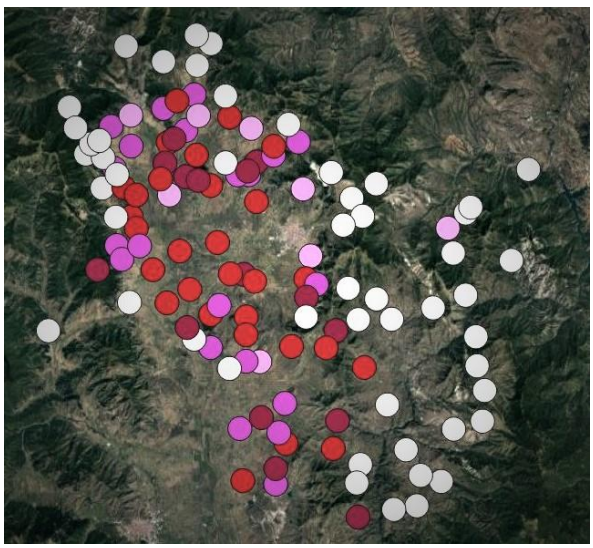


Figure 119. Distribution of settlements by landownership: Çiftliks versus villages (Pirlepe).

The map below (Figure 120) displays the extent of cultivable land in conjunction with the distribution of ownership by çiftlik-owners, çiftlik workers and villagers within each settlement. The size of the pie charts indicates the size of the cultivable fields in each settlement. Within the pie charts, colour red indicates ownership by çiftlik-owners, colour blue indicates ownership by çiftlik workers, and colour green indicates ownership by villagers. In Pirlepe, the alluvial plain in the interior region is definitely a locus of çiftlik production. As such, attention to local variations remains crucial so that internal diversity within designated units of analysis will not be overlooked.

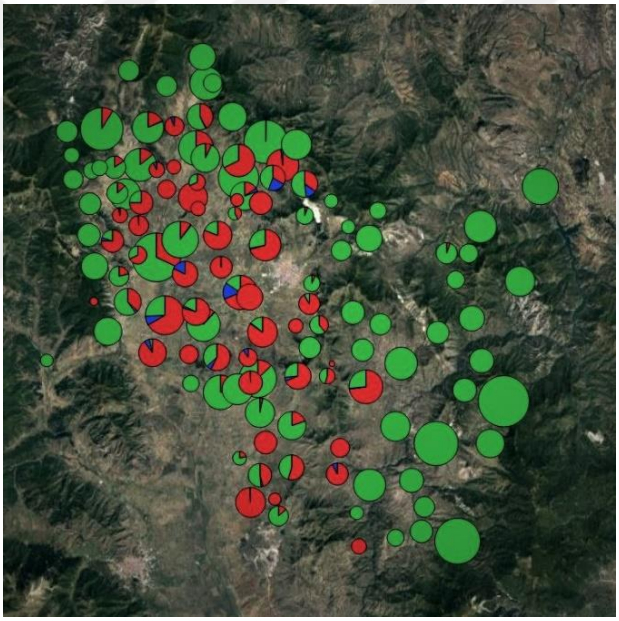


Figure 120. Distribution of land: Çiftlik-owners, çiftlik workers, and villagers of Pirlepe.

So far, the data has been analyzed to demonstrate that there is a certain degree of concentration of land in the district of Pirlepe in the mid-19th century, albeit lower than Manastır and İştip. Here, the main framework has been the division between the villages and the çiftliks of the region, even though they are located close to each other, often within the same settlement. As such they display interaction and

permeability to a considerable degree, in addition to significant variations within them.

5.1.3 Sources of income

The table below (Table 112) demonstrates the rural income sources and their distribution by activity in the district of Pirlepe as a whole, underlining the importance of agricultural production in general. Agricultural production is followed by agricultural wage-labour and animal husbandry.

Table 112. Income Sources of Pirlepe

Income sources	In kuruş	Percentage
Agricultural production	3660248	60%
Sharecropping	1087448.6	18%
Agricultural wage-labour	411037.5	7%
Animal-husbandry	363220	6%
Animal-related wage-labour	181586.75	3%
Transport and/or provision of wood and wood products	149185	2%
Rope-making	69914.5	1%
Other	56059	1%
Transport and/or provision of coal	33263	1%
Rent	32546	1%
Transport	28891.25	0%
TOTAL	6073399.6	100%

The following series of tables (Table 113 and Table 114) display the distribution of different branches of agricultural activity, in terms of different types of land (in dönüm) and income obtained from them (in kuruş) in aggregates on çiftlik and village lands. Here, the focus is on active production and hence, only lands under cultivation, creating revenue for the owner, have been taken into account.[330]

[330] Rented lands have been taken into account while leased out and uncultivated lands have been excluded since they do not produce agricultural revenue directly for the owner.

Table 113. Agricultural Production in Pirlepe: Çiftliks versus Villages (1)

	VILLAGE				ÇİFTLİK			
Types of land	Dönüm		Revenue		Dönüm		Revenue	
Grain fields	105854	94%	2915575.75	90%	47640	93%	1479182.5	90%
Meadow	3601.25	3%	127962.5	4%	3019	6%	111685	7%
Vineyard	2448.125	2%	129745	4%	543.75	1%	25002.5	2%
Vegetable garden	41.3	0%	4350	0%	0.5	<1%	250	<1%
Tobacco field	133	0%	23930	1%	35	<1%	6510	<1%
Bean field	0.5	<1%	30	<1%	0	0%	0	0%
Hemp field	344.5	0%	25830	1%	154.75	0%	13705	1%
Flax field	0	0%	0	0%	3	<1%	300	<1%
Corn field	0	0%	0	0%	53.5	<1%	1417.5	<1%
TOTAL	112422.675	100%	3227423.25	100%	51449.5	100%	1638052.5	100%

As can be observed in Table 113, the grain fields located in the villages, constituting 94% of all types of village lands, produce 90% of the total agricultural revenue of the villages. As for the çiftliks, 93% of all lands are constituted by grain fields that produce 90% of the total agricultural revenue. In both cases, grain fields are followed by meadows and vineyards.

Table 114. Agricultural Production in Pirlepe: Çiftliks versus Villages (2)

	VILLAGE				ÇİFTLİK						
Types of land	Dönüm		Revenue		Dönüm		Revenue		TOTAL (Dönüm)	TOTAL (Revenue)	TOTAL
Grain fields	105854	69%	2915575.75	66%	47640	31%	1479182.5	34%	153494	4394758.25	100%
Meadow	3601.25	54%	127962.5	53%	3019	46%	111685	47%	6620.25	239647.5	100%
Vineyard	2448.125	82%	129745	84%	543.75	18%	25002.5	16%	2991.875	154747.5	100%
Vegetable garden	41.3	99%	4350	95%	0.5	1%	250	5%	41.8	4600	100%
Tobacco field	133	79%	23930	79%	35	21%	6510	21%	168	30440	100%
Bean field	0.5	100%	30	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0.5	30	100%
Hemp field	344.5	69%	25830	65%	154.75	31%	13705	35%	499.25	39535	100%
Flax field	0	0%	0	0%	3	100%	300	100%	3	300	100%
Corn field	0	0%	0	0%	53.5	100%	1417.5	100%	53.5	1417.5	100%

Table 114 displays the distribution of both the amount of land and the revenue obtained from agricultural production among the çiftliks and the villages. In general terms, the grain fields in the çiftlik generate a slightly higher revenue per dönüm vis-à-vis villages. The distribution of agricultural revenue between çiftliks and villages can be observed in Figure 121.

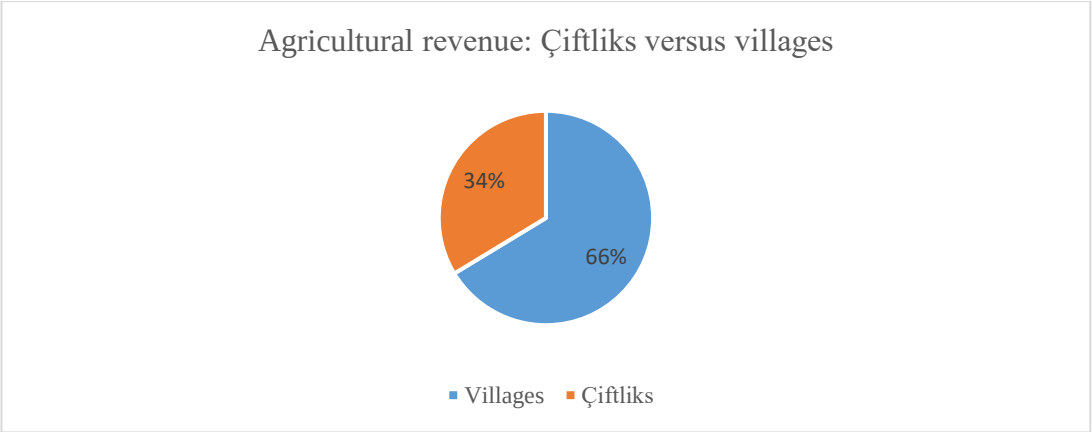


Figure 121. Agricultural revenue: Çiftliks versus villages (Pirlepe).

The chart below (Figure 122) displays the distribution of income from animal husbandry between villagers, çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers. While the villagers earn 72% of income from animal husbandry, the greater part of the remaining income from animal husbandry is earned by the workers of the çiftliks. As such, while the villages dominate in terms of engagement in animal husbandry, workers of the çiftliks also display a considerable participation in this activity, especially when proportioned to the size of each group under question.

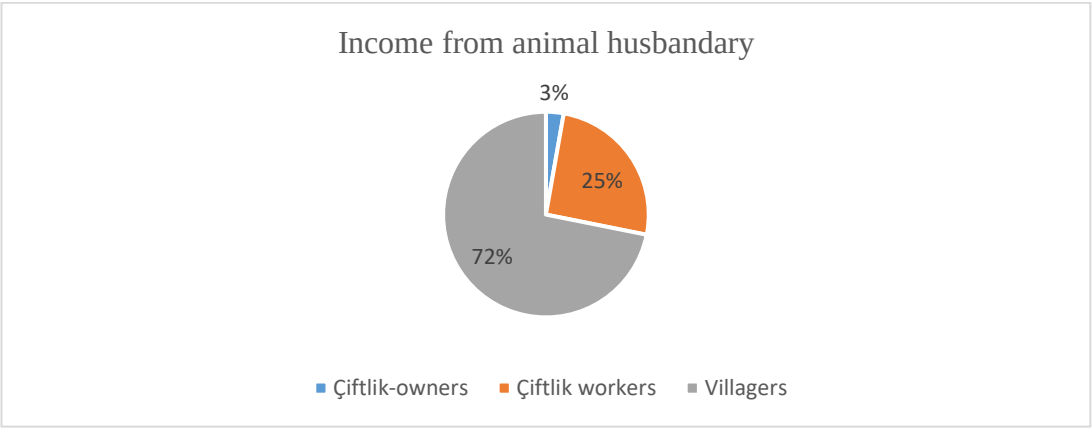


Figure 122. Income from animal husbandry: Çiftlik-owners, çiftlik workers, and villagers (Pirlepe).

Lastly, in order to assess the level of inequality in the distribution of land (in terms of access to land, rather than income) the following calculations were made: The

population[331] of the district was divided into 4 groups where the first group comprised of the bottom 10%, the second comprised of the top 10%, and the remaining population was divided into two groups with 40% each of the rural population in terms of ownership of grain fields. On this basis, the Gini coefficient is calculated to be 0.54. Also, a calculation exclusively conducted for the village lands has produced a value of 0.47 (which will be discussed in further detail in Section 5.2.2). As such, there exists a certain degree of rural inequality in terms of access to land in the district of Pirlepe in the mid-19th century even when one does not take the çiftliks into consideration.

5.2 Villages, peasants and class relations: The question of inequality in a peasant society

5.2.1 Village population of Pirlepe

In order to have a general sense of the configuration of labour types in the villages, the distribution of income sources provides a point of start. The graph below (Figure 123) displays this distribution according to which engagement in agricultural production constitutes the main source of income, underlining the continuing importance of agricultural production for the economy of the villages of the district as a whole. This is then followed by animal-husbandry and agricultural wage-labour.

[331] Including çiftlik-owners and rural residents, i.e. everyone having an interest in the agricultural economy of the district. Outsiders holding scattered parcels of land in villages are excluded.

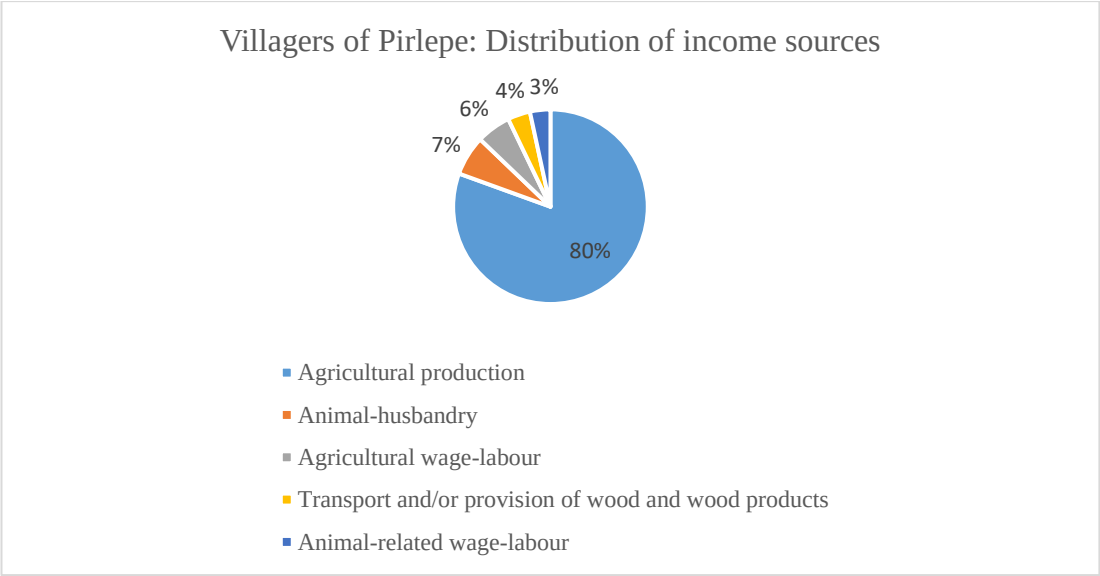


Figure 123. Villages of Pirlepe: Distribution of income sources.

Additionally, most of the households relied on agricultural production as the main source of income, followed by agricultural wage-labour, as can be observed in the table below (Table 115).[332]

Table 115. Distribution of Village Households by Main Source of Income

Main source of income	Number of households	Percentage
Agricultural production	2760	83%
Agricultural wage-labour	323	10%
Animal-related wage-labour	85	3%
Transport and/or provision of wood and wood products	60	2%
Sharecropping	35	1%
Other	32	1%
Animal-husbandry	5	0%
Rent	14	0%
Rope-making	6	0%
Transport	4	0%
TOTAL	3324	100%

Before moving to the details of these branches of activities, the weight of agricultural production in the villages of the district raises the central question of how the agrarian production, the main source of income for the rural district of Pirlepe, is

[332] 28 households which did not have any income registered have been excluded from the calculations. There is still great variety, ranging from 45 kuruş to more than 11000 kuruş.

organized. In the idealized Ottoman agrarian universe, a village should mainly comprise of small-holding farmers who rely on family-labour and have a subsistence-oriented, self-sustaining outlook within comparatively similar conditions of life for the entire village community. How does this idealized picture compare with the actual rural conditions in the mid-19th century villages of Pirlepe? How can the general characteristics of the internal organization and composition of the villages be understood? The following charts and tables have been prepared to find an answer, or at least some hints at an answer, to these questions.

5.2.2 Distribution of land and the question of rural inequality

The table below (Table 116) displays the distribution of all types of land held by village residents in terms of their size. Here, it becomes further visible that the holding of grain fields leads the way in terms of economic activity, followed by that of meadows and vineyards, for villages.[333]

Table 116. Distribution of Land Types among Villagers

Types of land	Dönüm (total)	Dönüm (percentage)	Number of households	Number of households (percentage)
Grain fields	104036.5	92%	2875	86%
Meadow	3550.75	3%	1436	43%
Vineyard	2438.125	2%	1873	56%
Grain fields under sharecropping	1687	1%	15	0%
Out-of-settlement grain field	731	1%	114	3%
Hemp field	344.5	0%	214	6%
Leased out grain fields	147.5	0%	12	0%
Tobacco field	133	0%	126	4%
Uncultivated grain fields	75	0%	9	0%
Out-of-settlement meadow	53	0%	37	1%
Meadow under sharecropping	45.5	0%	9	0%
Vegetable garden	41.3	0%	86	3%
Vineyard under sharecropping	10	0%	4	0%
Out-of-settlement vineyard	5.8	0%	7	0%
Leased out meadow	3.5	0%	6	0%
Leased out vineyard	0.5	0%	1	0%
Bean field	0.5	0%	1	0%
Leased out vegetable garden	0.25	0%	1	0%
TOTAL	113303.725	100%		

[333] Yields also follow this trend: grains followed by meadows and vineyards.

The graph below (Figure 124) displays the distribution of land calculated on the basis of the ownership of grain fields among all the residents of the villages. Here, the greater majority of the farmers hold land below 50 dönüms while the same data also shows the difference between the smallholding peasantry as against two specific groups of landless villagers and bigger landowning peasants.

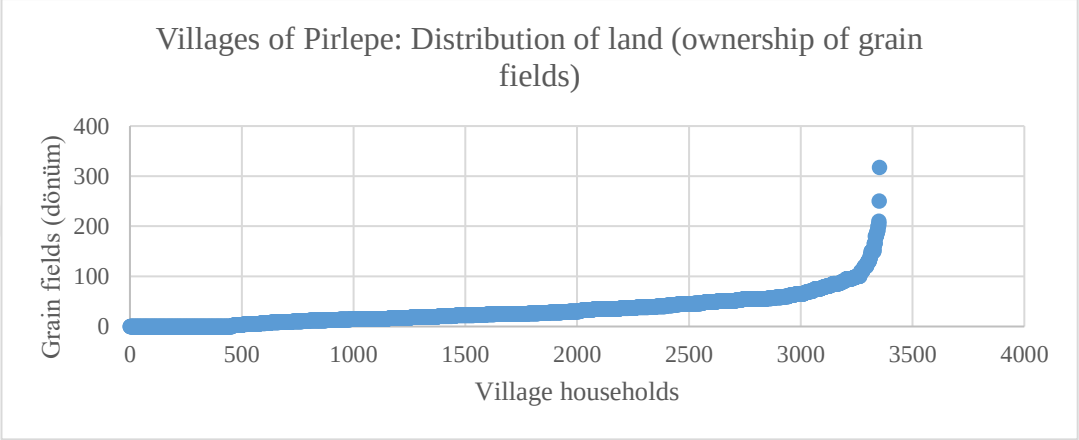


Figure 124. Villagers of Pirlepe: Distribution of land (1)

The table below (Table 117) treats the data on landownership in the villages in a way to demonstrate the respective part of all the grain fields held by each quarter of the village population. In the bottom group, 838 households hold either no land or land of 12 dönüms and below, constituting 3% of all land, totaling 2852 dönüms. The second quarter holds land between 12 and 25 dönüms, constituting 14% of all land, totaling 15056.5 dönüms. The third quarter holds lands between 25 and 45 dönüms, constituting 26% of all land, totaling 28134.5 dönüm. Lastly, the top group holds land ranging from 45 to 317 dönüms, constituting 57% of all land, totaling 60634 dönüms. The graph following the table (Figure 124) visualizes this distribution.

Table 117. Distribution of Land among Villagers of Pirlepe (1)

Number of households	Ranges of land ownership (in dönüm)	Total (in dönüm)	Percentage
838	0 - 12	2852	3%
838	12 - 25	15056.5	14%
838	25 - 45	28134.5	26%
838	45 - 317	60634	57%

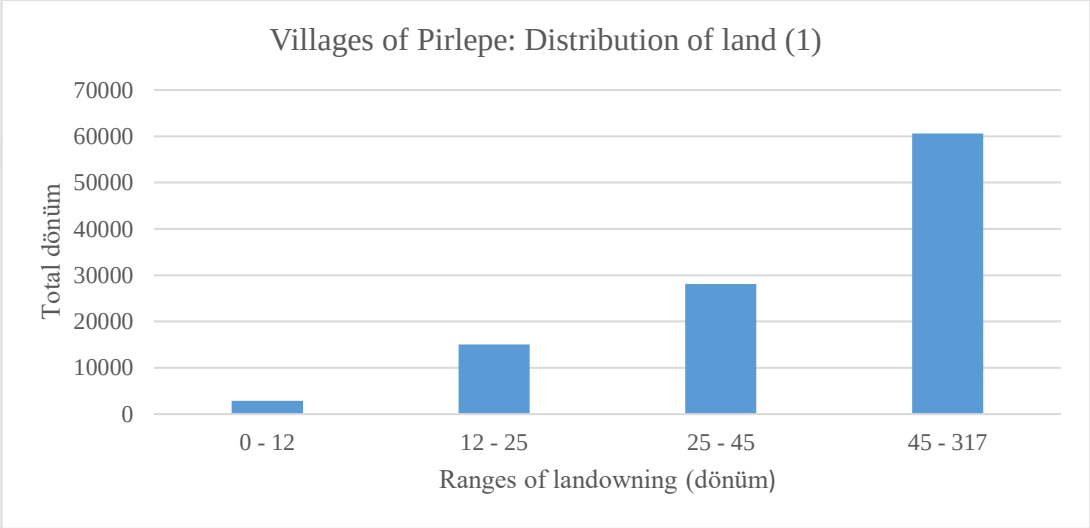


Figure 125. Villagers of Pirlepe: Distribution of land (2)

The table and the chart following the table below (Table 118 and Figure 125) demonstrate the same data yet excluding the completely landless 456 households. In this slightly altered version, the bottom quarter holds land between 1 and 16 dönüms, totaling 7719.5 dönüms (7% of all land). The second quarter holds land between 16 and 28 dönüms, totaling 16118.5 dönüms (15% of all land). The third quarter holds land between 28 and 50 dönüms, totaling 27601.5 dönüms (26% of all land). The top quarter hold land between 50 and 317 dönüms, totaling 55237.5 dönüms of grain fields (52% of all land). As such, the top group here holds 7.15 times the amount of the land held by the bottom group.

Table 118. Distribution of Land among Villagers of Pirlepe (2)

Number of households	Ranges of land ownership (in dönüm)	Total (in dönüm)	Percentage
724	1 - 16	7719.5	7%
724	16 - 28	16118.5	15%
724	28 - 50	27601.5	26%
724	50 - 317	55237.5	52%

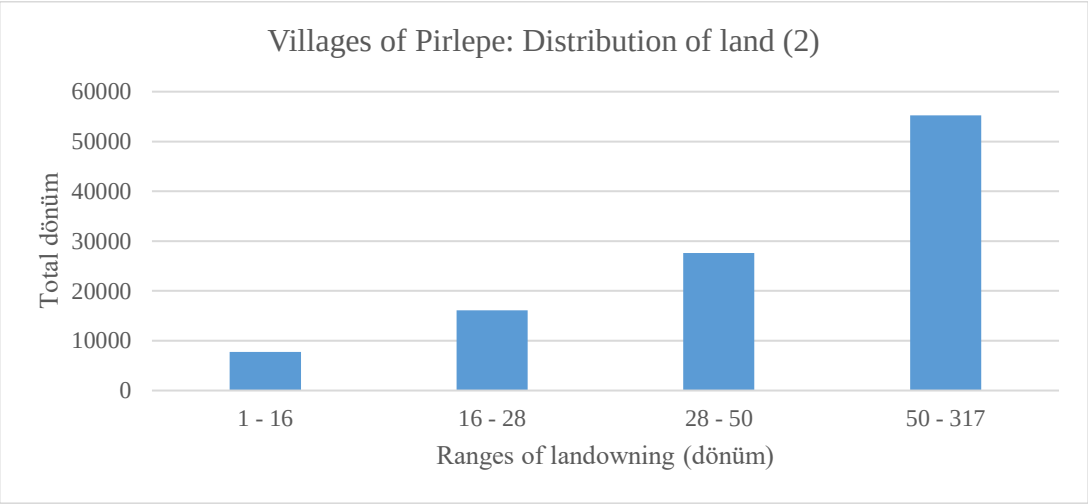


Figure 126. Villagers of Pirlepe: Distribution of land (2).

Lastly, Table 119 displays the data on landownership with different points of break, focusing on the ranges of ownership. As such, the results demonstrate that 456 households have no land (14% of all households), 122 households hold land between 1 and 5 dönüms (4% of all households), 193 households hold land between 5.5 and 10 dönüms (6% of all households), 671 households hold land between 10.5 and 20 dönüms (20% of all households), 1258 households hold land between 20.5 and 50 dönüms (38% of all households), 564 households hold land between 50.5 and 100 dönüms (17% of all households), 84 households hold land between 105 and 200 dönüms (3% of all households), 4 households hold land between 205 and 317 dönüms.

Table 119. Distribution of Land among Villagers of Pirlepe (3)

Number of households	Range of landownership (in dönüm)	Percentage in total number of households
456	no land	14%
122	1 - 5	4%
193	5.5 - 10	6%
671	10.5 - 20	20%
1258	20.5 - 50	38%
564	50.5 - 100	17%
84	105 - 200	3%
4	205 - 317	<1%

The table below has been derived from the same source of data used above in order to present a more detailed picture of landownership in the villages as calculations have been made in order to demonstrate the extent of the inequality of landownership among the village residents through the computing of a Gini coefficient based on the extent of landownership exercised by each group. The resulting Gini coefficient of 0.47 indicates the existence of a certain degree of inequality in landownership in the villages. This distribution of land among villagers can be observed in the graph below (Figure 127).

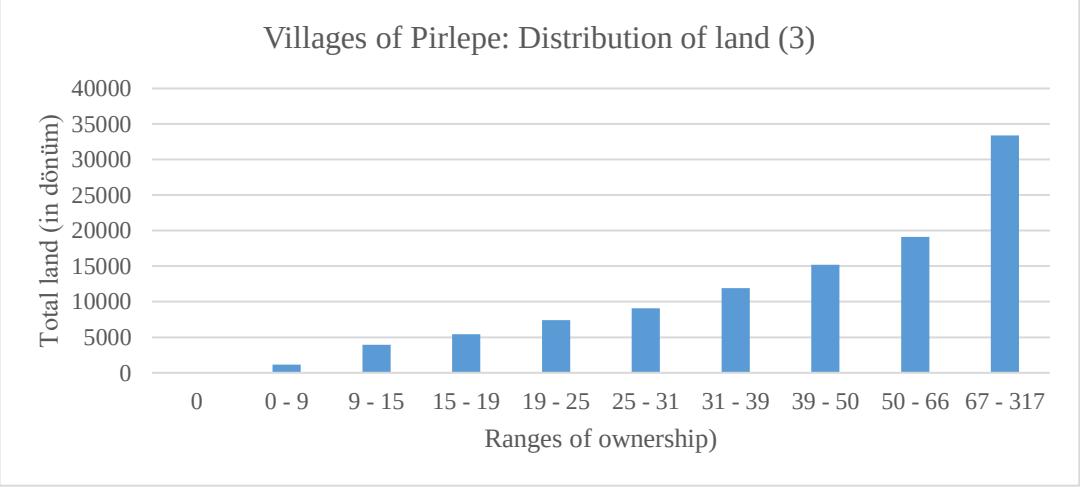


Figure 127. Villagers of Pirlepe: Distribution of land (3).

As such, the calculations above together indicate that there is a visible distinction between the lower and the upper segments of the village-residing rural society in

terms of landowning in the mid-19th century Pirlepe. As such, the largest tracts of land were concentrated in the hands a fewer number of peasant families while the majority of the farmer households operated on smaller fields, in addition to the presence of a group of landless villagers.

5.2.3 Patterns of settlement: Villages of Pirlepe

The graph below (Figure 128) indicates the extent of inequality between individual villages in terms ownership of grain fields. Here, villages display a considerable degree of divergence in terms of landholding. Considering the overall significance of agricultural production in the rural economy of Pirlepe, such divergence indicates the existence of inequality not only among individual villagers, but also between villages themselves.[334]

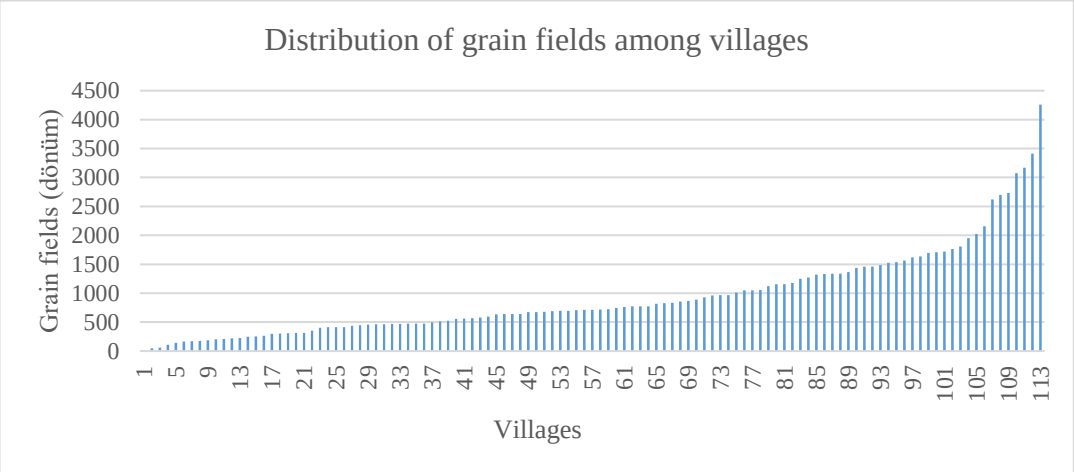


Figure 128. Distribution of grain fields among villages of Pirlepe.

5.2.4 Forms of labour and the question of differentiation

The following tables and charts display the details of landownership and income sources in relation to the extent of wage-labour in the villages of Pirlepe. The first

[334] For instances of income inequality between villages long before the 19th century, see: Koç, "Pirlepe kırsalında nüfus-vergi yükümlülüğü bağlamında ekonomik refah düzeyinin tespiti ve gelir dağılımı üzerine bir deneme."

table below (Table 120) demonstrates the details of the distribution of various sources of income in the villages. As a whole, agricultural production retains its importance in general, followed by animal husbandry and wage-labour. As such, before moving to the more meaningful question of who survives by doing what under this umbrella, a detailed exposition of this distribution is provided below.

Table 120. Income Sources of Villages of Pirlepe

Category	Income (in kuruş)	Percentage in total income	Occupations
Agricultural production	3171080.75	76%	
Animal-husbandry	260978	6%	
Agricultural wage-labour	224469	5%	hizmetkar, ırgat, aylakçı, rençber, çiftçi
Transport and/or provision of wood and wood products	147310	4%	keresteci, oduncu, tahtacı, çıracı
Animal-related wage-labour	133741.5	3%	çoban, sığırtmaç, öküzcü, buzakçı
Sharecropping	52980.5	1%	
Rope-making	49009.5	1%	urgancı
Other	46015.5	1%	dülger, semerci, mermerci, papaz, değirmenci, ticaret, kazancı, taşçı, değirmen taşçısı, katrancı, kiremitçi, şıracı, fıçıcı, asiyabcı, kocabaşı, şerik hissesi, terzi, çulcu, unspecified / misc
Transport and/or provision of charcoal	33013	1%	kömürcü
Transport	24511.25	1%	kiracı, arabacı
Rent	21723	1%	
TOTAL	4164832	100%	

In the chart below (Figure 128), main agrarian income sources are indicated.

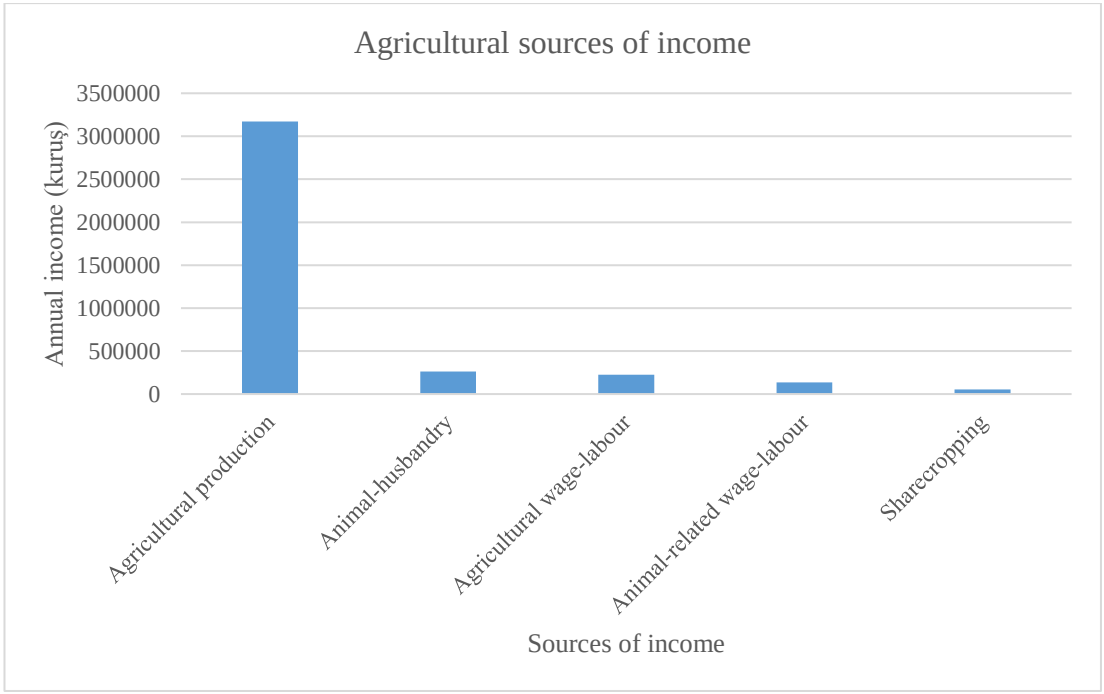


Figure 129. Agrarian income sources of villages of Pirlepe.

In the chart below (Figure 130), main non-agrarian income sources are indicated. Here, the level of occupational differentiation is much lower than Manastır as the only formidable individual alternatives are transportation as well as transport and provision of wood, addition to the locally specific activity of rope-making ("urgancılık").

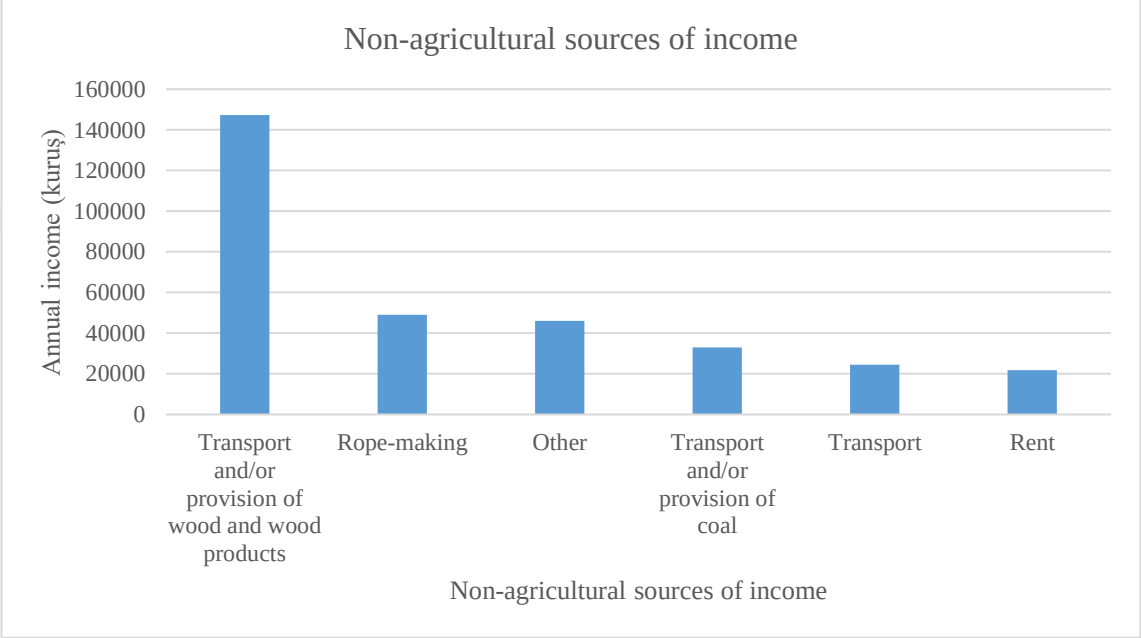


Figure 130. Non-agricultural income sources of villages of Pirlepe.

Then, how are these activities related to traditional agricultural production and smallholding peasantry? What is the nature of the relationship between peasant farmers and agricultural wage-workers?

Similarly to Manastır and İştip, agricultural and animal-husbandry related wage-workers of the villages were mostly employed by their neighbours. Of the villagers, it was possible to identify around 130 peasant households as the specific employers of the wage-workers as the latter were not only landless, but also houseless, and were indicated to dwell on the lodgings of their employers. Overall, 217 households were indicated to lack land or house or both.

Other than wage-labourers, 15 villagers have been specifically indicated as the employers of sharecroppers. While the greater part of the sharecropping arrangements took place between the fellow villagers, a few arrangements with çiftlik-owners of the district as well as the residents of other villages have also been observed. In the cases of in-village sharecropping, grain fields of 1687 dönüms were put under sharecropping, producing a revenue of 54072.5 kuruş to be shared between the parties of the arrangements after the subtraction of the *aşar* (calculated as 1/10 of the total produce). As for the sharecroppers, these arrangements occasionally co-existed with practices of independent agricultural production as well as engagement in animal husbandry and wage-labour. While the sharecroppers lacked the land and provided the oxen in most cases, there were also exceptions to this rule. In a sharecropping arrangement in the village of Nebregovo, the landowner who put grain fields and meadows under sharecropping arrangements also rented out his four oxen, most probably to his sharecroppers who lacked any draught animals of their own. There were also divergences in terms of the specific content of sharecropping agreements. In the village of Botrik (?), the landowner, lacking draught animals, gave land to a sharecropper who owned four oxen, and the sharing took place on an equal basis. In the village of Desovo, both of the parties had oxen - the landowner having four and the sharecropper having two animals - while the latter completely lacked land; in this case, the landowner got more than 2/3 of the total agricultural revenue. Still, the general pattern stands: Most of the sharecroppers owned and contributed oxen to the process of agricultural production as they lacked land on which these draught animals could be used for independent farming. As such, the ownership of draught animals once again functioned as a crucial determinant for the

formation of specific labour arrangements beyond its importance for independent farming.

On the other side of the economic spectrum, 9 villagers were indicated to own rented out inns or have shares in them, 124 villagers had income from rented out mills, and 6 villagers had rented out oxen[335] in addition to the existence of a number of çiftlik-owning village residents.[336] Beyond the relations between the villagers, some cases of employment of villagers by çiftlik-owners have also been observed in the registers.

Even at this level of information, it is possible to detect that the relations between the members of the different segments of the peasantry is far from being one of equals. Rather, there are considerable gaps among the members of the agrarian society -between a small segment of land and property-owning, labour employing peasantry, a larger group of small-holding farmers mainly relying on family-labour while sometimes getting engaged in supplementary sources of income, and the existence of a completely dispossessed group of agricultural wage-workers. In the village part of the settlement of Musaoba (Musinci), for example, 10 out of 24 resident farmers employed completely landless wage workers who resided in the dwellings of their employers. Also, it was possible to observe serious divergences among the farmers residing in this village in terms of landholding and income, the former ranging between 12 and 78 dönüms and the latter ranging between 265 and 1352.5 kuruş. In the village part of the settlement of Oba-ı Kebir, the head of the household numbered 9, lacking any draught animals of his own, rented out his grain

[335] The level of per ox ranges between 60 and 100 kuruş. Of the total of 6 households renting out oxen, 4 are completely landless and 1 has land of only 5 dönüms, once again attesting to the importance of the relationship between land and draught animals. The 6th one rents out oxen to his sharecroppers, as mentioned above.
[336] The ownership of çiftliks is mostly indicated in the çiftlik-registers, not in the village registers of Pirlepe.

fields of 53 dönüms to the head of the household numbered 10, who had 2 oxen under his control and obtained an income of 1035 kuruş from the rented land, in addition to some income from his own vineyards. In the same village, the head of the household numbered 7 put his grain fields of 53 dönüms and meadows of 1 dönüm under a sharecropping arrangement with the head of the household numbered 8, who owned two oxen but lacked any cultivable land of his own, acting as his "*şerik*," on the basis of equal distribution of shares. As such, there is indeed no single type of villager and the existing networks as well as relations of labour between the members of the peasantry are quite complex.

As previously discussed, the mere existence or the absence of wage-labour as a source of income in a household, including agricultural and animal husbandry related wage-labour, does not really indicate the economic position of the family under question. For example, in the village part of the settlement of Kadıköy (Kadinoselo), one of the richest villagers of the district of Pirlepe resided in the household registered under number 27. Here, despite the existence of large amounts of land under their holding, and significant levels of income from agriculture and animal husbandry, the members of this family were also engaged in shepherding ("*çobanlık*") and rope-making ("*urgancılık*") while they also obtained an income from the sharecropping activity they performed for Ahmed oğlu Arif, who was a resident of Bayraklıbey Mahallesi, part of the central town of Pirlepe, and the çiftlik-owner of a small *çiftlik* located in the same settlement of Kadıköy. As such, there would not be a simple and clear correlation between landownership and engagement in wage-labour. Accordingly, just like in the cases of Manastır and İştip, a number of

relations between landownership (of grain fields) and involvement in different forms of economic activity have been established in the tables below. [337]

The first table below (Table 121) displays the rate of acquisition of different sources of income by the landless families of the district compared to all village households. Here, 39% of the income from wage-labour is obtained by the landless households of the district. As such, agricultural wages should have a primary character for this group while it is likely to be supplementary to agricultural production for the remaining. This is followed by sharecropping and animal-related wage-labour.

Table 121. Income Sources of Landless Villagers of Pirlepe

Income sources	Income obtained by landless households (in kuruş)	Income obtained by all households (in kuruş)	Percentage of the income earned by landless households in all village households
Agricultural wage-labour	86792.5	224469	39%
Animal-related wage-labour	25680	133741.5	19%
Other	6815	46015.5	15%
Transport and/or provision of wood	12372.5	147310	8%
Transport	922.25	24511.25	4%
Agricultural income	10025	3171080.75	0%
Animal Husbandary	10830.5	260978	4%
Sharecropping	19189.625	52980.5	36%
Rent	2820	21723	13%
Rope-making	2535	49009.5	5%
Transport and/or provision of charcoal	1150	33013	3%

The table below (Table 122) displays all the income sources of landless village population as the main source of income has been calculated for each landless village household. Here, agricultural wage-labour constitutes the main source of income for 59% of the landless villagers; this is followed by animal-related wage-labour which constitutes the main source of income for 17% of the landless. As such, engagement in agricultural wage-labour is the most significant source of income for the majority of the landless population of the villages.

[337] The households with no income and those that were engaged in production on rented lands have been excluded from the calculations. As such, 415 out of 456 landless households are included in the analysis since the focus is on dependency on the food market.

Table 122. Main Sources of Income for Landless Villagers of Pirlepe (Number of Households)

Landless village households		
Main source of income	Number of households	Percentage
Agricultural wage-labour	245	59%
Animal-related wage-labour	69	17%
Other	18	4%
Transport and/or provision of wood	38	9%
Transport	2	0%
Agricultural income	10	2%
Animal Husbandary	5	1%
Sharecropping	18	4%
Rent	3	1%
Rope-making	4	1%
Transport and/or provision of charcoal	3	1%
TOTAL	415	100%

Table 123 displays the relative weight of all income sources obtained by the landless villagers. Once again, income from agricultural wage-labour constitutes the bulk of the income bundle.

Table 123. Main Sources of Income for Landless Villagers of Pirlepe (Level of Income)

Landless village households		
Income source	Income (in kuruş)	Income (percentage)
Agricultural wage-labour	86792.5	48%
Animal-related wage-labour	25680	14%
Other	6815	4%
Transport and/or provision of wood	12372.5	7%
Transport	922.25	1%
Agricultural income	10025	6%
Animal Husbandary	10830.5	6%
Sharecropping	19189.625	11%
Rent	2820	2%
Rope-making	2535	1%
Transport and/or provision of charcoal	1150	1%
TOTAL	179132.375	100%

While the categorization of the data in the tables above simply divides the rural population between the landless and the landowning, without regard to the extent and nature of the latter, the series of tables below aim to provide a more nuanced exposition of the relationship between the degrees of landownership and the most important form of economic activity after independent farming and animal husbandry – agricultural wage-labour.

Table 124. Landownership and Income from Agricultural Wage Labour in the Villages of Pirlepe (1)

Agricultural wage-labour					
Ranges of ownership (dönüm)	Number of households	Total land (dönüm)	Percentage in total land	Income from agricultural wage-labour (kuruş)	Percentage in total agricultural wage-labour
0 - 15	1118	6765	6%	117202	52%
15 - 37	1117	27900.5	26%	47280.5	21%
37 - 317	1117	72011.5	68%	59986.5	27%
TOTAL	3352	106677	100%	224469	100%

As Table 124 indicates in general lines, after the households holding 0 and 15 dönüms (6% of all village land) earn more than half the total income from agricultural wage-labour, 21% is obtained by households holding land between 15 and 37 dönüms (26% of all village land) and the households holding land over 37 dönüms (% 68 of all village land) obtain 27% of agricultural wage. As such, the degree of dependency on food market as well as the importance of engagement in wage labor for the overall bundle of income of the household should have diverged greatly among these groups.

Of the 706 households obtaining an income from agricultural wage-labour, 269 are completely landless while the remaining households hold 16907 dönüms of land which constitutes 16% of all land indicating the existence of a degree of market dependency in the form of the erosion of the traditional (and relative) peasant self-sufficiency. Here, the average income from agricultural wage-labour per household

is 317.9 kuruş. The relevant data is displayed in the tables below (Table 125 and Table 126).

Table 125. Landownership and Income from Agricultural Wage Labour in the Villages of Pirlepe (2)

Agricultural wage-labour	
Total landownership of land by earners of agricultural wage-labour (dönüm)	16907
Total land (dönüm)	106677
Percentage	16%

Table 126. Income from Agricultural Wage Labour in the Villages of Pirlepe

Agricultural wage-labour	
Number of households	706
Income from agricultural wage-labour (kuruş)	224469
Average per household (kuruş)	317.94

As Table 127 indicates regarding the relationship between landownership and animal-husbandary related wage labour, the households in the bottom group, holding 6% of all village land, earn 26% of the total income from engagement in animal-related wage-labour while 22% is obtained by households holding land between 15 and 37 dönüms (26% of all village land) and more than half is obtained by the households holding land over 37 dönüms (68% of all village land). In general, therefore, engagement in animal-related wage-labour has a largely supplementary character in contrast to agricultural wage-labour.

Table 127. Landownership and Income from Animal-Husbandry Related Wage Labour in the Villages of Pirlepe (1)

Animal-husbandary related wage-labour					
Ranges of ownership (dönüm)	Number of households	Total land (dönüm)	Percentage in total land	Income from animal-husbandary related wage-labour (kuruş)	Percentage in total animal-husbandary related wage-labour
0 - 15	1118	6765	6%	34855	26%
15 - 37	1117	27900.5	26%	29056	22%
37 - 317	1117	72011.5	68%	69830.5	52%
TOTAL	3352	106677	100%	133741.5	100%

Of the 497 households obtaining an income from animal-related wage-labour, 98 are completely landless while the remaining households hold 21129 dönüms of land, which constitutes 20% of all village land. Here, the average income from animal-related wage-labour per household is 269.1 kuruş. The relevant data is displayed in the tables below (Table 128 and Table 129).

Table 128. Landownership and Income from Animal-Husbandry Related Wage Labour in the Villages of Pirlepe (2)

Animal-husbandary related wage-labour	
Total landownership of land by earners of animal-husbandary related wage-labour (dönüm)	21129
Total land (dönüm)	106677
Percentage	20%

Table 129. Income from Animal-Husbandry Related Wage Labour in the Villages of Pirlepe

Animal-husbandary related wage-labour	
Number of households	497
Income from agricultural wage-labour (kuruş)	133741.5
Average per household (kuruş)	269.10

Lastly, based on the data below (Table 130), it is safe to argue that of all the rural population in the district of Pirlepe, only 15% refrains from any engagement in non-agricultural activities while 14% is completely cut-off from it and pursue alternative directions.

Table 130. Dependency on Food Market in the Villages of Pirlepe

	Number of households	Percentage in all households
No income	28	1%
No non-agricultural income	497	15%
No grain fields	456	14%

5.3 Çiftliks, landowners and producers: Land, labour and agricultural production

5.3.1 Organization of labour and types of çiftliks

In the income survey registers, 4 main types of çiftliks have been identified on the basis of the form of labour employed. The chart in Figure 131 displays the distribution of çiftlik workers among different types of çiftliks. In Pirlepe, 42% of çiftlik workers resided in çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour, 26% of çiftlik workers resided in çiftliks based on sharecropping, 26% of çiftlik workers resided in çiftliks based on wage-labour, and 6% of çiftlik cultivators consisted of tenant farmers. The chart in Figure 132 displays the distribution of individual çiftliks among different types of çiftliks. In Pirlepe, 46% of çiftliks are based on sharecropping, 24% of çiftliks are based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour, 28% of çiftliks are based on wage-labour, and 2% of çiftliks are based on tenancy.

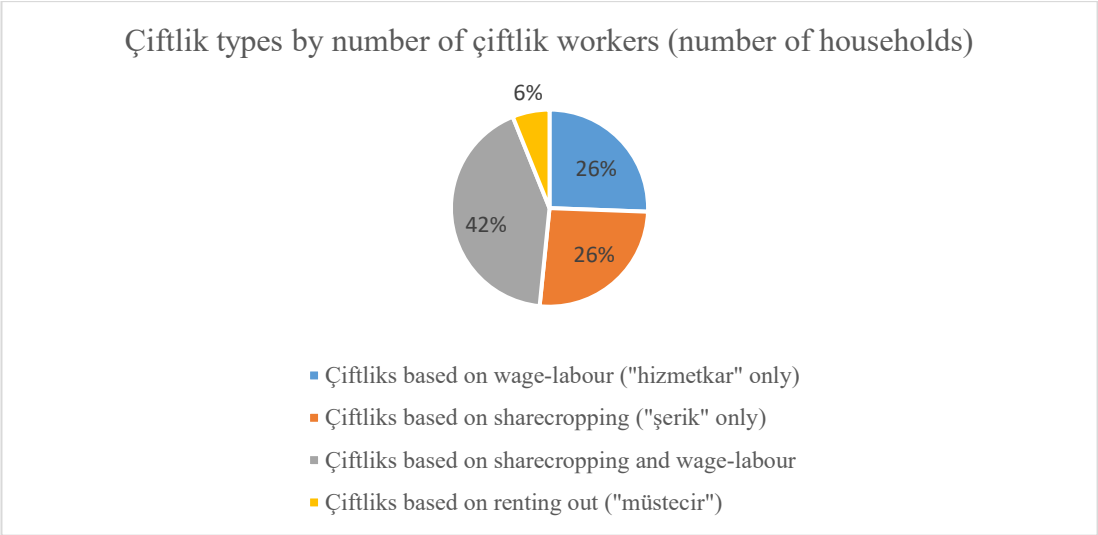


Figure 131. Çiftlik types by the number of çiftlik workers (Pirlepe).

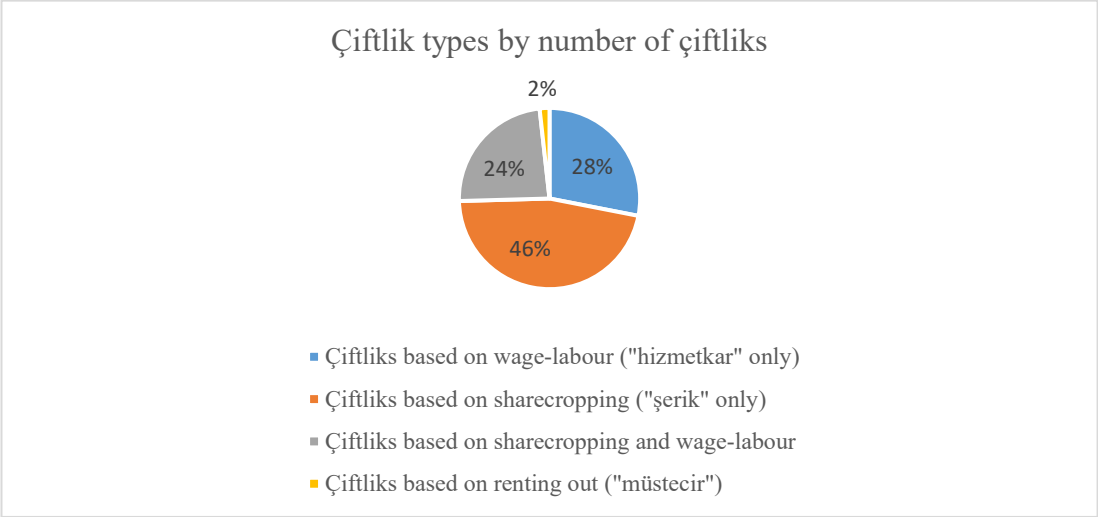


Figure 132. Çiftlik types by the number of çiftliks (Pirlepe)

As such, it is evident that sharecropping constitutes the most prevalent form of labour-arrangement while tenancy (“isticar”) remains to be the least common method. Similarly to İştip, the presence of çiftliks exclusively based on wage-labour is much more prevalent than Manastır.

In the district of Pirlepe, the çiftliks based on the exclusive use of wage-labour consists of 231 households resident in 96 çiftliks. Here, the wage-labourers

include both the permanent and temporary versions. The number of labourer households in the çiftliks based on wage labour range from 1 to 14, with a mean of 2.4 and a median of 2 (Figure 133).



Figure 133. Çiftliks based on wage-labour: Number of labourers' households (Pirlepe).

The çiftliks exclusively based on sharecropping arrangements consist of 235 sharecropping households resident in 159 çiftliks. Of these, only 10 households do not have any source of income other than their shares from agricultural production under sharecropping. As such, 225 households obtain income from independent agricultural production, animal husbandry, as well as various types of wage-labour, transport, rope-making etc. In the majority of çiftliks based on sharecropping, agricultural produce is divided in half after "aşar" is subtracted while the division proceeds in favor of the landowner in a number of cases. Shares are mostly equal among multiple sharecroppers while a number of divergences have been observed as well. The number of sharecroppers' households in this type of çiftliks range from 1 to 8, with a mean of 1.47 and a median of 1 (Figure 134).

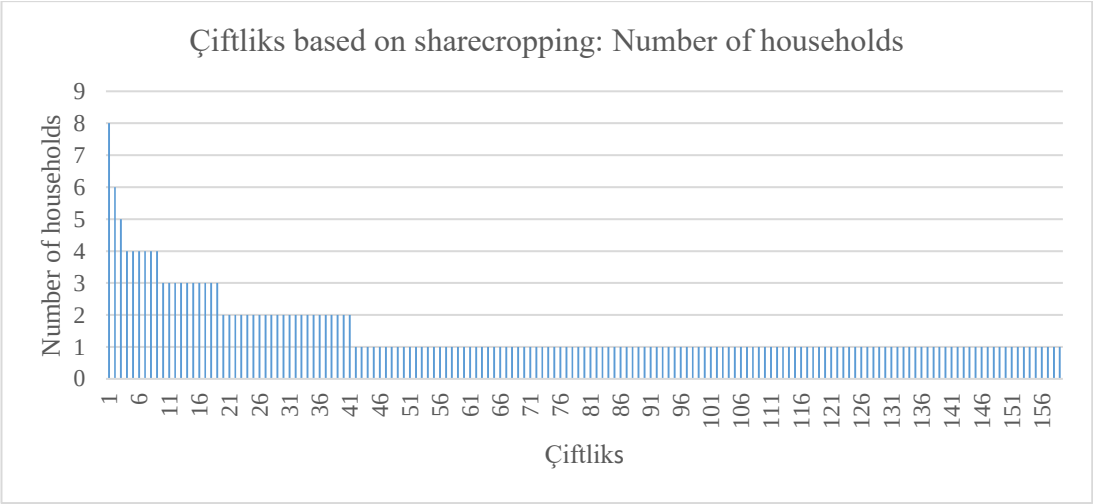


Figure 134. Çiftliks based on sharecropping: Number of sharecroppers' households (Pirlepe).

The çiftliks of mixed labour type are mainly based on sharecropping with the additional employment of wage-labour, both in its permanent and temporary / function-specific versions. Of the total number of 382 households resident in this type of çiftliks, 186 households consist of sharecropping families, the members of which are often engaged in additional sources of income. The remaining residents in this category of çiftliks mainly comprise wage workers. In most çiftliks based on this combination, the general rule is that agricultural produce is divided in half after "aşar" is subtracted, and shares are often distributed equally among multiple sharecroppers. Nevertheless, there are also several cases in this group whereby the division favors the landowner and considerable variations regarding the share apportioned to each sharecropper can be observed in a given çiftlik. The number of households in these çiftliks range from 2 to 34, with a mean of 4.7 and a median of 4 (Figure 135).

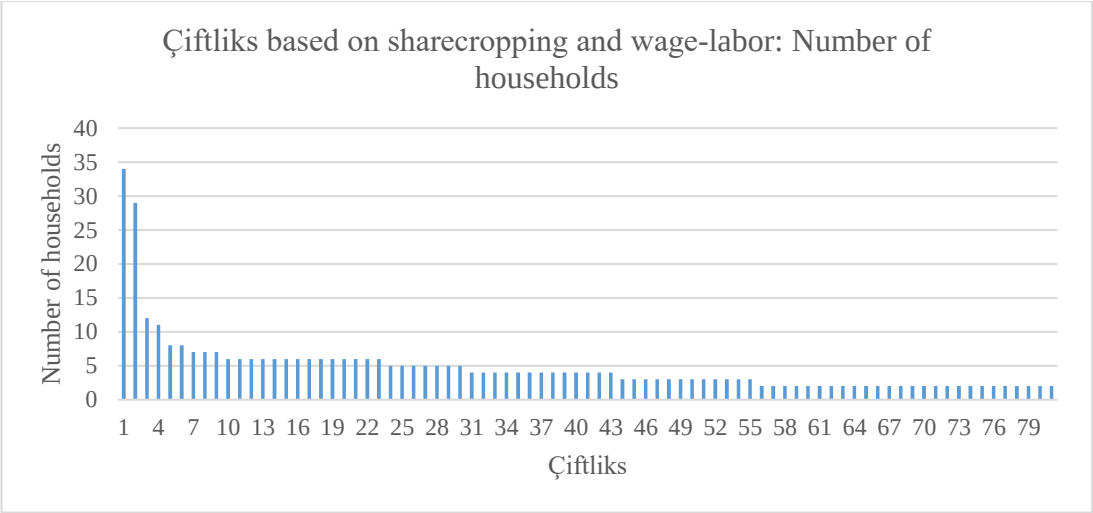


Figure 135. Çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage labour: Number of households (Pirlepe).

Just like in the previous cases, instances of labour mobility between villages and çiftliks, which either co-existed in the same settlement or existed side by side in their "pure" forms, have been observed. The details of such co-existence can be observed in the map below (Figure 136).[338] The colour-coding is indicated in Table 131.

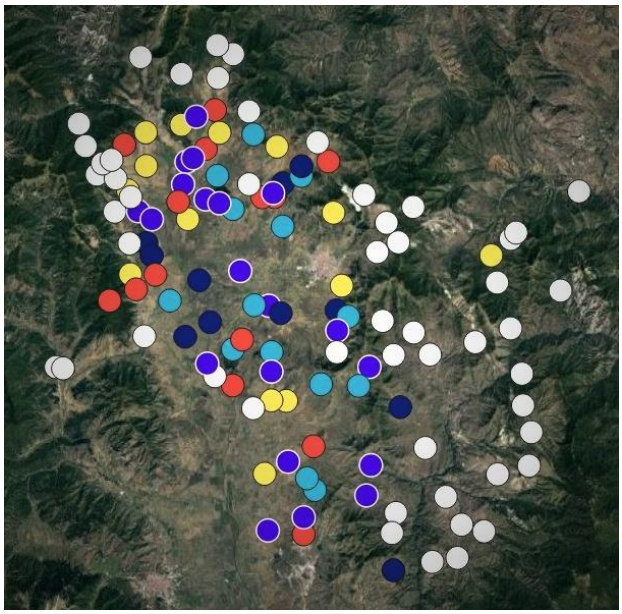


Figure 136. Çiftliks and villages of Pirlepe.

[338] This map is a more detailed version of the map in Figure 111 (Section 5.1.1)

Table 131. Color-Coding of (Figure 135)

Level of çiftlik formation	Colour coding
0	White
0.01 - 0.09	Yellow
0.124 - 0.47	Orange
0.5 - 0.72	Blue
0.75 - 0.96	Navy blue
1	Purple

4.3.2 Patterns of ownership and agricultural production

The following charts have been prepared to demonstrate the distribution of landownership across as well as within different types of çiftliks.

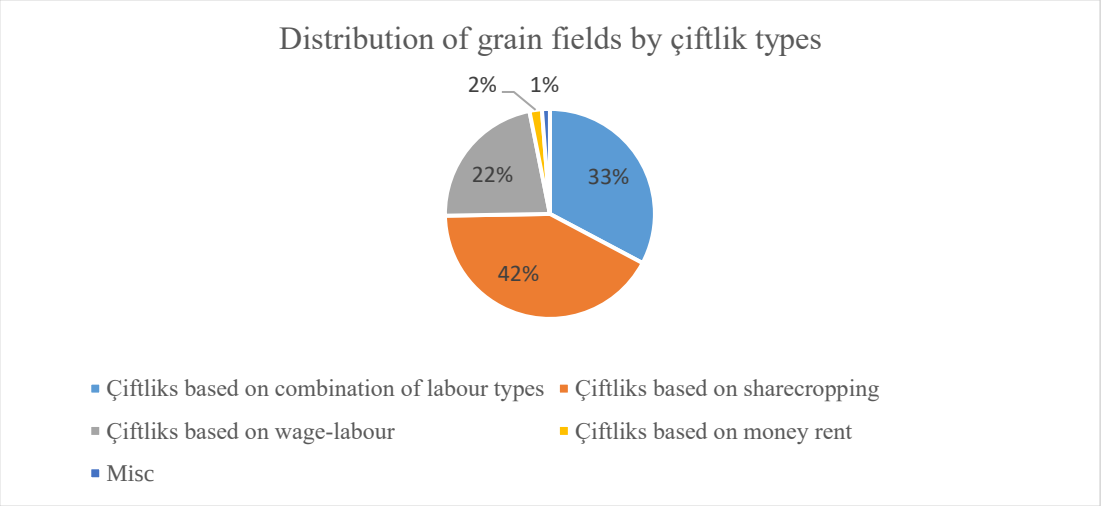


Figure 137. Distribution of grain fields by çiftlik types (Pirlepe).

The chart on Figure 137 displays that the majority of the grain fields in the çiftliks of the district are mainly concentrated under arrangements of sharecropping while 22% is exclusively under wage-labour.

The two tables below (Table 132 and Table 133) display the main information of landownership for all types of land in different types of çiftliks. In Table 132, percentages have been calculated with reference to the total amount of land for each type of çiftlik; in Table 133, percentages demonstrate which part of

each type of land is apportioned to each type of çiftlik. Here, both calculations attest to the importance of grain fields in terms of landholding practices.

Table 132. Landownership in the Çiftliks of Pirlepe (1)

	Grain fields		Meadow		Vineyard		Hemp field		Vegetable garden		Flax field		Corn field		Tobacco field		TOTAL	
Types of çiftlik	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage
Çiftliks based on wage-labour	10637	93%	766.5	7%	19.5	0%	1.5	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	9.5	0%	11433.5	100%
Çiftliks based on sharecropping	20171	93%	1213.5	6%	262.25	1%	81.75	0%	0.5	0%	3	0%	17	0%	10	0%	21758.5	100%
Çiftliks based on combination of labour types	15745	92%	971.5	6%	245.5	1%	71.5	0%	0	0%	0	0%	36.5	0%	15.5	0%	17085	100%
Çiftliks based on money rent	921	90%	73	7%	32	3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1026	100%
Misc	586	95%	26.5	4%	6	1%	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	618.5	100%

Table 133. Landownership in the Çiftliks of Pirlepe (2)

	Grain fields		Meadow		Vineyard		Hemp field		Vegetable garden		Flax field		Corn field		Tobacco field	
Types of çiftlik	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage	Dönüm	Percentage
Çiftliks based on wage-labour	10637	22%	766.5	25%	19.5	3%	1.5	1%	0	0%	0	0%		0%	9.5	27%
Çiftliks based on sharecropping	20171	42%	1213.5	40%	262.25	46%	81.75	53%	0.5	100%	3	100%	17	32%	10	29%
Çiftliks based on combination of labour types	15745	33%	971.5	32%	245.5	43%	71.5	46%	0	0%	0	0%	36.5	68%	15.5	44%
Çiftliks based on money rent	921	2%	73	2%	32	6%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Misc	586	1%	26.5	1%	6	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
TOTAL	48059	100%	3051	100%	565.25	100%	154.75	100%	0.5	100%	3	100%	53.5	100%	35	100%

The series of tables and charts below display the landownership data for each different type of çiftlik separately. The table below (Table 134) displays the distribution of the ownership of all types of land between the çiftlik-owners and the wage-labourers in the çiftliks based on wage-labour. In general, the majority of the lands consist of grain fields, followed by meadows and then vineyards. Here, the ownership of grain fields and meadows are almost completely monopolized by the çiftlik-owners.

Table 134. Landownership in the Çiftliks Based on Wage Labour

Çiftliks based on wage labour	Çiftlik-owner (dönüm)	Çiftlik worker (dönüm)	TOTAL (dönüm)	Çiftlik-owner (percentage)	Çiftlik worker (percentage)	TOTAL (percentage)
Grain fields	10603.5	33	10636.5	100%	0%	100%
Meadow	760.5	6	766.5	99%	1%	100%
Vineyard	14.5	5	19.5	74%	26%	100%
Tobacco field	7	2.5	9.5	74%	26%	100%
Hemp field	1.5	0	1.5	100%	0%	100%
TOTAL	11387	46.5	11433.5	100%	0%	100%

Regarding all of the çiftliks based on wage-labour, the biggest agglomeration of fields held by a çiftlik-owner in a single çiftlik comprises 560 dönüms while the average is land of 115.25 dönüms with a median of 100.[339] The distribution of the fields among this type of çiftliks is displayed in the chart below (Figure 138).

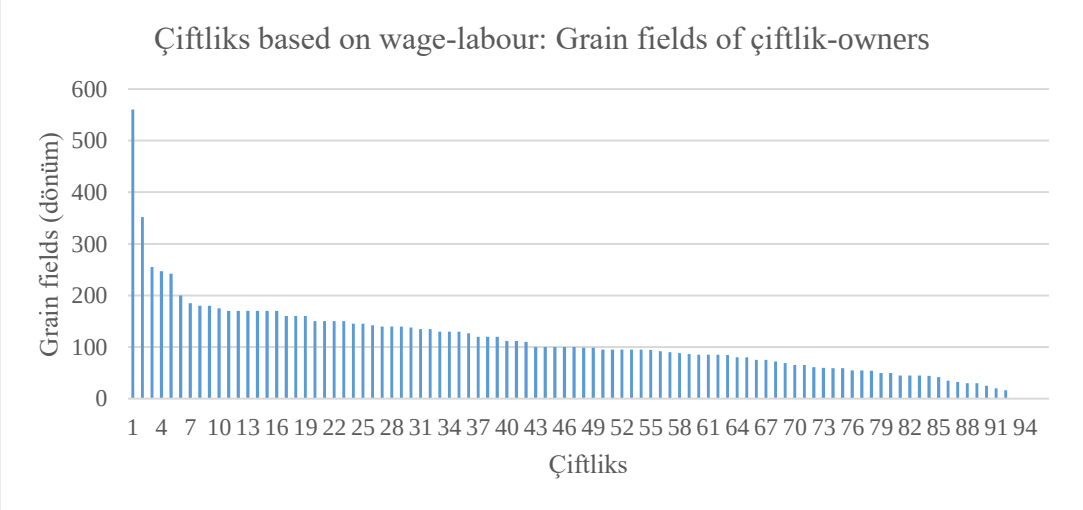


Figure 138. Çiftliks based on wage labour: Grain fields of çiftliks-owners (Pirlepe).

The table below (Table 135) displays the distribution of the ownership of all types of land between çiftlik-owners and sharecroppers in the çiftliks based exclusively on sharecropping. In general, the majority of the lands consist of grain fields, followed by meadows and vineyards. Here, the çiftlik-owners display almost complete

[339] 4 entries of 0 have been excluded.

presence in the ownership of grain fields and meadows while the greater part of the vineyards is held by çiftlik workers.

Table 135. Landownership in the Çiftliks Based on Sharecropping

Çiftliks based on sharecropping	Çiftlik-owner (dönüm)	Çiftlik worker (dönüm)	TOTAL (dönüm)	Çiftlik-owner (percentage)	Çiftlik worker (percentage)	TOTAL (percentage)
Grain fields	18984	1186.5	20170.5	94%	6%	100%
Meadow	1075	138.5	1213.5	89%	11%	100%
Vineyard	79.5	182.75	262.25	30%	70%	100%
Hemp field	6	75.75	81.75	7%	93%	100%
Corn field	0	17	17	0%	100%	100%
Tobacco field	0	10	10	0%	100%	100%
Flax field	3	0	3	100%	0%	100%
Vegetable garden	0	0.5	0.5	0%	100%	100%

Regarding all of the çiftliks based exclusively on sharecropping, the biggest agglomeration of all fields held by the çiftlik-owner in a single çiftlik consists of land 900 dönüms while the average is 120.9 with a median of 100. The distribution of the fields among this type of çiftliks is displayed in the chart below (Figure 139).

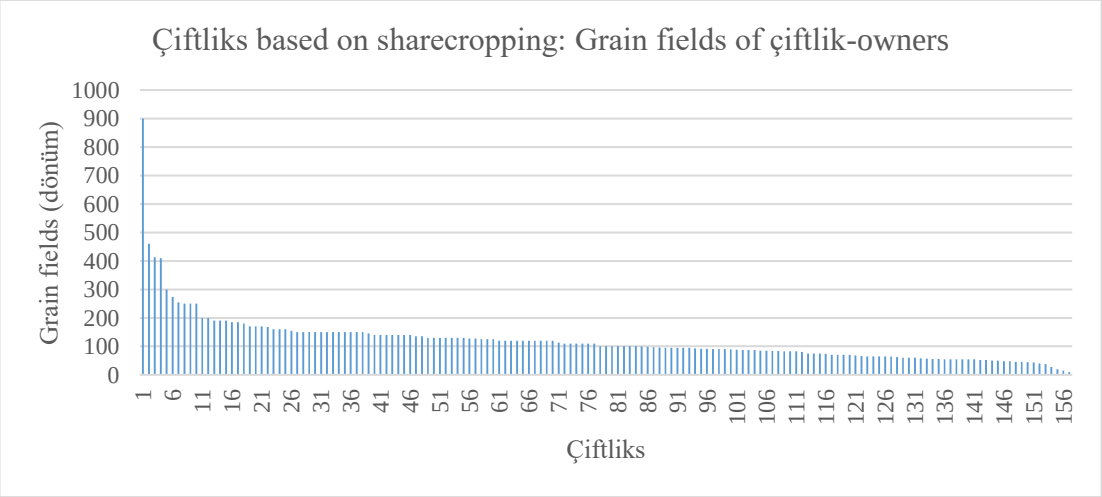


Figure 139. Çiftliks based on sharecropping: Grain fields of çiftlik-owners (Pirlepe).

The table below (Table 136) displays the distribution of the ownership of all types of land between the çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers in the çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour. In general, the majority of the lands

consist of grain fields, followed by meadows and vineyards. Here, the çiftlik-owners hold almost all of the grain fields, and dominated the ownership of meadows while the çiftlik workers display a significant presence in the ownership of vineyards.

Table 136. Landownership in the Çiftliks Based on the Combination of Sharecropping and Wage Labour

Çiftliks based on the combination of labour types	Çiftlik-owner (dönüm)	Çiftlik worker (dönüm)	TOTAL (dönüm)	Çiftlik-owner (percentage)	Çiftlik worker (percentage)	TOTAL (percentage)
Grain fields	14994	750.5	15744.5	95%	5%	100%
Meadow	870.5	101	971.5	90%	10%	100%
Vineyard	76	169.5	245.5	31%	69%	100%
Hemp field	5	66.5	71.5	7%	93%	100%
Corn field	0	36.5	36.5	0%	100%	100%
Tobacco field	2	13.5	15.5	13%	87%	100%
TOTAL	15947.5	1137.5	17085			

Regarding all of the çiftliks based on a combination of sharecropping and wage-labour, the biggest agglomeration of grain fields under sharecropping arrangements consists of 785 dönüms with an average of 185 and a median of 160. This category is where the bigger production operations are taking place (Figure 140).

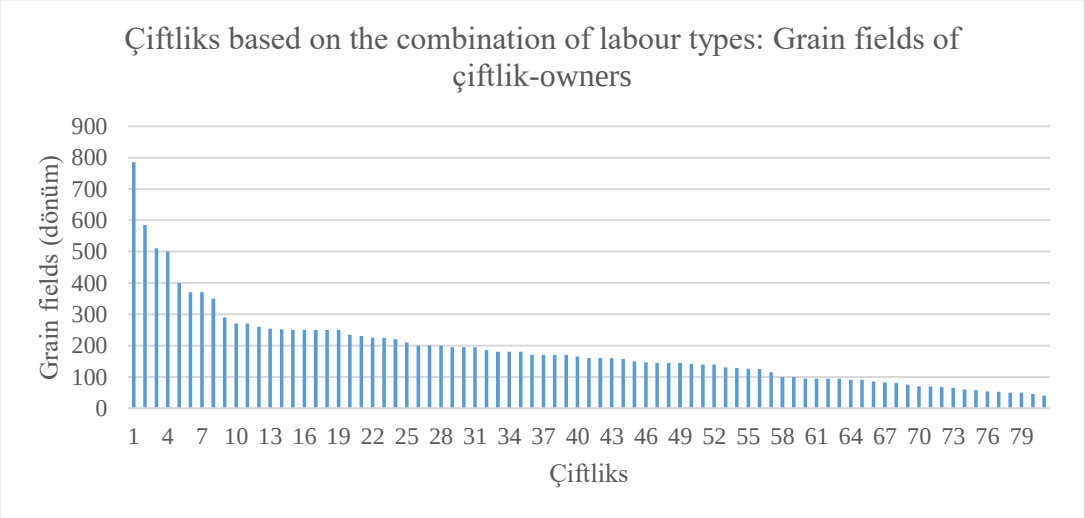


Figure 140. Çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage labour: Grain fields of çiftlik-owners (Pirlepe).

To sum up, the table below (Table 137) displays the distribution of all types of land between çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers for all the çiftliks located in the district of Pirlepe whereby the majority of the lands, and mainly grain fields, is monopolized by the çiftlik-owners while the producers display their main presence in the ownership of vineyards, hemp fields, tobacco fields, and corn fields.

Table 137. Distribution of All Types of Land among Çiftlik-Owners and Çiftlik Workers (Pirlepe)

Land types	Çiftlik-owners (dönüm)	Çiftlik workers (dönüm)	TOTAL (dönüm)	Çiftlik-owners (percentage)	Çiftlik workers (percentage)
Grain fields	46088.5	1970	48058.5	96%	4%
Meadow	2788	263	3051	91%	9%
Vineyard	176	389.25	565.25	31%	69%
Hemp field	12.5	142.25	154.75	8%	92%
Flax field	3	0	3	100%	0%
Corn field	0	53.5	53.5	0%	100%
Tobacco field	9	26	35	26%	74%
Vegetable garden	0	0.5	0.5	0%	100%
TOTAL (dönüm)	49077	2844.5	51921.5	95%	5%

All in all, the çiftlik economy of Pirlepe was mainly based on the ownership of grain fields and production of grains. Grains were not confined to wheat, but it was practically the most significant product in the çiftlik economy of Pirlepe of the mid-19th century. In the following charts, the respective amounts of income obtained from grain production on fields held by çiftlik-owners and çiftlik-workers are displayed in comparison.[340]

The chart below (Figure 141) displays the distribution of the revenue obtained

[340] Unit prices of grains (in *kuruş* per *kile)* as calculated on the basis of agricultural tax, are as follows: Wheat ("*Hınta*"): 10; Rye ("*Çavdar*"): 7.5; Barley ("*Şair*"): 7; Oat ("*Alef*"): 3; Corn ("*Mısır*"): 7.5; Vetch ("*Burçak*"): 7.5.

from the production of grains on the fields of çiftlik-owners. Here, the main income originates from the production of wheat, constituting 47% of total revenue obtained from the production of grains, followed by barley, constituting 26%, and then by rye, constituting 25%.

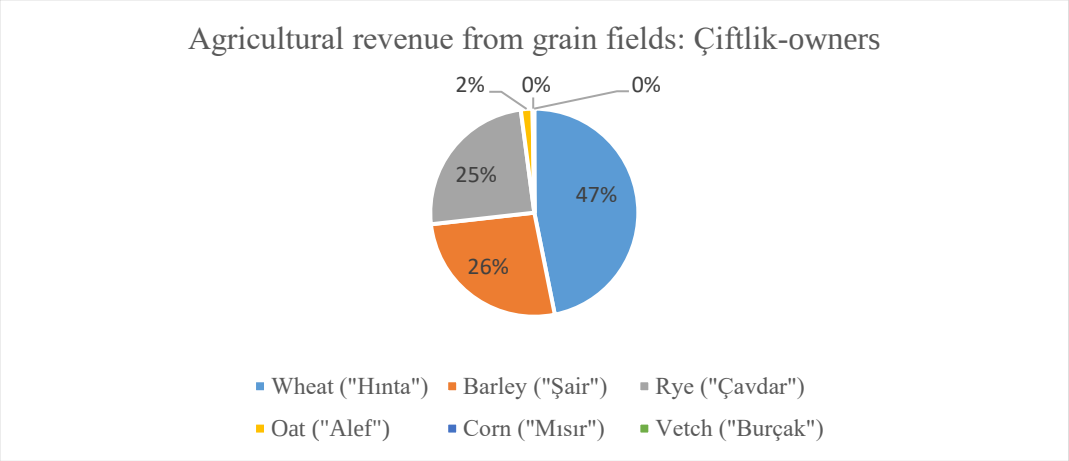


Figure 141. Agricultural produce from grain fields: Çiftlik-owners (Pirlepe).

The chart below (Figure 142) displays the distribution of the revenue obtained from the production of grains on the fields of çiftlik-workers. Here, the main revenue originates from production of wheat, constituting 39% of total income obtained from grains, followed by rye, constituting 30%, and then by barley, constituting 23%.

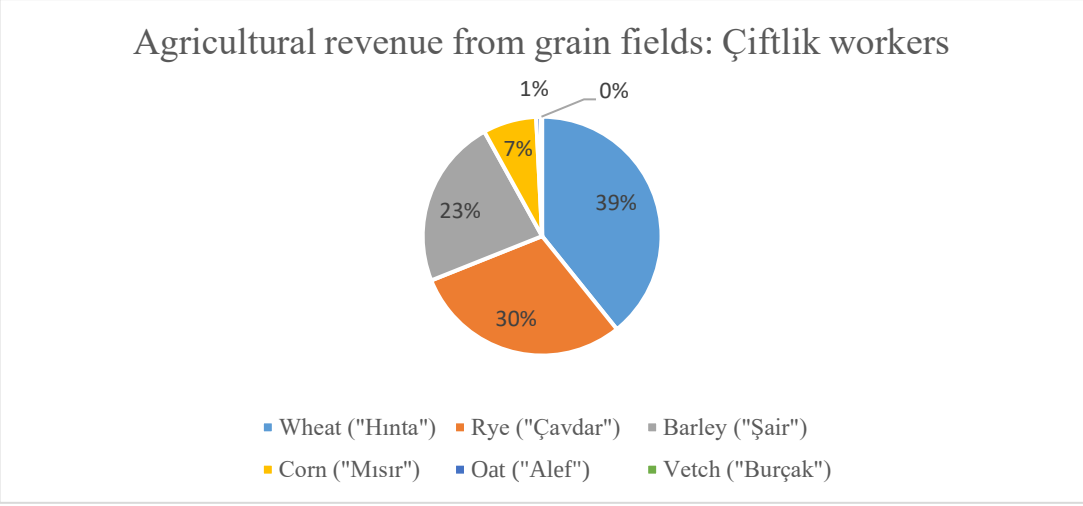


Figure 142. Agricultural produce from grain fields: Çiftlik workers (Pirlepe).

The series of charts below display the same distribution for each specific type of çiftlik. While the specific percentages vary, wheat production retains its significance (Figures 143, 144, and 145).

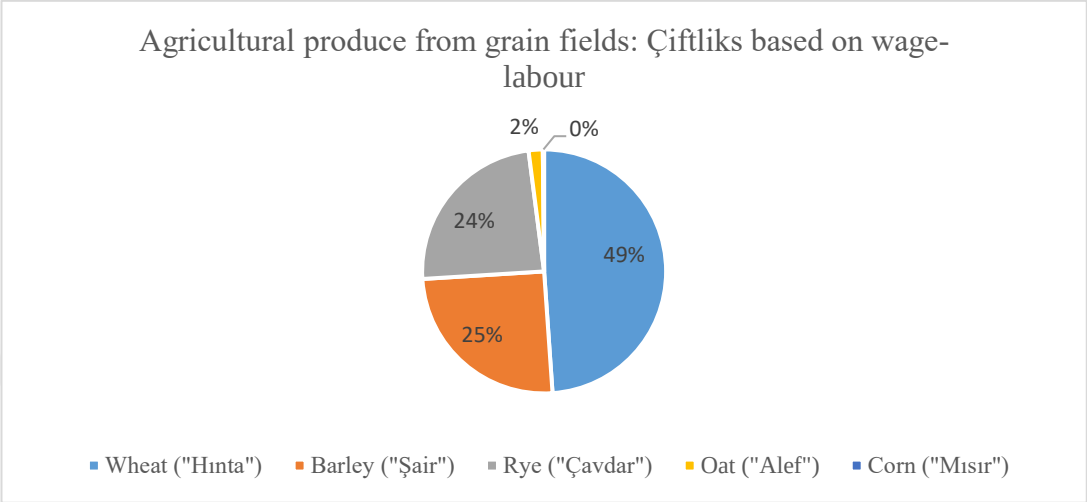


Figure 143. Agricultural revenue from grain fields: Çiftliks based on wage labour (Pirlepe).

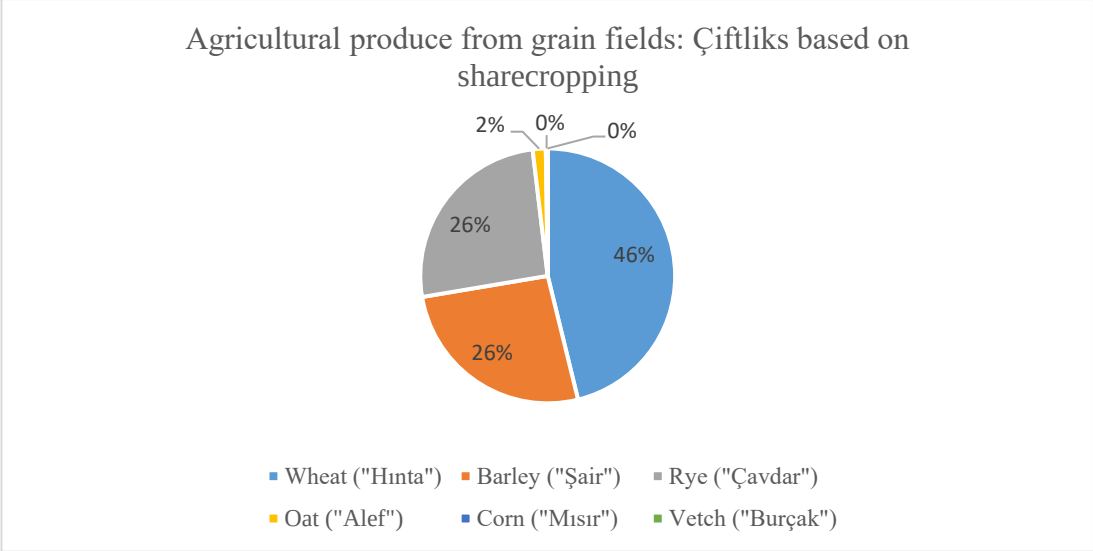


Figure 144. Agricultural revenue from grain fields: Çiftliks based on sharecropping (Pirlepe)

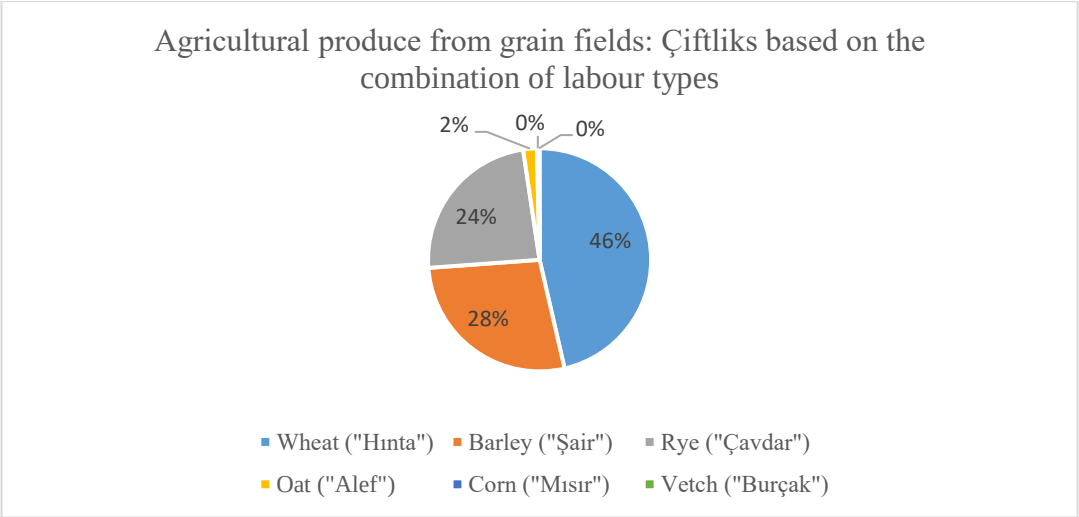


Figure 145. Agricultural revenue from grain fields: Çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage labour (Pirlepe).

The graph below (Figure 146) combines the data given separately in the three charts above.

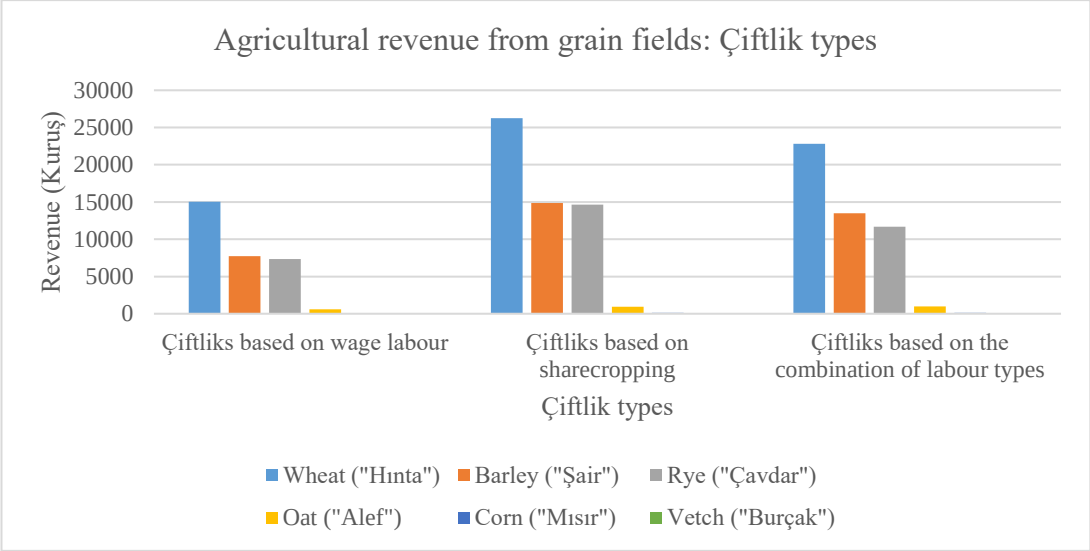


Figure 146. Agricultural revenue from grain fields: Çiftlik types (Pirlepe).

Lastly, the distribution of grains in terms of their amount can be observed in the chart below (Figure 147 and Figure 148).

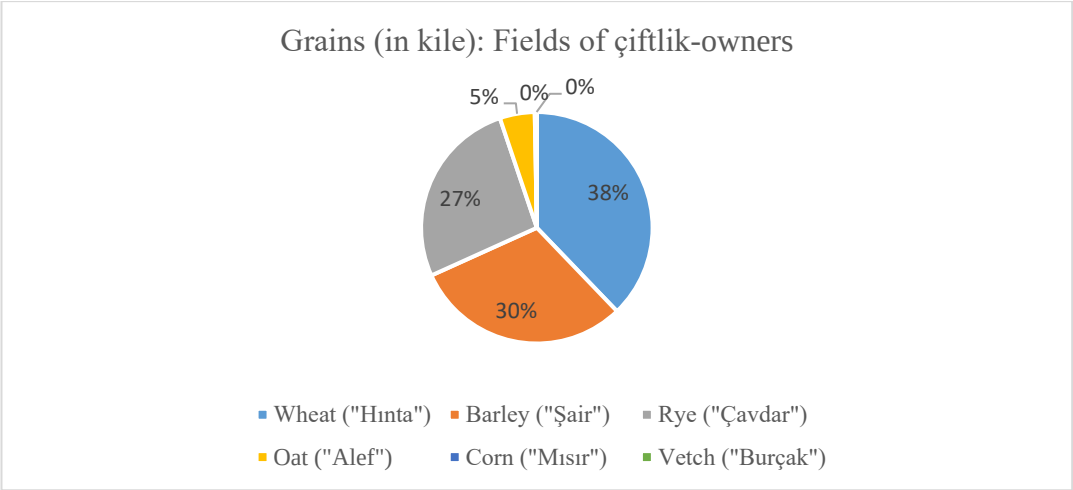


Figure 147. Grains from the fields of çiftlik-owners of Pirlepe

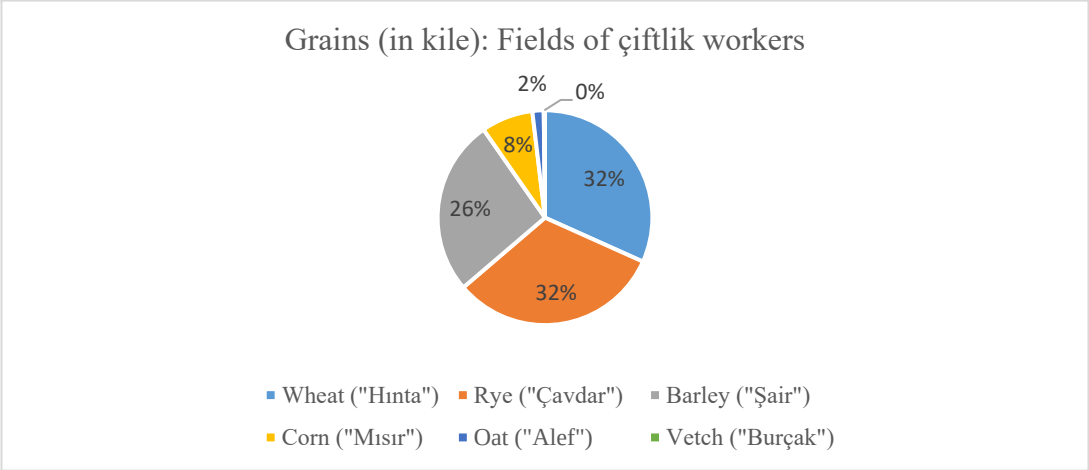


Figure 148. Grains from the fields of çiftlik workers of Pirlepe

The tables below (Table 138 and Table 139) show the lands under cultivation and the revenue obtained from them in the lands owned by çiftlik-owners and çiftlik-workers.

Table 138. Agricultural revenue from land under production in the çiftliks of Pirlepe (1)

	Çiftlik-owners		Çiftlik workers		Total	
Land type	Revenue (in kuruş)	Percentage	Revenue (in kuruş)	Percentage	Revenue (in kuruş)	Percentage
Grain fields	1384140	94%	95042.5	6%	1479182.5	100%
Meadow	98870	89%	12815	11%	111685	100%
Vineyard	8425	34%	16577.5	66%	25002.5	100%
Hemp field	1090	8%	12615	92%	13705	100%
Flax field	300	100%	0	0%	300	100%
Corn field	0	0%	1417.5	100%	1417.5	100%
Tobacco field	1800	28%	4710	72%	6510	100%
Vegetable garden	0	0%	250	100%	250	100%

Table 139. Agricultural revenue from land under production in the çiftliks of Pirlepe (2)

	Çiftlik-owners		Çiftlik workers	
Land type	Revenue (in kuruş)	Percentage	Revenue (in kuruş)	Percentage
Grain fields	1384140	93%	95042.5	66%
Meadow	98870	7%	12815	9%
Vineyard	8425	1%	16577.5	12%
Hemp field	1090	<1%	12615	9%
Flax field	300	<1%	0	0%
Corn field	0	0%	1417.5	1%
Tobacco field	1800	0%	4710	3%
Vegetable garden	0	0%	250	0%
TOTAL (dönüm)	1494625	100%	143427.5	100%

The present analysis of the means of production will be concluded with the exposition of the data on the ownership of draught animals. The following tables (Table 140, Table 141, and Table 142) and the graphs derived from them (Figure 149 and Figure 150) demonstrate the distribution of draught animals between çiftlik-owners and producers for each type of çiftlik. In relation to workforce and land, the çiftliks based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour contains most of the draught animals, followed by çiftliks based on sharecropping and çiftliks based on wage-labour.[341]

[341] Categeories of animals include "*oxen, öküz manda / manda öküzü, erkek manda, kısır manda, manda, çift mandası, bargirl, harman bargiri/kısrağı, hatabkeş merkeb/bargirl, hergele bargir/kısrak, binek bargiri/katırı, merkeb, dişi merkeb, kısrak, hergele / hergele kısrak, kısır/dölsüz inek*."

Table 140. Draught Animals: Çiftliks Based on Wage Labour

Çiftliks based on wage-labour	Oxen (number)	Oxen (percentage)	All potential draught animals (number)	All draught animals (percentage)	Pack animals (number)	Pack animals (percentage)
Çiftlik-owner	420	99%	447	99%	231	75%
Çiftlik worker	4	1%	4	1%	79	25%
Total	424	100%	451	100%	310	100%

Table 141. Draught Animals: Çiftliks Based on Sharecropping

Çiftliks based on sharecropping	Oxen (number)	Oxen (percentage)	All potential draught animals (number)	All draught animals (percentage)	Pack animals (number)	Pack animals (percentage)
Çiftlik-owner	18	3%	22	3%	19	4%
Çiftlik worker	693	97%	717	97%	410	96%
Total	711	100%	739	100%	429	100%

Table 142. Draught Animals: Çiftliks Based on the Combination of Sharecropping and Wage Labour

Çiftliks based on the combination of labour types	Oxen (number)	Oxen (percentage)	All potential draught animals (number)	All draught animals (percentage)	Pack animals (number)	Pack animals (percentage)
Çiftlik-owner	172	22%	184	23%	106	19%
Çiftlik worker	612	78%	629	77%	446	81%
Total	784	100%	813	100%	552	100%

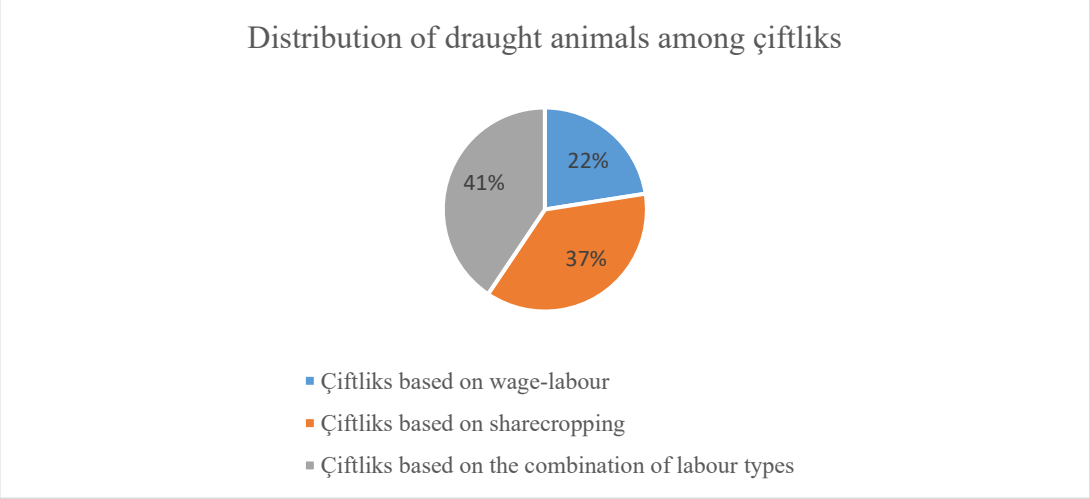


Figure 149. Distribution of draught animals among types of çiftliks.

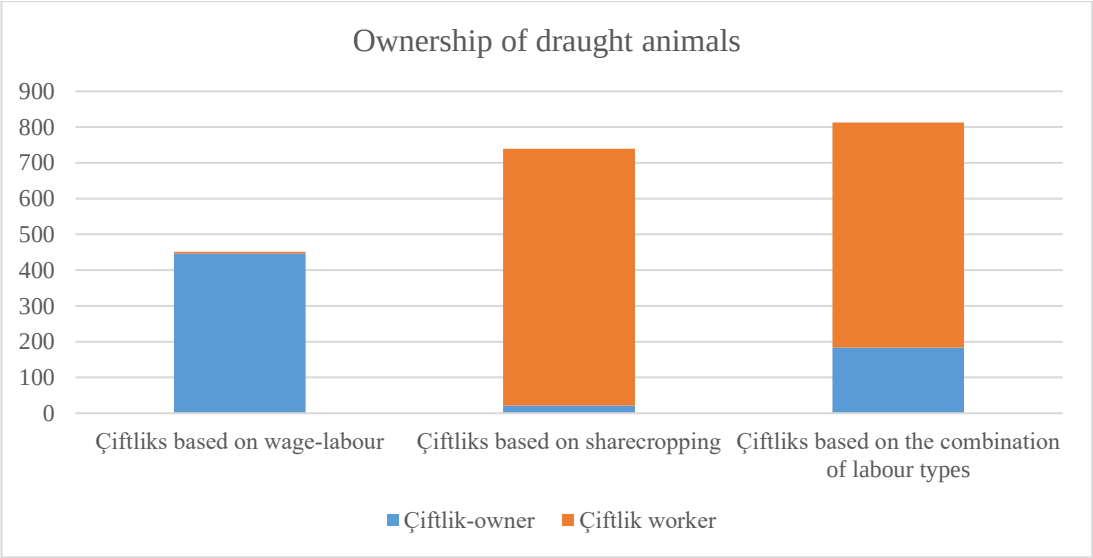


Figure 150. Ownership of draught animals by çiftlik-owners and çiftlik workers of Pirlepe.

The çiftliks exclusively based on wage-labour and sharecropping display quite different characteristics as long as production arrangements can be considered as different combinations of the modules of land, labour and draught animals, which constitute the only visible categories in the sources under study. In the former, the çiftlik-owners not only provide the land, but also the draught animals in the majority of cases, which constitute the main tool of production in a traditional agrarian setting. In the latter, sharecroppers contribute a significant part of draught animals to the production process. As such, the ownership of draught animals, and especially of oxen, may constitute one of the main lines of division between the possibility of a landless rural producer to work as a sharecropper or as a wage-worker.

5.3.3 Çiftlik-owners of Pirlepe

In the first part of the present chapter, based on the data derived from the temettuat registers of rural Pirlepe, it has been demonstrated that çiftlik-owners had control over one-fifth of the labour-force as well as around one-third of the total amount of cultivable land within the district. As such, it has been argued that, in the district of

Pirlepe in the mid-19th century, there was a certain degree of concentration of the main factors of production, and especially land, in the hands of a group of landowners, who did not themselves directly engage in agricultural production -in the fashion of small-holding farmers- but appropriated a part of the agricultural surplus due their monopoly over landownership, against the background of a mainly rural society a portion of which was completely dispossessed.

In this context, the question of the internal configuration of this specific group of landowners comes to the fore with renewed importance in the face of the existence of a degree of inequality and stratification in the villages and the cases of employment of the labour of fellow villagers by the richer segments of the peasantry as well as the cases of çiftlik-owners with rural roots in addition to the traditional members of the powerful ayan families and people of various urban backgrounds residing in the central town of the district. For the purpose of understanding the social and economic characteristics of a broad group legally labelled as "sahib-i çiftlik", the temettuat surveys of rural Pirlepe has been analyzed in combination with the temettuat survey of the central town of the district.[342]

To start with, the graph below (Figure 151) displays the distribution of the çiftliks of Pirlepe on the basis of their size as the initial results indicate the existence of considerable divergence.

[342] The temettuat survey of the central town of Pirlepe is registered in the defter titled BOA ML.VRD.TMT.d.11447. The transcription of this defter in (Aral, "Temettuat Defterlerine Göre 19. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Rumeli Eyaleti Pirlepe Kazası'nın Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu") has also been consulted.

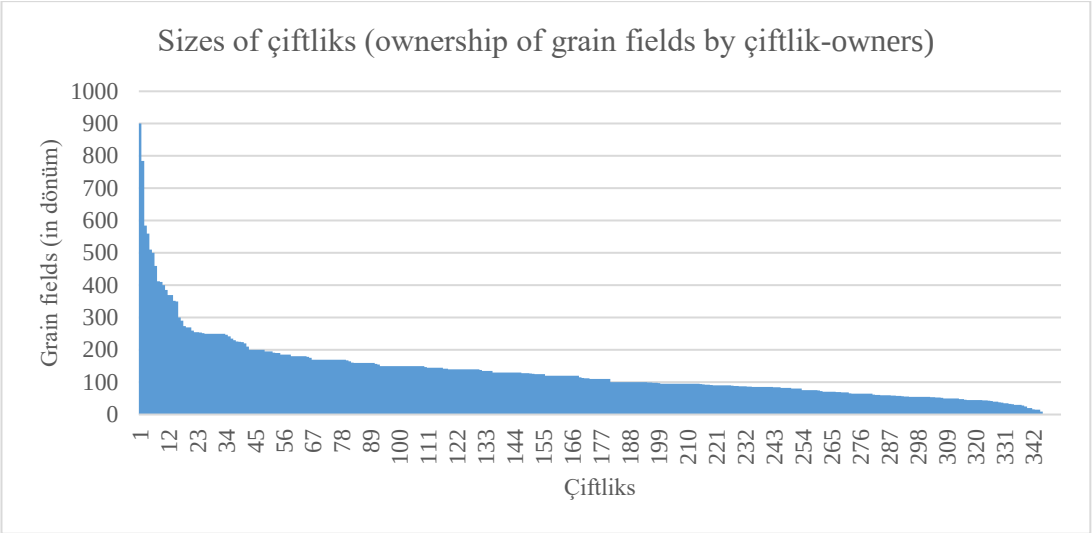


Figure 151. Distribution of the sizes of çiftliks of Pirlepe (1).

The table below (Table 143) displays the general distribution of çiftliks according to their size, again with a focus on the extent of landownership by çiftlik-owners in individual çiftliks. In the first two columns of this table, the çiftliks of Pirlepe have been divided into 10 equal parts each of which consist of 35 çiftliks on the basis of their size in an ascending order. In the third column, specific ranges have been indicated for the sizes of each 10% portion of the çiftliks. The following columns express in percentages and in average values, the size of each group of çiftliks under question. As the table demonstrates, the top 10% of the çiftliks encompasses almost one-third of the total çiftlik land in the district while this latter value steadily decreases, reaching a minimum of 2% for the bottom 10% of the çiftliks operating in the region.

Table 143. Distribution of the Çiftlik Sizes of Pirlepe

Number of çiftlik units	Percentage of çiftlik units	Çiftlik size (ranges in dönüm)	Çiftlik land (total dönüm)	Çiftlik land (percentage)	Average land per çiftlik (dönüm)
36	10%	0 - 45	970.5	2%	26.96
36	10%	46 - 61	1974	4%	54.83
35	10%	65 - 82	2522	5%	72.06
35	10%	84 - 95	3104	7%	88.69
35	10%	95 - 110	3487	8%	99.63
35	10%	110 - 130	4259	9%	121.69
35	10%	130 - 150	4909	11%	140.26
35	10%	150 - 170	5565.5	12%	159.01
35	10%	170 - 235	6779	15%	193.69
35	10%	242 - 900	12518.5	27%	357.67

The chart below (Figure 152) has been derived from the data in Table 143 in order to display the percentages of total land in each range of çiftliks.

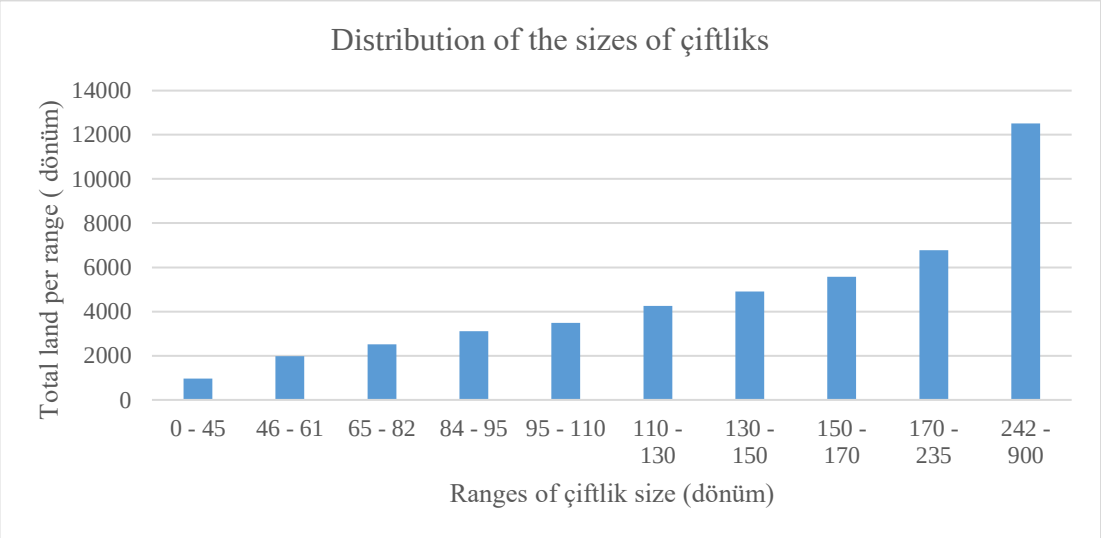


Figure 152. Distribution of the sizes of çiftliks of Pirlepe (2).

All in all, the data under analysis so far not only demonstrates that there are many divergences among individual çiftliks in terms of organization of labour and size, but it also indicates that the title of "sahib-i çiftlik" is applied to a broad variety of landholder types: On the one hand, there is the group of bigger çiftliks the owners of which keep great amounts of cultivable land under their control, and also control a

considerable part of the labour-force of rural society and consequently attain significant levels of agricultural revenue. At the same time, there is even a larger number of çiftliks the owners of which control much humbler amounts of land and revenue, and are engaged in simpler configurations of labour relations.

Regarding all of the çiftlik-owners in the district of Pirlepe, excluding around 18 owners about whom there is no information, the greater majority resides in the central town of the district in addition to quite a considerable number of landowners residing in the central towns of the nearby districts, such as Manastır.[343] Among the çiftlik-holding group residing in the central town of Pirlepe, rent-taking is a rather common source of income for the majority. While the legal definitions are omitted for the occupation and status of this group in the registers, one can find people of various backgrounds on the basis of their income sources, including official bureaucratic and military positions, various crafts and trades as well as people presumably engaged in wage-labour. Other than these, there are also çiftlik-owners in the lower segments of income engaged in agricultural production and animal-husbandry. Of all these people, 19 çiftlik-owners do not have any sort of income from urban occupations other than what they get from their çiftlik activity while 24 çiftlik-owners obtain an income below 100 kuruş.

In the rural registers under study, while there are many figures among the bigger çiftlik-owners who hold the titles of Paşazade, Bey, Ağa and Efendi, as well as figures with religious and military connotations, all in all, they make up one-fifth of the owner of çiftliks while 79% do not hold titles at all (Table 144). Table 144 also demonstrates the distribution of the size of çiftliks on the basis of whether or not çiftlik-owners carry a traditional title. It shows that those çiftlik-owners with

[343] Of 304 çiftlik-owners, 203 reside in Pirlepe while 83 are from other districts. Of the total of 23 village-residing çiftlik-owners, only 6 are residents of Pirlepe while a total of 197 çiftlik-owners are located in the central town of the district.

traditional titles hold one-third of cultivable lands in the region under their possession while their çiftliks tend to be operations of a larger scale.

Table 144. Titles of the Çiftlik-Owners and Landownership (Pirlepe)

	Number of çiftlik units	Percentage of çiftlik units	Grain fields owned (dönüm)	Percentage of grain fields	Average size per çiftlik-unit
No title	277	79%	31635	69%	114.2057762
Title (Bey, Ağa, Efendi etc.)	67	19%	13793.5	30%	205.8731343
Women	8	2%	660	1%	82.5

The distribution of çiftlik size for each group indicated in Table 144 is displayed in the graphs below (Figure 153 and Figure 154). Here, the mean and the median values for the distribution of çiftlik size for each group are as follows (in dönüm): For the çiftlik-owners holding titles, the mean is 205.87 and the median is 160; for the çiftlik-owners without titles, the mean is 114.2 and the median is 100. The following graphs visualize this data.

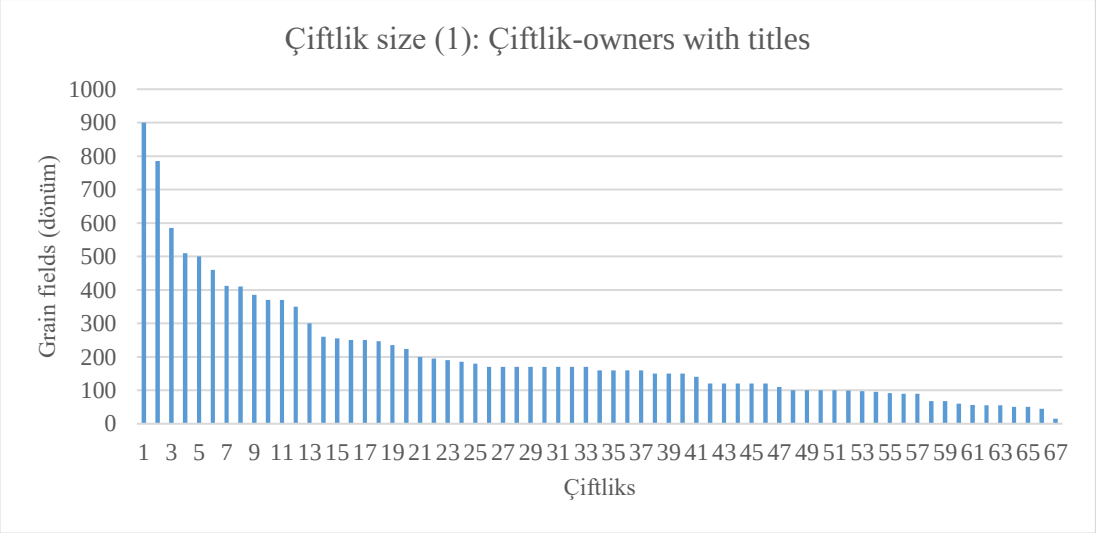


Figure 153. Sizes of çiftliks: Çiftlik-owners with titles (Pirlepe).

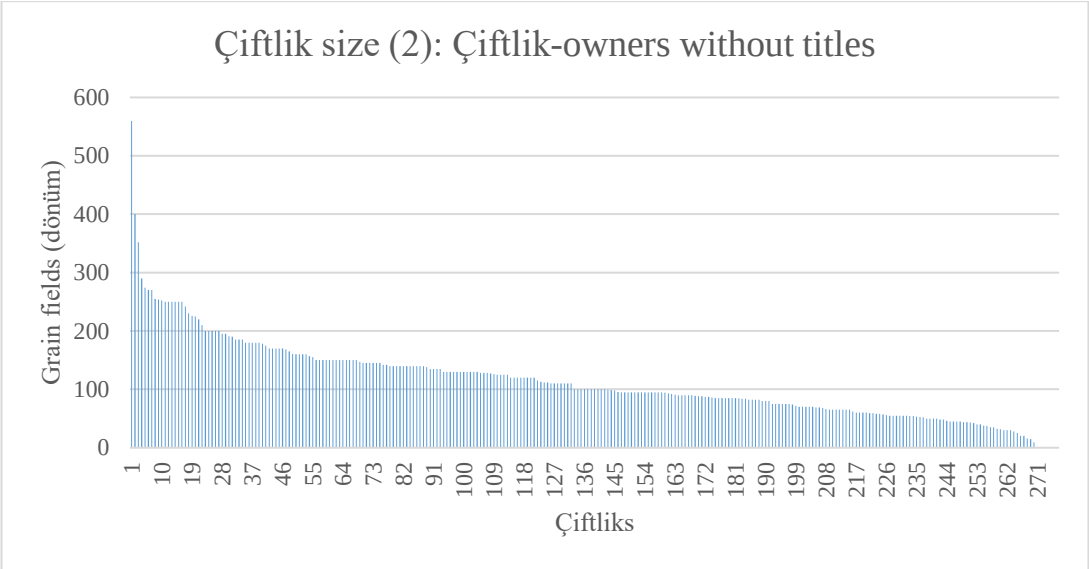


Figure 154. Sizes of çiftliks: Çiftlik-owners without titles (Pirlepe).

A major take-away here is the absence of a clear-cut, categorical separation between çiftlik-owners with title and no title as there are many divergences among the çiftliks owned by each group in terms of their size. As such, carrying a traditional family name does not automatically translate into the holding of the bigger çiftliks, and *vice-versa*. Nevertheless, on average, çiftlik-owners with titles indeed tend to have bigger çiftliks than the çiftlik-owners without any title in general. This holds true for all three districts under study.

In terms of labour type, it is the çiftlik-owners with titles that mostly rely on bigger operations that combine sharecropping and wage-labour under their control, in addition to exclusive reliance on sharecropping, while those who hold no title mainly rely on arrangements of sharecropping often on a smaller scale. The related data is displayed in Table 145.

Table 145. Titles of the Çiftlik-Owners and Çiftlik Types (1)

	Wage-labour		Sharecropping		Combination of labour types		Money rent		TOTAL	
	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	Number of çiftliks	Percentage
No title	78	29%	131	49%	55	20%	5	2%	269	100%
Title (Bey, Ağa, Efendi etc.)	15	23%	25	38%	24	37%	1	2%	65	100%
Women	3	38%	3	38%	2	25%	0	0%	8	100%

Nevertheless, of the total number of çiftliks based on wage-labour in the district, 81% belong to the çiftlik-owners without a title. As such, this group leads the way not only in sharecropping-based arrangements (82%), but also in exclusive reliance on wage-labour in their çiftliks. The related data is displayed in Table 146.

Table 146. Titles of the Çiftlik-Owners and Çiftlik Types (2)

	Wage-labour		Sharecropping		Combination of labour types		Money rent	
	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	Number of çiftliks	Percentage	Number of çiftliks	Percentage
No title	78	81%	131	82%	55	68%	5	83%
Title (Bey, Ağa, Efendi etc.)	15	16%	25	16%	24	30%	1	17%
Women	3	3%	3	2%	2	2%	0	0%
TOTAL	96	100%	159	100%	81	100%	6	100%

The following series of tables demonstrate the general characteristics of the owners of the biggest çiftliks in the district of Pirlepe. A number of these çiftlik-owners will be focused on in detail to delineate the general patterns of çiftlik-ownership in the mid-19th century Pirlepe.

Table 147. Largest 10 Çiftliks of Pirlepe

Largest 10 çiftliks Ownership of grain fields	Çiftlik type	Çiftlik-owner	Residence of çiftlik-owner	Identification in town registers	Status in the place of residence	Sources of income in place of residence	Income in place of residence
900	Ç_Sharecropping	Dergah-ı ali kapucubaşılarından Abdülkerim Beyefendizade Halil Bey ve karındaşları	Manastır İnebey mahallesi	Abdülkerim Beyzadeler dergahı ali kapucubaşılarından Halil Bey ve biraderleri Mahmud ve Arif ve Sadık ve Celaleddin ve Tevfik Beyler (registered in Emir Çelebi mahallesi)	Undefined	income from fields and vineyards, rent, animal-husbandary	7640
785	Ç_Sharecropping and wage-labour	Abdülkerim oğlu Halil Bey	Manastır İnebey mahallesi	*	*	*	*
585	Ç_Sharecropping and wage-labour	Şerif efendi oğlu Vecihi efendi	Manastır İnebey mahallesi	Şerif efendizade müderris kiramından faziletlu Süleyman efendi ve karındaşı Vecihi efendi	Undefined	rent	8060
560	Ç_Wage-labour	Hüseyin oğlu Selim ve Ahmed	Manastır [] mahallesi	Hüseyin oğlu Selim (Emir Çelebi mahallesi)	Undefined	rent	900
510	Ç_Sharecropping and wage-labour	Elhac Ahmed oğlu Mehmed	Manastır Firuz Bey mahallesi				
500	Ç_Sharecropping and wage-labour	Mehmed efendi oğlu Osman	Pirlepe Evsat mahallesi	Mehmed efendi oğlu Osman	Undefined	rent	640
460	Ç_Sharecropping	Çiftlik-i emlak-ı hümayun					
412.5	Ç_Sharecropping	Halil Bey oğlu Yusuf Bey	Pirlepe Evsat mahallesi	Halil oğlu Yusuf Bey	Undefined	share from grain fields under sharecropping, rent, income from tımar	9956
410	Ç_Sharecropping	Halil Bey oğlu Yusuf Bey	Pirlepe Evsat mahallesi	*	*	*	*
400	Ç_Sharecropping and wage-labour	Hüseyin oğlu Hasan ve karındaşları (Yusuf) hisseleri	Pirlepe Evsat mahallesi	Hüseyin oğlu Hasan / Hüseyin oğlu Salih (Households numbered 18 and 19)	Undefined	animal husbandry, rent	50
385	Ç_Money-rent	Rüstem Bey oğlu Hurşid Bey	Manastır İnebey mahallesi	Rüstem Beyzade Hurşid Bey	farmer ("erbab-ı ziraat")	animal husbandry, income from "zuhurat"	1530

The table above (Table 147) displays the main information on ownership for the largest 10 çiftliks of Pirlepe from all categories of labour. In this segment, most of the owners are from the upper echelons of the society, often practice ownership of multiple çiftliks in addition to joint ownership of individual çiftliks. In this segment on the largest çiftliks, 4 çiftliks belong to the members of the family of Abdülkerim Bey from the district of Manastır[344] while only 4 çiftlik-owners reside in the district of Pirlepe itself.

While the members of the family of Abdülkerim Bey are mostly based in Manastır, a new figure -Halil Bey oğlu Yusuf Bey, grandson of Abdülkerim- emerges in the registers as a resident of the town center of Pirlepe, owning 2 of the biggest 10 çiftliks of the district, in addition to 5 more çiftliks of various sizes and labour types. The data is displayed in Table 148.

[344] See: Section 3.3.3.

Table 148. Çiftliks of Halil Bey oğlu Yusuf Bey in Pirlepe

Çiftlik name	Çiftlik type	Grain fields (total dönüm)	Grain fields (percentage)	Other land	Oxen owned by çiftlik-owner (number)	Oxen owned by workers (number)	Sharecroppers (number)	Wage-labourers (number)	Misc (number)
Slivje	Wage-labour	160	10%	vineyards of 1.5 dönüms, meadows of 2 dönüms	10			12	2
Slivje	Sharecropping	412.5	25%	-		12	6		
Dubijacani-i zir	Sharecropping	120	7%	meadows of 9 dönüms		4	1		
Cumovo	Combination of sharecropping and wage-labour	170	10%	meadows of 20 dönüms		8	3	1	
Zagorani	Combination of sharecropping and wage-labour	235	14%	vineyards of 1 dönüms, meadows of 50 dönüms	8	6	2	4	
Galicani	Wage-labour	170	10%	meadows of 15 dönüms	8			4	
Krusovjani	Sharecropping	410	24%	meadows of 12 dönüms	0	16	3		
		1677.5	100%		26	46	15	21	2

Overall, Yusuf Bey owns in his çiftliks grain fields of 1677.5 dönüms under his control, in addition to vineyards of 2.5 dönüms and meadows of 108 dönüms as well as 26 oxen. These çiftliks are mostly located in close proximity to the town center of Pirlepe and positioned on the alluvial plains. While the arrangements regarding the contribution of the factors of production, i.e. land, labour and draught animals, display the similar characteristics of the other districts under study, it should be noted that in the specific case of the çiftlik in Zagorani whereby Yusuf Bey contributes 8 oxen and the sharecroppers contribute 6 oxen to production, the share between the parties proceeds in favor of the former. Overall, Yusuf Bey has the labour capacity of 36 households under his control. Furthermore, the gross income of Yusuf Bey from his çiftliks exceeds 40000 kuruş, while his income originating from tımar-holding, rent-taking and his share from grain fields under sharecropping in the town-center cannot even reach 10000 kuruş. Similarly to his relatives residing in Manastır, the weight of çiftlik-ownership and agrarian revenue remain crucial for the income bundle of Yusuf Bey. The locations of his çiftliks can be seen in the map below (Figure 155).

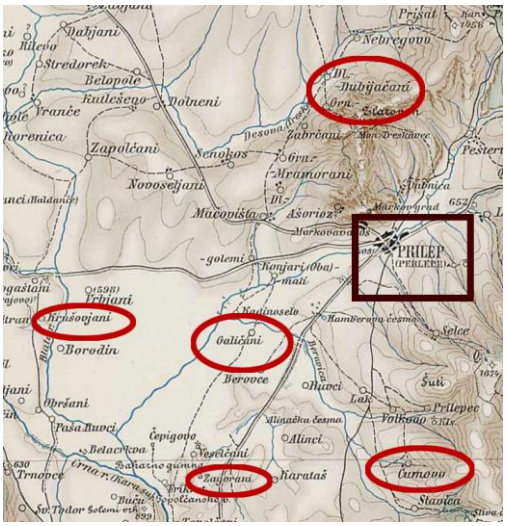


Figure 155. Çiftliks of Halil Bey oğlu Yusuf Bey in Pirlepe.

The çiftlik-owners with presumably lesser social standing in this group are "Şerif efendi oğlu Vecihi efendi" and "Hüseyin oğlu Selim ve Ahmed" from Manastır, and "Mehmed efendi oğlu Osman" and "Hüseyin oğlu Hasan ve karındaşları" from Pirlepe, all from the town centres of the districts.

Vecihi Efendi, the receiver of a gross income of 8060 kuruş from rent-taking in the centre of Pirlepe[345], owns a total of 3 çiftliks -Opticar, Pozdeş and Loznani- in Manastır in addition to the third biggest çiftlik of Pirlepe in the settlement of Vrbjani, all of which can be seen in the map below. All of these çiftliks, in Manastır and Pirlepe alike, are based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour while his ownership of grain fields reaches a minimum 444 dönüms in Manastır[346] and a total value of 585 dönüms in Pirlepe, amounting to more than 1000 dönüms in total. In terms of the labour-force under his control, 24 households work in Vecihi Efendi's çiftliks in Manastır while 12 households toil in his çiftlik in the settlement of Vrbjani in the district of Pirlepe. In three cases, the share between the çiftlik-owner and the

[345] He has an impressive collection of stores of 57 units ("57 bab"), in addition a share in an inn.
[346] This uncertainty is due to the fact that the amount of grain fields in Opticar was left unregistered.

sharecroppers remains equal while in only one case, in the çiftlik of Loznani in Manastır, it is slightly in favour of the former.

Among the humbler figures in the top group, "Hüseyin oğlu Selim ve Ahmed" and "Mehmed efendi oğlu Süleyman" come to the fore. In the former case, Hüseyin oğlu Selim, residing in the central town of Manastır, obtains an income of 900 kuruş from rent-taking[347] in addition to their wage-labour-based çiftlik in the settlement of Cepigovo consisting of grain fields of 560 dönüms, meadows of 100 dönüms, 4 completely landless and propertyless wage-labourers and 12 oxen contributed by the çiftlik-owners. "Mehmed efendi oğlu Süleyman", residing in the mahalle of Evsat in the central town of Pirlepe, obtains an income of 640 kuruş from rent-taking[348] and 30 kuruş from vineyards, in addition to 2 çiftliks, both of which are based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour and located in Pirlepe. Süleyman's çiftlik in Alinci consists of grain fields of 500 dönüms and meadows of 30 dönüms based on the labour of 6 sharecropping households and 3 wage-workers. All of the 16 oxen are owned by the sharecroppers and 2 farmers residing in the çiftlik. Süleyman's çiftlik in Berovci consists of grain fields of 250 dönüms and meadows of 5 dönüms as well as 1 sharecropper and 2 wage-workers' households. Here, 4 oxen are contributed by the çiftlik-owner while 2 oxen are provided by the sharecropper. In this case, Süleyman gets four times the share of the sharecropper.

Of the total number of 6 çiftlik-owners who were indicated to be residing in the villages, 4 have been specifically identified in the temettuat registers of the relevant settlements. In general, Pirlepe seems to be the

[347] Rent from 10 stores and 1 inn.
[348] Rent from a mill and a store.

district with the most insignificant presence of peasant çiftlik-owners in terms of their number. Nevertheless, at least three of these figures have been specifically indicated to employ sharecroppers and wage-labourers in their village of residence. For example, Haydar oğlu Süleyman Molla, who has a çiftlik based on the combination of sharecropping and wage-labour in the settlement of Stredorek, also employs 5 sharecroppers and 3 wage-labourers on grain fields of 270 dönüms in the village of Zitovce-yi Müslim where he resides. Another example is Feyzo oğlu Bekir, who has a çiftlik based on wage-labour where he employs 2 wage-workers, other than his grain fields of 110 dönüms where he employs 1 wage-worker and 1 shepherd in the village of Crnilista. Nevertheless, these remain to be rather isolated cases.

5.5 Conclusion

The income survey registers of rural Pirlepe indicate a certain degree of rural inequality, peasant dispossession, and concentration of land in the hands of a group of landowners in the mid-19th century, albeit on a lower level than Manastır and İştip. First and foremost, around one-fifth of the rural population of Pirlepe were landless as they were directly residing and working in çiftliks. The çiftlik-owners held one-third of the cultivable land in the district and directly controlled one-fifth of the rural labour force. Other than çiftlik workers, 14% of the village residents were also landless and mainly survived through engagement in wage labour. Of the villagers, only 15% exclusively relied on agricultural production, while the remaining combined agricultural production with various supplementary activities. There was also a considerable degree of inequality among individual villagers and villages in terms of access to land. Different forms of settlements in the district remained quite

interrelated in terms of geographical proximity and labour mobility between them while loci of concentration of "perfect" çiftliks and villages could also be identified.

Regarding labour arrangements in the çiftliks, Pirlepe seems to have resembled more to İştip than Manastır. In terms of labour employed, the çiftliks of Pirlepe not only included those based on tenancy, but also displayed a stronger presence of çiftliks based on wage labour. Yet, the level of the contribution of draught animals by çiftlik-owners was lower than İştip, even though çiftliks based on wage-labour were more prominent in Pirlepe. The role played by peasant çiftlik-owners remained quite marginal; yet, çiftlik-owners without nya title displayed considerable presence here. In general, the level of çiftlik formation as well as the level of inequality in the villages seem to be relatively lower than Manastır and İştip. Nevertheless, it would still be difficult to consider Pirlepe as a universe of peasant equality and homogeneity either.

CHAPTER 6

DYNAMICS OF RURAL SOCIETY: CLASS CONFLICT, LABOR RELATIONS AND PEASANT DISPOSSESSION IN THE OTTOMAN BALKANS

6.1 On aspects of the labour regime in the Balkan çiftliks

The analysis of the rural income survey registers of the districts of Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe of the mid-19th century has treated the configuration of labour in the çiftliks as the main framework for the organization of the data under study. In the course of the analysis, the existence of different types of çiftliks, in conjunction with the considerable weight of sharecropping in the general labour composition, has become evident. This widespread employment of sharecroppers in the Balkan çiftliks has emerged as one of many axes of controversy over the nature of the socio-economic system under question. Furthermore, concerning the relationship between forms of labour and transformation of agrarian structures, the prevalence of sharecropping has been treated as an indicator not only of economic backwardness but also that of a failure on the side of capitalist agriculture to develop in the Balkans properly. Accordingly, a closer examination of what this form of labour organization entails is required.

In a document -a *beyanname*- from 1909, three types of arrangements through which çiftliks were put into operation in Manastır are distinguished in the form of the culmination of established traditions in the region.[349] Here, the general framework employed in the analysis of the income survey registers, whereby three specific types of çiftlik -in the sense of non-labouring owners of cultivable land making use of sharecroppers, wage-labourers and tenants in order to bring the land

[349] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Manastır vilayeti dahilindeki çiftlikat ve arazi sahibleriyle mezariler beyninde teamülen cari bulunan ve adet-i muhkeme hali almış olan usul ve kavaide mütedair beyannamedir."

under question into agricultural production- have been identified, seems to have kept its relevance right into the beginning of the 20th century as well.[350]

In sharecropping (or "*yarıcı usulu*"), it has been argued that the agreement between the çiftlik-owner and the prospective sharecropper is supposed to be concluded in the presence of witnesses, having a binding character for a year-long term of production. While this agreement can be repeated for the following term unless a conflict arises between the parties, the sharecropper remains free to leave the çiftlik in search of employment in another one at the end of the specified term of production as long as no unpaid debt remains. As such, within the specific term of employment, neither the çiftlik-owner nor the sharecropper can terminate the agreement.[351] This clause practically implies, albeit for a theoretically limited period, the existence of limits on the mobility of sharecroppers.

At the basis of this temporarily binding agreement, we find a specific form of payment advanced by the çiftlik-owner to the sharecropper in the beginning of the production term. This payment, upon which the aforementioned agreement proceeds,

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[350] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Alelumum çiftlikat ve arazinin idaresiyle ameliyat-ı ziraiyesinde cari ve … olan usul üç nevidir. Birincisi Kitab-ı Şirketin 1431 ve 1434 ve 1435. maddelerinde muharrer kuyud ve şerait dairesinde yarıcı tabir edilen çiftçilerle ziraat ve hıraset edilegelmekde olanlardır. İkincisi 512. maddesiyle mevad saire ahkamı mucebince hizmetkar tabir olunan ecir haseblerle? işletilenlerdir. Üçüncüsü Kitab ül Carinin? 525. maddesiyle mevad saire ahkamı mucebince bedeli-i maktu' ve yahud muayyen mikdarda hububat veya nakd virmek üzere kesim namıyla icara verilenlerdir." In a British consular report from the 19th century, three distinct groups of agricultural workers were indicated in Manastır: Sharecroppers ("*ortakçı*") toiled on the lands of peasants, tımar-owners as well as the Sultan, whereby the produce was divided in half after the subtraction of tax and seeds; wage-workers ("*teroğlanları*") were paid in kind, mostly grains, at a pre-determined rate, sometimes in addition to remuneration in money; lastly, tenants ("*kesimci*") paid a pre-determined rent to the landowners either in money or in kind without regard to the actual revenue from land: Öztunç, *Tanzimat Döneminde Ekonomik Ve Sosyal Yönleriyle Manastır Şehri*, 174-175.

[351] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Kasımdan Şubat nihayetine kadar olan zaman yarıcı yerleştirmeğe mahsus bir mevsimdir. Bir çiftlik sahibinin arazisini işlemeğe talib bulunan yarıcı ile çiftlik sahibi muayyen olan mevsimde şuhud muvacehesinde akd-i mezari eyler. Akdin vukuunu müteakib çiftlik sahibi yarıcıyı [alub] çiftliğine yerleştirmeğe, yarıcı da söz verdiği çiftliğe gitmeğe mecburdur. Mevsim-i mahsusun gayrı zamanda yarıcının tebdili usul ve teamüle muhaliftir. Çiftlik sahibiyle yarıcı beyninde vaki olan akdin müddeti de tam bir seneden ibarettir. Akd-i mezru müddetinin hitamında tarafeyn birbirinden hoşnud olduğu halde akd-i vaki ibka edilir. Aksi halde beynlerinde olan alacak verecek gibi ilişkileri kat' ile yarıcı bulunduğu çiftliği tahliye ederek dilediği mahale gidebilir. Müddet-i akd olan bir sene hitam bulmadıkça ne çiftlik sahibi yarıcıya yol verebilir ne yarıcı çiftliği terk edebilir."

is called "*söz bağı*" and consists of an amount, as specified in the agreement, of draught animals ("*çift hayvanatı*") and tools of production ("*alet ve edavat-ı zirai*"), in addition to the immediate subsistence needs of the sharecropper ("*yemeklik zahire vesairesi*"), supplied by the çiftlik-owner to the cultivator. It is this debt, therefore, created at the beginning of the labour arrangement under the title of "*söz bağı*" that has to be paid for the proper conclusion of the one-year agreement in question. Until its payment, the sharecropper remains indebted to the çiftlik-owner for a whole year. In the case that the cultivator leaves the çiftlik in question before the end of the term of the agreement, his belongings left in the çiftlik ("*mevcud olan hayvanatı ve adavat sairesi*") are confiscated by the çiftlik-owner; if the value of such belongings does not adequately pay off the debt in question, the sharecropper as well as the new çiftlik-owner he is employed by, are held responsible for compensating for the difference.[352] Here, the question of whether the sharecropper will be in a position to

[352] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Çiftlik hayvanatıyla alet ve edavat-ı ziraiyi tedarik etmek veya bunların noksanını ikmal eylemek ve yemeklik zahire vesairesini temin eylemiş olmak üzere söz bağı namıyla beynlerinde kararlaştırılan bir mebaliğ ile zahire vesaire çiftlik sahibi tarafından bila faiz yarıcıya … olunur. Akd-i mezru hitamında yarıcı çiftliğinden çıkacağı sırada "söz bağı" namıyla olan borcunu çiftlik sahibine tediye ve ifa eyler. Çiftliğe geldiği zaman hazır yapılmış nadas olduğu ve böyle mukavele eylediği halde aynıyle ol mikdar nadas yapub bırakmağa mecburdur. Hilaf-ı usul-u salahiyet yarıcı çiftlik sahibine olan borcunu vermeksizin kaçtığı halde hesabına mukabil mevcud olan hayvanatı ve adavat sairesi heyet-i ihtiyariye marifetiyle takvim edilerek kıymet …ları çiftlik sahibinin alacağına badel husub fazla ve noksanı nazar-ı itibar ve hesaba alınır. Yani takdir olunan bedel borcunun tediyesine kifayet etmediği takdirde üst tarafını yarıcı ve yahud gideceği çiftlik sahibi bila tereddüd tediye ve ifaya mecburdur." For a discussion of the creation of relations of indebtedness and dependency through the practice of "söz bağı" in sharecropping: Terzibaşoğlu, & Kaya, "19. Yüzyılda Balkanlar'da Toprak Rejimi ve Emek İlişkileri," 91-92. In a different historical context, Blum, with reference to Russia of the 15th century, refers to the existence of a practice of lending of money or grains to sharecroppers in the beginning of a production term -a practice which is almost identical with "söz bağı": "The sharecropper (*polovnik*) agreed to remain with the lord for an agreed upon number of years and to pay a fixed proportion of his crop to the lord as rental. The size of this share varied, ranging from one fifth to as much as one half. On his arrival, the *polovnik* received a loan of cash or of grain from the landlord in order to get started on his farming, and to carry over until he brought in his first crop … The fact that the sharecroppers were given loans, that they were willing to work on shares, the most oppressive type of rental agreement, and that they paid little or no taxes to the government, are indications that they must have been in very reduced circumstances": Blum, *Lord and Peasant in Russia from the ninth to the nineteenth century*, 100-101. There were also forms of sharecropping, such as "*muzaraa*" whereby the land under cultivation was provided by the cultivators: Ergenç, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Anadolu'sunda Tarım Üretiminde Yeni Boyutlar: Müzara'a ve Müraba'a Sözleşmeleri," 131. In another form of arrangement, called "*murabaa*", the cultivator worked as a sharecropper on the land he lost due to indebtedness for a limited period of time: Ibid, 135.

pay off his debt of "*söz bağı*" at the end of a term of production, as well as the repercussions of such a failure, are left unresolved. Furthermore, the specific conditions that might have led to the formation of this kind of labour arrangement in the first place are in no way implicated. As such, this formulation supposes that the parties of the arrangement are equals in the creation and the termination of the relationship –which remains to be, however, a rather dubious issue in the rural context in general, as will be discussed in detail in the following parts. Moreover, it is not only the fugitive sharecropper himself but also his prospective future employer that is burdened with the compensation of the previous debt of the former – a situation raising the question of labour scarcity and competition between landowners for labour force in the rural Balkans, which will be discussed below.

Within the agreement itself, while the sharing of the produce, after the subtraction of agricultural taxes from the revenue, mainly proceeds on the basis of a roughly equal division, the specific terms of share between the parties, concerning issues such as the provision of seeds and sharing of hay left in the field after harvest, vary following local customs and the specific terms of the agreement between the parties. In general, it is expected that the sharecroppers undertake specific responsibilities beyond the payment of rent in kind, such as transportation of the çiftlik-owner's share of the produce as well as provision of the necessary means of travel for the çiftlik-owner when his presence is needed in the çiftlik. In turn, the provision and maintenance of infrastructure is generally supposed to be taken care of by the owner of the çiftlik.[353] While the main body of the labour requirements in the

[353] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Ekser mahallerde arazi ve tohum çiftlik sahibinin, bekr(?) ve amel yarıcının olmak üzere ziraat edilen araziden vuku bulan hasılat aşarı aynen bil ifraz arazi sahibi tarafından ahz ve kabz edilerek mütebakisi çiftlik sahibiyle yarıcı beyninde nısfiyeti taksim edilir. Bazı yerlerde de arazi ve tohumun nısfı çiftlik sahibinin ve tohumun diğer nısfıyla bekr(?) ve amel yarıcının olmak üzere ziraat edilen araziden hasılat-ı vakıadan öşr çıktıktan sonra küsuru beynlerinde münasafa taksim edilir. Hasılat-ı samanın nısfı hakken çiftlik sahibinin ise de zirde müfredatı taksir

çiftliks is supposed to be the responsibility of the sharecroppers -encompassing all the stages of agricultural production as well as transportation of the produce- when there is a need for additional labour, sharecroppers are supposed to contribute to the expenses advanced for the employment of extra hands.[354] At the end of a production term, the official conclusion of the employment agreement marks the end of the possibility for further claims for the compensation of unpaid labour.[355]

Wage labourers (in the form of "*hizmetkar usulu*") are also employed within the framework of a yearlong term and the agreement has a binding character for the duration of the employment.[356] When the term of employment starts, wage labourers are responsible for going to the çiftlik, with their families if they desire to do so, whereby the çiftlik-owner is required to provide lodging for the newcomers.[357] During their term of employment in the çiftlik, wage labourers are not only engaged

olunduğu vecihle yarıcının hizmet-i vakıasına mukabil-i rıza yarıcıya terk olunur. Çiftlik sahibinin aynı kaza dahilinde mübaya ve tedarik edeceği habtı (hatabı)? yarıcı kaç çift ile ziraat ederse ol mikdar araba ile senede bir defa nakle ve hasıl olacak giyah hasılatını merkez kazaya …ya mecburdur. Hasılat taksimi, hane tamiri gibi zaruret … ettiği halde çiftliğe gidub gelmek için yarıcı ashab-ı alakaya muktezi hayvanı verir. Yarıcının ikamet ettiği hane için virgüsüne muadil bir icar bedeli vermekle mükellef bulunduğu gibi hasılat vakıası … edilen mezru ve gayr-ı mezru arazinin virgü-yü mirisi alaka sahibi ile yarıcı tarafından münasafa ita edilir. Çiftlik hanesi ile müştemilatın tamir ve termimi çiftlik sahibine ait olub yarıcının inşaat ve tamirata hak ve salahiyeti olmadığından bir güna inşaat ve tamiratta bulunacak olsa bile o nam ile çiftlik sahibine hak ... yoktur."

[354] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Yarıcı ziraat etmiş olduğu arazinin ekib vakt-i hasadda biçub toplamağa harman idub dökmeğe ve hasılat vakıada çiftlik sahibinin hissesini pazar mahaline kadar nakletmeğe mecburdur. Mecburiyet-i muharrereden tehallüf eder ise vuku bulacak masraf yarıcıya ait olmak üzere çiftlik sahibi amele tutub mezruatı biçub toplamağa ve harman etmeğe ve kezalik hasılat vakıayı pazara nakl etmeğe salahiyetdardır. Bu uğurda vuku bulacak masrafa hasılat vakıadan yarıcının hissesi kifayet etmez ise üst tarafı yarıcıdan taleb ve istifa olunur."

[355] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Yarıcı muayyen olan müddette çiftlikten diğer bir çiftliğe nakil eylediği halde harmanda bulunan samanın nısfını alır. Nısf-ı diğeri ile …daki gübreyi sahibine bırakır. Kasabaya nakledilmemiş çiftlik sahibinin anbarında kalmış olan zahiresini nakletmeğe mecbur değildir. Şayet üste hasıl olan gübreyi tarlaya nakil etmiş bulunursa bunun için sahibinden bir şey istemeğe hakkı olamayacağı gibi evvelce rıza-yı sahib-i alakanın bazı hayvanatına bakmış veya sair hizmet hususiyesinde bulunmuş olmak gibi bahaneler ile der-miyan edeceği mutalibat ve hesabat nazar-ı itibara alınamaz."

"Gerek yarıcı ve gerek müstecir tarafından çiftlikat ashabına karşu zehaire …dan, hayvanat reyinden ve hizmet-i saireden dolayı bir güna ücret ve masraf aramamak akd-i vaki iktizasındandır."

[356] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Her sene Kasım esnası çiftlik sahibi bir sene müddetle ve yıllık olmak üzere suret-i maktuada muayyen mikdarda hububat ve yahud nakid vermek şartıyla çiftçi, koyun çobanı, sığırtmaç mesellu hizmetkârlar ile şühud muvacehesinde akd-i mukavele eder. Akdin vukuundan sonra hitamına değin tarafeynden hiç birisi sözünden tekevvül etmek iktidarına haiz değildir."

[357] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Hizmetkârlar hizmetini deruhde eylediği çiftliğe Kasım günlerinde gitmeğe, çiftlik sahibi dahi onun ikametine mahsus bir hane ira'e etmeğe mecburdur. Hizmetkârlar arzu eylediği halde hanelerinde ailesi de beraber bulundurmağa salahiyetdardırlar."

in agricultural production but also undertake various services and responsibilities.[358] Other than yearlong wage labourers, more specialized types of labour, as well as extra hands, are also temporarily employed by the çiftlik-owners in times of need.[359] Just like sharecroppers, full-time wage labourers are legally prohibited from leaving the çiftlik during their term of employment.[360] The providers of specific and temporary types of labour are also limited in their mobility until their specific work is completed.[361]

The last method for the operation of çiftliks are specified as the leasing out of land to tenants for a fixed amount of payment (or "*icar usulu*"), also for a yearlong term.[362] Here, not only land but also seeds are supposed to be provided by the çiftlik-owners in addition to necessary dwellings and infrastructure in return for a pre-determined payment in kind or in money to be delivered to the landowner at the end of the term of production. Here, all the taxes on agricultural produce are paid by the producers, who are also supposed to leave the land as they found it and return the seeds lent to them at the beginning of the production year in addition to other forms

[358] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Çift hizmetkarı çift işinden maada bulunduğu çiftliğin ziraat ve felahatına müteallik bilcümle hizmeti ifaya mecbur olduğu gibi kendisine tevzi edilen çiftlik hayvanatı ile edavat vesaireyi muhafaza ile mükelleftir. Bir şeyin ziyanı halinde mesul ve zamindir. Hizmetkarların semi-i ameli ücret-i maktuaya mukabildir."
[359] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Biçim ve harman zamanlarında çiftlik sahibi haricden orakçı ve harmancı götürdüğü ve onları beslediği halde onların bulunduğu müddet zarfında çiftlik hizmetkarları da çiftlik sahibi tarafından beslenir."
[360] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Bir sene müddetle tutulan her nevi ziraat hizmetkarlarına gerek söz bağı namıyla ve gerek sair cihetle … aldıkları para ve zehaireyi tamamen tesviyeye mecbur oldukları cihetle bunu tediye etmedikçe çiftlikten mufarakat etmeğe salahiyeti yokdur."
[361] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Koyun çobanları ile sığırtmaçlar rey eylediği taahhüd eyledikleri hayvanatı otlatmak bakmak mevsiminde beslemek muhafaza etmek ziya halinde tazmin edilmek suretiyle mükelleftir. Orak zamanında orakçı harman zamanında harmancı olarak kat' edilen ücretle ifa-yı hizmeti taahhüd eden amele sözünden tekevvül edemez. İfasını taahhüd eylediği hizmeti görüb ikmal etmeğe mecburdur. Şayed bu mecburiyetten tehallüf ederse alaka sahibine bundan dolayı tertib edecek zarar ve ziyanı …ya hacet kalmaksızın tazmin ile mükelleftir."
[362] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Çiftlikat Mart ve Eylül aylarının iptidasında icar edilir. Müddet-i icar bir seneden ibarettir. Hitam-ı müddette mucir ile müstecirin rıza ve muvaffakiyetiyle akd-i vaki ifa olunur."

of services, such as the provision of wood and charcoal to the çiftlik-owner, as agreed upon in the specific agreement between the parties.[363]

In the document under question, the method of sharecropping ("*ortakçılık*"), in the form of sharing of agricultural produce between the parties of the agreement, is apportioned the most prominent place of elaboration, probably as the most common method of çiftlik production. As the general rule, the produce (or the amount of its money equivalent) is divided between the sharecroppers and the landowners. As such, the amount of the final product does not change the general rule of division whereby half of the labour time of the sharecropper is performed for the landowner's benefit.[364] In renting out of the çiftlik ("*icar*"), even though the usual association is made with rent in money, the main factor that shapes this specific form in practice is the pre-determined nature of the level of payment, independent of the production performance (i.e., determined in the very beginning of the production term), rather than its money form per se.[365] Likewise, in the employment of wage labourers ("*hizmetkar*"), the payment, or "wage," as the remuneration of labour (time-based or task-based), can be made either in the form of money or kind, as well as a

[363] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "İcara verilen çiftlikte ekilen tohum demirbaş olarak bir defa olmak üzere mucir tarafından müstecire verilir. Çiftlik hanelerinde çiftçi müstecirler ikamet eder. Bunların sarf-ı inşaiyesi ve tamiriyesi çiftlik sahibine aiddir. Çiftlik haneleriyle müştemilatını inşa ve tamire müstecir salahiyetdar olmadığından bir güna inşaat ve tamirat icra edecek olursa o nam ile mücirden bir şey taleb-i istifa etmeğe hakkı yoktur ... Mucir ile müstecir beyninde kararlaştırılan muayyen mikdar hububat ve yahud nakid harman mevsiminde mucirin bulunduğu mahalde müstecir tarafından tediye olunur."
"Çiftlik ve arazi vergisiyle aşarın tediye ve tesviyesi müstecire aiddir."
"Çiftlik icara verildiği zaman ne mikdar arazi ekilmiş ve ne mikdar nadas yapılmış ve ne mikdar tohum olarak mucir tarafından zahire verilmiş ie müddet-i akdin hitamında müstecir ol suretle çiftliği mucire devir teslim etmeğe mecburdur."
"Müstecir mucire karşu hatab ve kömür nakl etmek vesair taahhüd ettiği hizmet hususunu ifaya mecburdur."
[364] Landowners can also use the choice of form of rent to their advantage depending on the fluctuations of the market and prices of agricultural produce. In general, the balance of power between the landowner and the tenant remained crucial for the specific content of different labor agreements: Bharadwaj, & Das, "Tenurial conditions and mode of exploitation: A study of some villages in Orissa," 225.
[365] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "bedeli-i maktu' ve yahud muayyen mikdarda hububat veya nakd virmek üzere kesim namıyla icara verilenlerdir".

combination of the two.[366] As such, there can be found no linear line simply evolving from rent in labour into rent in kind and then into rent in money, even though the historical existence of each form comes with a bundle of specific limitations and possibilities for the landowners and the rural producers.[367]

A series of "*layiha*" drafts prepared around the same time period as the aforementioned "*beyanname*" also focus on the relationship between landowners and cultivators.[368] Here, agricultural production is defined on three main lines: Firstly, agricultural land could be directly cultivated by the landowner himself; secondly, it could be cultivated by sharecroppers; thirdly, it could be rented out for cultivation to

[366] BOA YB.021. 42/9, 1909: "Suret-i maktuda muayyen mikdarda hububat ve yahud nakid vermek şartıyla." In the context of Vidin, Gandev underlined that the remuneration from work in the farms consisted of three components, which were free lodging ("*le logement gratuity*"), payment in cash ("*la remuneration en especes*"), and payment in kind ("*quelques allocations en nature*"), such as clothing, food, and a piece of land for the subsistence of workers: Gandev, "L'apparition des rapports capitalistes dans l'économie rurale de la Bulgarie du nord-ouest au cours du XVIII siècle," 213.

[367] As Marx traces the transformation of the forms of pre-capitalist ground rent, from rent in labour into rent in kind and rent in money, he underlines that the nature of ground rent does not change from an economic point of view, even though a certain potential for later differentiation among rural inhabitants is gradually created through the changing forms of surplus expropriation: Marx, *Capital 3*, 925-938. In the Ottoman context, the original "*çift akçesi*" could entail a payment in labour form, as much as in kind or money: "Harac-ı muvazzaf nakid, ayn veya bir hizmetle tahsil olunacağı gibi bunu karşılayan çift akçesi de amıneye uygun tarzda bunlardan biriyle tahsil olunabilir": Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri 1*, 171-172.

[368] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332: "Çiftlik (veya) arazi sahibleriyle ortakçı yahud yarıcı itilaf olunan mezarilerin ve mezariler ile amele-yi ziraiyenin ve amele-yi ziraiye ile keza arazi sahiblerinin hukuk ve vezaifini mübeyyin kanundur (layiha)."
"Bir nizamname layihası tanzimi Meclis-i Vükela kararıyla 30 Mart 326 ba tezkere-yi sami emir ve izbar buyurulması üzerine layiha-yı mezkureye esas ittihaz olunmak üzere icab eden vilayattan istifsar mütalaa olunarak alınan cevablarda gösterilen teamül ve mütalaayı ve ahkam-ı esasiyemize nazaran ber vech-i ati layiha-yı kanune müsveddesi kaleme alınmıştır": Ibid.
For the preparation of the drafts, a long series of correspondence took place between various state offices, including *Dahiliye Nezareti*, *Tanzimat Dairesi*, and *Şura-yı Devlet*, regarding Rumeli, Edirne, and Tekfurdağı, at least from 1908 to 1914: Ibid. Furthermore, a document that concerns Edirne from 1909 (1327) demonstrates that the drafting of these texts had been not only lenghty but also conflictual processes due to the difficulties encountered regarding the accomodation of general rules with local customs: "Her vilayette amele isticar ve istihdamı usul ve teamülü başka başka olub ... bir vilayatca münasib addedilen böyle mevadın vilayat-ı sairede tatbiki münasib veyahut mümkün olamayacağı": BOA DH.MKT. 2879/ 81, 1327; BEO 3599/269906, 1327. A similar need for the regulation of the relations between landowners and cultivators was also raised for the Vilayet of Kosova: BOA. MV. 139/10, 1328.

a tenant farmer. Of these methods, sharecropping is singled out as the most common method used in the Balkan çiftliks.[369]

In the part of the text whereby the motives and the aims behind the drawing of the layiha are explained ("*esbab-ı mucibe*"), one of the main problems with the existing practice of sharecropping leading to conflict between the parties of the labour arrangement is singled out as the absence of a specific and uniform definition of the content as well as the duration of the employment agreement.[370] As a result of the absence of a well-defined arrangement, it has been argued, sharecroppers whose livelihood and survival depended on agricultural production remained under the constant threat of evacuation at the slightest whim of the çiftlik-owner who, in turn, had to deal with the jeopardy of the flight of the workers from the çiftlik before the proper completion of cultivation and harvest; this, in turn, required the proper specification of the duration of the labour agreement.[371]

[369] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332: "Arazi işlenmekte, biri ashab-ı arazinin bizzat işletmesi, diğeri ortakçılık, üçüncü de icar usulleriyle ahere işletmekten ibaret olmak üzere mevcud olan üç usulden Rumeli'de en ziyade ortakçılık usulu revaç bulmuş ve ... çiftliklerde ekseriyen bu usul tatbik edilmekte bulunmuştur."
[370] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332: "Zirde cari olan ortakçılık usulu ekseriyen kontratoya rabt ve müddet-i akd tayin edilmediğinden ve tarafeynin (bir diğere?) karşu caiz ve mükellef oldukları hukuk ve vezaif malum olmadığından arazi sahibleri ile ortakçılar beyninde ihtilaf ve münazaat daima tehaddüs etmektedir." As such, the problems encountered in sharecropping arrangements are to be solved through regulations rather than complete abolishment of the practice: "İktizası ledel müzakere bu yarıcılık usulunun ahvalinin müstenid olduğu teamül-ü kadimin tağyirine mahal olmayub kamekan muhafazası": BOA BEO. 1514/113476, 1318.
[371] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332: "Hayatı işlediği toprağa merbut olan bir ortakçıyı arazi sahibinin çiftliğinden çıkararak ...dan mahrum bırakabilmekteki istiklal-i mutlakı ortakçının da ziraatin tam devre-yi faaliyetinde işlemeğe mecbur olduğu araziyi terk edebilmesi ihtimalleri ve ihtimalat-ı saire arazi sahibleriyle ortakçılar arasındaki hukuk ve vezaifin ve fasl-ı mahsusunda ifade olunan esbaba bazı amele-yi ziraya ecirler ve müstecirler beynindeki münasebatın bir kanun ile tayini." Nevertheless, the emphasis in the text mostly remains on the flight of the workers from the çiftliks hindering the continuity of agricultural production and causing financial damage on the landowners, as underlined by müsteşar Ali Bey ("*Dahiliye Nazırı vekili namına*"): "Dahl-i vilayatta bulunan zira' teamül-ü kadim icabınca bir sene müddetle çiftlik ve arazi ashabının hizmetlerine girmekde ve ameliyat-ı ziraiyenin ... olduğu mevsimlerde kendilerini iaşe ettirib ücret-i seneviyelerinin kısm-ı ...sını birer vesile ile istifa eyledikden sonra ziraat ve hasad zamanlarında evvelce aldıkları mebaliğ nisbetinde iş görmeksizin ameliyatı tatil ile savuşmakta olduklarından dolayı arazinin bir kısım ... zira' veya hasad zamanı mahsulat derç edilememekte olduğundan ve bu hal bilhassa birkaç seneden beri sahib-i sermaye olan ziraayı külli zarara uğratmakta olduğu": Ibid. As such, the emphasis on the specification of duration ("ortakçılık müddetinin mukavelede tayini") remains to be a rather marked objective.

In the text, a recurring point of emphasis is the importance of extending the duration of the sharecropping agreement beyond the generally practiced one-year term: Because shorter-term leases would fail to create any motives for the preservation of the long-term productive capacity of the land on the side of the sharecroppers, who would rather be inclined to make the ultimate gain out of the land under their command for a limited period, agricultural land would benefit from an expansion of the temporal duration of the sharecropping agreement beyond one year.[372] In defense of this case, the example of England, where the duration of the tenancy period extends up to twenty-five years, is put forward.[373] While a duration of ten years was initially agreed upon, in the later revisions of the text, this period was shortened to eight years due to several factors.[374] As such, the extension of the duration of the sharecropping agreement seems to be a central motivation for the preparation of this "*layiha*" in the first place.

The general structure of the "*layiha*" itself consists of two main parts, whereby the first part focuses on the details of the relationship between çiftlik-owners and sharecroppers and the second part shortly deals with various forms of wage labourers.[375] Initially, general rules are set for an array of issues, such as the preparation of the contract of employment, the details of the registration process, and the changes in the status of çiftlik workers in cases of the death of the owner and

[372] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332: "Müddet-i mezari kısa olur ise ortakçı arazinin kuvve-yi istihsaliyesini tezbid? edeceği ıslahat yerine az zaman içinde fazla intifa' etmek maksadıyla toprağı yormağa çalışacağından ve ıslahat-ı ziraaiye icrasına müddet müsaid olmayacağından mezari müddetinin 10 seneden aşağı olmaması münasib görülmüştür."
[373] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332: "Nitekim İngiltere'de arazinin müddet-i icarı 25 senedir."
[374] BOA ŞD. 32/41 1332. In the revised version of Article 1, it is stated that the agreement of sharecropping ("yarıcılık veya ortakçılık") should be registered and specified in duration ("ber mukavele-yi tahririyeye merbut ve müddet-i muayyen"), which cannot be less than 8 years: "Müddet-i mezari 8 seneden akal olamaz": Ibid. The reason for the shortening of the duration is explained as such: "Birinci maddede akd-i mezari için tayin olunan 10 sene müddetin hakk-ı karar ve mürur-u zamanı kat' eylemesi mahzuruna binaen müddet-i mezkure 8 seneye tenzil": Ibid. The older draft can be found in BOA HSDHADB. 5/1, 1330.
[375] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332. Here, the category of wage labourers include "orakçı, harmancı, sığırtmaç, hizmetkarlar vesair namlarla tutulan amele": Ibid.

transfer of the land. Then, specific instances of possible conflict between çiftlik-owners and sharecroppers are discussed in more detail.

Article 10 of the "*layiha*" focuses on the specific conditions whereby landowners can deport sharecroppers from the çiftlik. In general, it is a failure on the side of the sharecroppers to fulfill their duties, in the form of proper engagement in agriculture as well as sharing of the final product, that gives to the çiftlik-owner the right to terminate the agreement. As such, as long as production continues uninterrupted and the division of the agricultural produce between the parties proceeds without a conflict, the sharecroppers have the legal right to remain in the çiftlik of their employment agreement.[376] This, however, is not simply the right to remain in the çiftlik but, more importantly, an obligation to do so. In Article 22 of the revised version of the text, it is proposed that in cases of flight from the çiftlik before the conclusion of the employment term, the offenders are to be judged with reference to the crime of fraud ("*dolandırıcılık*").[377] Furthermore, Article 23 states that those who have fled from çiftliks and deemed guilty of doing so cannot be employed by other çiftlik-owners until their penalty, in the form of compensation of the damage caused to the former çiftlik-owner, is fully completed; in the case that another landowner employs these workers with the knowledge of their flight, he is also to be punished for disobedience against the order of the state.[378] Regarding the

[376] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332: "Yarıcı veya ortakçının bila özr-ü kanuni işini tatil ederek arazi sahibini menfaatinden mahrum etmesi veya mezruatdaki hissesini bila sebeb-i kanuni vermemesi ve varis veya vereseden cümlesinin sagir veya gaib olub arazinin işlenmesi mümkün olmaması hallerinde arazi sahibi akdi fesh edebilir."
"Ahval-i selase-yi mezkure haricinde akd-i mezari fesh ve ortakçılar çiftlikten ihraç olunamaz."
In some cases, the çiftlik-owners could also refrain from making the payments of the çiftlik workers: BOA TFR.I.ŞKT. 15/1408, 1321; BOA TFR.I.ŞKT. 15/1426, 1321.

[377] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332: As Article 22 states, "ecirler bir özr-ü meşruya müstenid olmayarak mukavelenamede mukayyed olunan müddeti ikmal etmeksizin terk-i hizmet ettikleri halde dolandırıcılık cezasıyla mücazat ve müstecirleri hakkında tertib edecek hazar ve ziyanın tazmini ile mahkum olurlar."

[378] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332: "Ceza ve hitemat (hidemat) ile mahkum olan ecirler mücazatın icra ve hitematın (hidematın) ifasından evvel aher bir şahsın hizmetine giremezler. Mahkum olan ecirleri mücazaatın icra ve hitematın (hidematın) ifasından evvel bilerek istihdam edenler hükümetin emrine

implementation of these articles, the central government is to be directly involved in the proceedings.[379] In such a context (and beyond the assumed existence of an artificial dichotomy between the centrifugal and centralizing forces, between the state and the usurpers of power, held dear by the orthodox Ottoman historiography), even if the primary concern of the central state would simply be the uninterrupted continuity of agricultural production, the result could only turn out to be criminalization of rural mobility and emergence of forms of bonded labour.

The issue of flight from çiftliks is also visible among the clauses of a "*Amele Nizamnamesi*", which deals with various types of agricultural workers to be employed in the çiftliks. While most of this text consists of a body of articles dealing with official procedures for a diversity of issues, such as the employment of the workers, including employment terms and registration processes, the bureaucratic steps for the official conclusion of the agreement, and the legal processes to be taken in case of conflict[380], a specific article (Article 7) focuses on the issue of flight from çiftliks. Here, the proposed order of undertakings in case of a flight is as follows: In the initial attempt at flight, the runaway is to be captured on the order of local government by law enforcement and returned to his place of employment to continue

itaat etmeyenler hakkında muayyen olan ceza ile mücazaat olunurlar." Terzibaşoğlu has pointed out the criminalization of actions that could interrupt agricultural production, such as theft of seeds by çiftlik workers, with reference to 1851 Criminal Code: Terzibaşoğlu, "The Ottoman Agrarian Question and the Making of Property and Crime in the Nineteenth Century," 327. The same concern over the continuity of production on the side of the state is also visible in Article 72 of the Land Code (1858): "Bir karye veyahut kasaba ahalisi umumen veyahut bazısı bir özr-ü sahiha mebni terk-i vatan ettikleri halde mutasarrıf oldukları arazi müstahakk-ı tapu olmaz. Fakat bilâ-özür terk-i diyar ederek veyahut terk-i vatana mecburiyet veren özr-ü sahihin mündefi olduğu tarihden itibaren üç sene zarfında vatanlarına avdet etmeyerek arazilerini bilâ-sebep tatil ederler ise ol vakit müstahakk-ı tapu olur": Akgündüz, *Mukayeseli İslam ve Osmanlı Hukuku Külliyatı*, 701.

[379] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332: Article 24: "İşbu kanunun icra-yı ahkamına Dahiliye ve Adliye Nezaretleri memurdur."

[380] BOA HSDHADB. 5/1, 1330. In contrast to the minute details of the registration process for each type of worker in this text, a much more flexible approach can be found in Article 1 of "*Amele Tahririne Mahsus Nizamname*" from the late 1880s: "Dersaadette ve bilâdı selâsede Şehremanetile, zabtiye Nezaretine ve taşralarda mahalli Hükümetlerine müracaatla mezuniyeti resmiye istihsal olunmadıkça her ne iş için olur ise olsun amele namile ve namı diğerle memaliki mahrusada adem tahriri külliyen memnudur. Fakat ebniye inşaatında ve bağ ve bahçe imalâtında ve çiftliklerde tahrir olunmaksızın alelade istihdam olunan dülger ve rençber ve çiftçi misillû amele işbu nizamname ahkâmından müstesnadır": *Düstur Tertib 1 Cilt 6*, 407.

with agricultural production; in the case that this offense is repeated, a series of legal proceedings, under the general accusation of fraud ("*dolandırıcılık*"), is to be put into operation in a way to create obstacles for the future employment of the offender.[381] As such, the transition from the initial, cruder solution proposed for the runaways - that is, their outright capture and forceful return to their place of employment by law enforcement- and the more elaborately formulated criminal character attributed to the repeated offense of flight -that of fraudulence- can be seen as the general priority of çiftlik-owners as well as certain orders of government for the uninterrupted continuity of agricultural production whereas the latter measurement also gains a cautionary character for the repeaters of the offense under question.[382]

Returning to the "*layiha*", the greater part of the remaining articles in the text focus on various aspects of the obligations of the çiftlik-owners and the sharecroppers towards each other. The sharecroppers are primarily obliged to undertake all the stages of agricultural production.[383] While it is expected that the general procedures for production, as well as distribution, are specified in the labour

[381] BOA HSDHADB. 5/1, 1330: "Bir sene müddet ve seneden noksan bir müddet için nefsini icab eden amele vakt-i muayini gelmeksizin firar ederse ziraat odası yahud belediye ve nahiye meclisleri tarafından mahalli hükümete verilecek tezkire üzerine isbat-ı firarı tedkik edilmek için zabıta tarafından derdestle yerine teslim kılınması ve ikinci defa firar edenin dolandırıcılık cürmüyle mahkemeye teslim olunması ve bu hususstaki dolandırıcılığın isbatı için tutulacak zabt varakasının kafi addedilmesi ve bu gibi firarilere verilecek hüsn-ü hizmet varakasında firarı muamelesinin tasrihi ve işbu hüsn-ü hizmet varakasını hamil olmayan efrad-ı amelenin hiçbir zira' tarafından tutulmaması ve tutacak ashab-ı zira' tarafından beşer lira-yı osmani ceza-yı nakdi ahzı ile ziraat odalarına irad-ı kaydı ve yeniden işe gidenlerin mahalleri heyet-i ihtiyariyesinden bir hüsn-ü hal varakası olması ve beytülzira işbu kaideye riayet etmeyenlerin ve nizamnameye mugayir hareket edenlerin ziraat odaları veya belediye ve nahiye meclislerince tahkikatı bila icra-yı mugayir-i ahval-ı hareketlerinden dolayı bu gibiler hakkında bir daha müracaatlarının nazar-ı dikkate alınmaması ve bu muamelatın pula tabi tutulması."

[382] For a discussion of the conflictual process whereby the issue of flight was gradually becoming the subject of court procedures in the face of the protests of landowners: Terzibaşoğlu, & Kaya, "19. Yüzyılda Balkanlar'da Toprak Rejimi ve Emek İlişkileri," 91-97. For example: "Yarıcılık usulunun müstenid olduğu teamül-ü kadimin tağyirine mahal olmadığı cihetle kemakan muhafazasıyla çiftlik ve arazi sahiblerinin bu makulelerde matlubları olduğu halde mehakemeye müracaat etmeleri icab edeceği": BOA DH. MKT. 2837/86, 1327, BOA ŞD. 2065/3, 1327. Also: BOA DH. MKT. 2866/82, 1327.

[383] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332: Article 11: "Araziyi sürmek, iska eylemek, ekmek, biçmek, harman etmek gibi mezruatın idrak ve istihsaline müteallik olan umur ile teharet ve nizafının temini hususları ortakçılara aiddir."

agreement, the remaining issues are to be handled in accordance with local customs.[384] Beyond the performance of agricultural production, sharecroppers are obliged to transport the share of the çiftlik-owner and work on the construction and repair of çiftlik roads while the çiftlik-owner has to provide the tools of production and necessary infrastructure.[385] While the details of the relations between sharecroppers and çiftlik-owners are remarkably well-drafted, the second group of articles dealing with all other types of agricultural labour leaves the specific issues mostly undefined other than the recurring emphasis on the criminality of flight from the çiftlik.[386]

Another critical theme on the relations between the owners and the workers of çiftliks constitutes the focus of Article 16, which deals with the issue of corvee labour. In general, arbitrary imposition of work and obligations beyond the specifically defined duties and responsibilities of the cultivators, as well as subletting

[384] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332: Article 12: "Akd-i mezruatın şerait-i lazımesi ve mahsulat-ı arzıyenin keyfiyet-i taksimi ve öşrün suret-i ifası mukavelenameye derç edilecektir. Mukavelenamede münderiç olmayan şerait hakkında her mahalin teamülü nazar-ı itibara alınır."

[385] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332:
Article 17: "Yarıcı ve ortakçılar mahsulattan çiftlik sahibine aid hisseyi harman yerinden çiftlik anbarına kadar götürmeğe ve çiftliğin yollarını inşa ve tamir etmeğe mecburdur. Ve çiftlik sahibi de buna mukabil yarıcı veya ortakçıların gerek sükkanlarına ve gerek alet ve edavat ve hayvanat-ı zirailerine mahsus ebniyeyi ihzar ve teslim ile mükelleftir. Bu makule dahi ayrıca bir akd ile ... ve mukavelenameye derç olunur."
Article 18: "Mahsulatın çiftlik anbarına kadar nakline mukabil yarıcı veya ortakçılara ber vech-i bala icar olunan ebniyenin tamir ve termimi dahi çiftlik sahibi tarafından icra edilir."
The articles above seem to be products of a negotiation process between landowners and sharecroppers regarding the use of the expression of "*mukabil*": A duty is assigned to one party in return for another duty assigned to the other party.
Some of the more specific rules are as follows:
Article 13: "Ortakçı veya yarıcı çifte koştuğu hayvanattan ve inek, bargir, düğe, tosun gibi büyük hayvanatın 12 tanesinden ve koyun ve keçinin 50 resinden maadasının çiftlik merasında reyi için ücret vermeğe mecburdur, bina-yı rey ile bu babdaki ücret ayrıca bir akd ile tayin ve mukavelenameye derç edilmek lazımdır."
Article 14: "Çiftlik sahibi ortakçıya ailesinin ihtiyacını temine kafi sebze ve meyve yetiştirmeğe mahsus arazi iare edecek ve bu arazide husule gelen meyve ve sebze münhasıran ortakçı veya yarıcıya aid olacaktır. İşbu iare meselesi akd-i mezariye dahil olmayarak ayrıca tayin ve mukavelenameye derç olunur.
Article 15: "Arazi vergisi sahibi tarafından, bekçi ücreti ashab-ı arazi ile ortakçılar tarafından münasefe-yi tesviye olunur."

[386] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332: Article 21: "Orakçı, harmancı, sığırtmaç, hergeleci vesair namlarla tutulan ecirler mahallerinin ihtiyacat ve adet ve muamelatına nazaran mecalis-i umumiye-yi vilayetçe tanzim edilecek talimatnamelere muvafık mukavelenamelerle istihdam edilecektir."

of the collection of agricultural revenue, are practices legally forbidden.[387] In this context, it is safe to argue that the need to forbid the practice of forced labour openly right into the early 20th century attests to the endurance of this practice in the rural setting, more than half a century after the Tanzimat Reforms, as will be discussed below.[388]

In the documents mentioned above, some recurring themes attract attention: Firstly, the ongoing obsession with the specification of the duration of the labour agreement comes up with significant implications on rural mobility; secondly, the ongoing obsession with developing a clear definition of the content of the labour agreement entails not only a formal rejection of forced labour, which seems to have continued right into the 20th century, but also the covert accommodation of this practice in specific clauses of the agreements under question.

6.2 Rural mobility and peasant flight

In the various drafts of the legal texts under study, the first recurring theme has been the banning of çiftlik-owners from arbitrarily deporting cultivators from the çiftlik; conversely, the çiftlik inhabitants have been forbidden from leaving their workplace due to the effectively limiting capacity of "*söz bağı*".[389] Indeed, the period from the late 19th into the early 20th century witnessed various cases of flight from çiftliks

[387] BOA ŞD. 32/41, 1332: Article 16: "Yarıcı ve ortakçıların mükellefiyetleri haricinde angarya suretiyle arazi sahibi namına çalıştırılmaları, arazi sahiblerinin bazı mevasimde çiftliklerine gittiklerinde ortakçıyı veya yarıcıları ikamet ettikleri hanelerden ihraç ve taksim olunmayan mahsulattan yem ve yiyecek ahz ve hasılatın taksiminden evvel kendilerine aid hisseyi ahere ihale ve iltizam etmeleri memnudur. Ancak hasılattan hissesini taksim ve tefrik için tarafından birini vekil tayin edebilir."

[388] See: Kaya, & Peker, "Parga Çiftliği Kararnâmesi (1875): Çiftlik Sahipleri ve Çiftçi 'Ahâli' Arasında Mücadele"; Kaya, "Were Peasants Bound To The Soil in the 19th C. Balkans?"

[389] BOA YB.021 42/9, 1909: "Beyan kılınan usul ve teamül dairesinde çiftlik sahibleriyle çiftçi ve hizmetkarlar beyninde akd edilen mukavelatın noksanı ve yahud muayyen olan müddetten gayrı bir zamanda çiftlik sahibleri tarafından yarıcı ve hizmetkarlara yol verilmesi ve yahud bunların bulundukları çiftlikleri terk etmesi gibi teamüle muhalif bir hal vukua getirildiği takdirde ve mutazarrır olan tarafın hükümet-i mahaliyeye vuku bulan müracaat üzerine meclis-i idarece tahkikatı lazıme bil icra tahkik eden hale göre teamüle tevfiken meclis-i mezkurca karar verilerek ol vecihle icabı ifa olunmakda ve bu merkezde muhafaza-ı hukuk edilmektedir."

and the resulting demands of the çiftlik-owners for the compensation of their loss regarding the old custom of paying off of debts by a sharecropper before leaving a çiftlik.[390] The general practice of restricting peasant mobility, furthermore, predates the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire, starting from the imposition of *çift-bozan* tax on peasants leaving their registered villages as well as forceful returning of "fugitives" to their place of origin.[391]

In rural Manastır, the existence of a constant stream of peasants fleeing from heavy impositions, including tax, rent and various obligations, amounted to, for the state, the impending erosion of its agricultural revenue base, initiating a series of official decrees restricting peasant mobility from the 17th into the 19th century.[392] In this context, the time period allowed to a tımar-holder to forcefully return a fugitive to his village after flight fluctuated between 10 and 40 years, in addition to occasional annulment and cancelling of tax and previous debts to create incentives for the peasantry to return to the village of origin.[393] Before the turning of the town of Manastır into a substantial alternative of destination, fugitives were often obliged to settle in *çiftliks* the owners of which would protect them against the claims of

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[390] For example:
"Manastır'da Sinan Bey mahallesi halkından ve ashab-ı alakadan Süleyman Ağa tarafından verilmiş arzuhalde Manastır kazasına tabi Nospal karyesinde mutasarrıf olduğu çiftliği arazisini yarıcılık suretiyle ziraat eden Beroyko veled Bofce ile oğlu Yuvan arazisini zira' ve söz bağı namıyla olan 14 aded Osman lirası ve 2030 kuruş ve diğer bir kalem 5 lira ve 3 çarık ile 24 keyl mahlut zahire borçlarını tesviye etmeksizin hizmetkarlıkla çiftliklerde müstahdem kesanın zimmetlerini tesviye etmeksizin diğer mahalle gitmemeleri örf ve adet-i belde icabından bulunduğundan icra-yı icabı istida olunmuş": BOA ŞD. 2038/7, 1318.
"O havalice çiftliklerde bulunan yarıcı ve hizmetkarların ashab-ı alakadan söz bağı namıyla ve suret-i saire ile akçe ve zehair almakta ve tediye-yi deyn ettiğinden sonra bulunduğu mahalden inkal etmekte olması müddet-ül kadim cari usul-u belde icabından olub": BOA DH. MKT. 2290/106, 1317.
"Manastır havalisince çiftliklerde bulunan yarıcı ve hizmetkarların söz bağı namıyla ve suret-i saire ile akçe ve zehair almakta ve tediye-yi düyundan sonra bulunduğu mahalden inkal etmekte olması": BOA DH. MKT. 2384/49, 1318.
[391] Barkan, "Çiftlik," 789; McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 53-54.
[392] Matkovski, "La resistance des paysans macedoniens contre l'attachement a la glebe pendant la domination ottoman," 705-707. As Matkovski also adds, "on peut conclure que le raya en Macedoine etait attaché a la glebe, mais a partir de la seconde moitie du XVIIe s. il detruisait arbitrairement la loi fondamentale de la feodalite—l'attachement a la glebe": Ibid, 708.
[393] Ibid, 705-707. On has and vakıf land, the time period allowed to bring back a fugitive often remained indefinite: Ibid.

traditional *tımar*-holders for want of labor.[394] As such, the accelerating process of the appropriation of peasant land, which will be discussed in more detail below, were coupled by the employment of "a new discipline over the soil" in order to restrict rural mobility[395] as the expansion of the çiftlik phenomenon entailed a process whereby "the peasants lost not only their land but also their mobility", no matter how restricted the latter had already been.[396] In principle, the official demand for the return of fugitives to the place of origin, as a common demand raised by the landowners of the realm, seems to have remained in place well into the early 20th century.[397]

Nonetheless, rural mobility continued. Peasant complaints about taxation and the resulting streams of flight were indeed frequently occurring phenomena from the 17th century onwards in the region under study as large-scale peasant flight, sometimes of whole villages due to heavy taxation and debt, had turned into a defining feature of the countryside.[398] Flight from villages into other villages and

[394] Ibid. Matkovski has also underlined that collective flight was more common than individual flight. This practically meant that a collective movement of a body of peasantry into a new area was accompanied by the transfer of tools of production and draft animals. This, coupled by relative scarcity of labour, was the main reason that welcoming parties often protected the fugitives against their older sipahis and çiftlik-owners: Matkovski, "La resistance des paysans macedoniens contre l'attachement a la glebe pendant la domination ottoman," 704-705.
[395] McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800,* 64. McGowan argues that this situation was further reinforced by the practice of obtaining title deeds for reclaimed land since it "closed off the routes of escape for the fleeing peasant, obliging him to submit ultimately to one master or another": Ibid.
[396] Sadat, "Rumeli Ayanları: The Eighteenth Century", 353-354. Sadat compares this process to the emergence of second serfdom in Eastern Europe: Ibid. These processes occasionally entailed the employment of armed men by the landowners of the Balkans: Stoianovich, "Land Tenure and Related Sectors of the Balkan Economy, 1600-1800," 398-401. In another context, Kasaba also underlines that "when necessary, çiftlik owners did not hesitate to use forceful means to tie the peasantry to their estates" as they often resorted to use of armed forces. Kasaba further adds that "çiftlik owners used force not only to restrict peasant mobility but also to impose the cultivation of new crops on their estates": Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the world economy: The nineteenth century,* 25. Those who actually managed to escape could either go to mountains and forests to get engage in animal husbandry or join in bands of "robbers": Matkovski, "La resistance des paysans macedoniens contre l'attachement a la glebe pendant la domination ottoman," 704-705; Sadat, "Rumeli Ayanları: The Eighteenth Century," 353-354.
[397] See: Terzibaşoğlu, & Kaya, "19. Yüzyılda Balkanlar'da Toprak Rejimi ve Emek İlişkileri," 91-97.
[398] In this context, McGowan refers to cases whereby some villages were completely emptied: McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800,* 138-139. In the 1640s, when some villagers left their so-called ancient village ("kadim karye") in

çiftliks, as well as other districts, continued well into the early 18th century, causing an increase in the burden of taxation apportioned on the remaining population.[399] Similar cases were recorded towards the late 18th century as well. In 1780, for example, an investigation conducted in the village of Nemanica, located in the district of İştip and constituted a part of the *malikane* of Seyid Mustafa Efendi, demonstrated the existence of large-scale peasant flight, with the resulting demand by the *malikane* holder being the return of the fugitives to their old village ("*kadimce sakin oldukları*").[400] A similar case is the flight of the peasantry, who were living in the *mukataa* of Pirlepe and Morihova as part of a *malikane*, into the nearby districts of Manastır, Florina, Tikveş, İştip, Vodine, and Yenice-i Vardar, in order to evade

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Florina and fled to the northern districts of Manastır and Pirlepe, their forceful return was officially sanctioned for a time period of 10 years: Özcan, *8 Numaralı Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin (65-120 Varak) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi*, 56, 169. The villagers of Popolzani, a settlement of alluvial plains located in southern Manastır, were tried in court due to their engagement in a practice of annual flight from the village ("Çavuş Bey vakfı olan Poplazanlı nâm karyenin her sene firar iden reâyâsı"): Ibid, 58, 176-177. A tımar-holder from the district of Pirlepe demanded the payment of previous unsettled taxes by two former villagers, who had by then settled in a village of Manastır, even though more than 20 years had already passed since their flight: Erikçi, *8 Numaralı Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin (1-64. Varak) Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi (H.1050- 1051/M.1640-1642),* 116, 297. In the 1680s, peasants were once again openly forbidden from leaving their villages in Pirlepe and the demand for the return of tthe fugitives to their place of origin within a period of 10 years was raised again: Gözcü, *25 Nolu Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi (H.1050- 1051/M.1640-1642,* 44, 150-151.

[399] McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 146; Demirkol, *XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Manastır*, 38, 169.

[400] BOA C. DH. 300/14967, 1195. The results of the investigation that has been conducted in 1194 are presented in a report: Of the village population, 25 names (as household leaders) are recorded to have remained in the village while 24 are scattered in various places (5 in a çiftlik of Nazırzade Küçük Mehmed Ağa; 9 in a village of Kratova; 7 in various villages of İştip, such as Berilovci, Ranciste, Meckujevci, Kiliseli etc.; 3 in the district of Kumanova). Considering the strong possibility that not all of the fugitivies could be located, this amounts to the flight of at least half of the villagers in İştip of the late 18th century.

"Mukataa-yı mezbur senevi 3000 kuruş mal ile mumaileyhanın malikane uhdesinde olduğu ve malikane verilen mukataat ve maktuat ve kura ve mezaraanın ve defterde mukayed (raiyet ve raiyeti)? oğullarından bazısılar ile kadimi sakin oldukları yerlerinden kalkub aher mahallere perakende ve perişan olanlar hala oldukları mahallerde sakin olalı 10 sene mürur eylemeyub ve mücerred avarız hanesine kayıd olunmuş değiller ise kaldurulub kadimce sakin oldukları yerlerine nakil ve iskan ettirilir ama oturdukları mahallerde sakin olalı 10 sene geçub yahud avarızhanesine kayıd olunmuşlar ise ol makuleler kaldırılmak tekalifi ile rencide olunmayub oturdukları mahallerde üzerlerine edası lazım gelen rüsum-u raiyetlerini kanun-ı defter mucebince asl ve … kayıd oldukları zabitlerine eda eylemeleri iskan-ı şüruttan ettiği baş muhasebeden derkenar olunmuştur": Ibid.

taxes in the 1790s.[401] Here, the state not only declared as its aim the return of the fugitives to their place of origin within 10 years, but also used the language of protection concerning the remaining peasantry who would be crushed under taxation if the village population was to drop.[402] Most interestingly, the idea of ancient village ("*kadim karye*"), which was employed not only by the state but also by the peasantry in their opposition to the forceful turning of villages into çiftlik, as will be discussed in the following parts, is used here for the control of rural mobility; in other words, the protection of the peasantry by the state practically amounted to the restriction of its movement.[403]

This story of rural movement and flight continued well into the 19th century. In a document on peasant mobility from the district of İştip, similarly to the previous one, the notion of ancient village ("*kadim karye*") is employed to refer to the rightful place of residence while a period of 10 years has been proposed as the duration whereby the runaways could be returned to their respective villages.[404] Furthermore, the movement of the peasants residing in various villages and çiftliks of the district into the town center turned out to be a matter of concern in the 1850s.[405] Most intriguing, in this context, is the difference of the treatment reserved for movement

[401] BOA AE. SSLM.III. 178/10639, 1207: "Mukataa-yı mezbure ahali ve reayasından bazıları hisse-yi tekaliflerini vermemek daisiyle kurb-u civarda vaki Manastır ve Florina ve Tikveş ve İştip ve Vodine ve Yenice-i Vardar vesair kazalar caniblerine müteferrik ve perişan."
[402] BOA AE. SSLM.III. 178/10639, 1207: "Firar edenlerin hisse-yi tekalifleri derun-u mukataada mevcud reaya fukarasına tahmil olunduğundan ... tahammül olamayub onların dahi perişan olacakları."
[403] BOA AE. SSLM.III. 178/10639, 1207.
[404] BOA A.} MKT. MVL. 89/49, 1273: "Ber kasaba ve karyenin defterde mukayyed hristiyan ve hristiyan oğullarından biri kadimi sakin olduğu kasaba ve karyeyi terk ile varub oturdukları yerlerde hanesine kayıd olunmayub ve sakin olalı 10 seneyi geçmiş değilse o makulelerin kadimi karyelerine nakil ve iskan ettirilmesi ve 10 seneyi geçmiş olduğu halde kaldırılmaması kanun-ı kadim iktizasından olduğu divan-ı hümayun kelamından ... derkenarda gösterilmiş olmasına göre merkumelerden nefs-i kasaba-ı mezkureye nakil eyledikleri beyan olunanların müddet-i nakilleri 10 seneyi tecavüz etmemiş ise o makulelerin kadimi olan karye ve çiftliklerine iade ve iskanları ve 10 seneyi tecavüz etmiş ise bulundukları mahale ifaları."
[405] BOA A.} MKT. MVL. 89/ 49, 1273; BOA A.} MKT. NZD. 202/24, 1273. Such migration to major town centers had already emerged as a problem by the 18th century: McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 146.

within the rural setting as against movement from the countryside into the urban areas from that point onwards: Villagers are allowed to move from their original villages into çiftliks as well as other villages located within the district of İştip, especially in the case that the productive capacity of the old village land is diminished, creating a potential threat regarding tax base[406]; migration into the town center, however, is now forbidden.[407] This change of practice was most probably due to the increasing acceleration of migration into the town centers and the ensuing problems this movement created in relation to the agricultural revenue base as well as a possible crisis with regard to the availability of rural labour for landowners.[408] A conflict related to migration from a village into the town center of Manastır around the same years also displays the ongoing confusion regarding the tax status of former peasants migrating into urban centers while being still registered in their old villages and holding property.[409]

Flight from çiftliks remained a recurring theme of complaint in the petitions written by the çiftlik-owners of the area under study towards the late 19th century. In the 1880s, a landowner named Halil Ağa from the village of Mustafa Obası, located

[406] BOA. A.} MKT. MVL. 89/49, 1273: "Bilahare emr-i ziraatin tatilini muceb olacaktan nakl-i haneye mecbur olanların derun-ı kazada vesair (..)ları çiftliklerde iskan etmek üzere müsaade olunub."
[407] BOA. A.} MKT. MVL. 89/49, 1273: "Badezin bir karyeden diğer karyeye nakil ve iskan etmek isteyenlere müsaade gösterilib derun-ı kasabada ikamet etmek murad edenlerin men olunması hususunun suvb-ı saadetlerine bildirilmesi."
[408] McGowan underlines that acceleration of migration into the town of Manastır in the 1820s and 1830s can be seen as the result of a creation of an outlet for the fugitives: McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 169.
[409] BOA A.} MKT. UM. 165/92, 1271: "Manastır kazasına tabi Magarevo karyesinden çend nefer reaya birkaç sene mukaddem Manastır'a nakil ederek … gelince değin hisse-i virgülerini karye-yi mezkurede tediye edegelmişler ise de bu sene virgülerinin tediye-yi itasına mümanaat etmekte bulundukları ve bunların hane ve emlakları karye-yi mezkurede olarak virgülerinin vermemeleri karye-yi mezkure reayasına gadr-ı mucib olacağı beyanıyla bunların hisse-yi virgülerinin yine karye-i mezkurede ita ettirilmesi ve vermedikleri halde karye-yi mezkure defterinden bil tenzil Manastır vergisine zamm ve ilavesi ve yahud mersumların iadesi karye-yi mezkure kocabaşı İstaryo nam zımmi tarafından ba arzuhal inha ve istida olunması ve hakikat-i keyfiyet buraca meçhul olduğundan suvb-u düsturlarından istilamı meclis-i valadan ifade olmağla ber haval-i muharrer keyfiyetin bil tahkik iştarı hususuna himmet buyurmaları."

in the district of İştip towards the north-west of the town-center,[410] wrote a petition whereby he argued that his workers, Mano and his brother Yuvan and his other brother Koço, originally from the village of Meckujevci, located towards the north of the settlement of Mustafa Obası, fled from his çiftlik not only without paying off their debt but also stealing some animals and belongings of the çiftlik-owner.[411] Beyond the issue of stealing, Halil Ağa argued that this flight had caused damage to his person due to the interruption of agricultural production and as such, his first and foremost demand turned out to be the return of his workers to his çiftlik.[412] Around the same time period, another landowner named Lazo veled-i Gorco, holding a çiftlik in the village of Vardar, located around the alluvial plains towards the south-west of the town-center of İştip, complained in his petition to the "*kaymakamlık*" of the district that his two workers, originally coming from villages in the district of Tikveş, fled from his çiftlik, not only stealing some horses but also leaving their job unfinished. Having heard that these fugitives intended to enter the employment of a particular individual named "İştipli Koca Miladin" in Sofia, this çiftlik-owner demanded not only the return of his stolen animals but also the return of his workers to complete their job.[413] After an initially unsuccessful attempt by the authorities,[414]

[410] BOA HR. SFR.04. 701/97, 1890: "İştip kazasına tabi' Mustafa Oba karyesi ashab-ı alakasından Halil Ağa."
[411] BOA HR. SFR.04. 701/97, 1890: "İştip kazasına tabi Mustafa Oba karyesindeki çiftlik hizmetkarlarımdan İştip Meckujevci karyeli 30 yaşında Mano ve biraderi 25 yaşlarında Yuvan ve 16 yaşlarında diğer biraderi Koço ba sened-i musaddak 75 lira nakidle 306 senesi Kasımına kadar dahi çiftlikte hizmete borçlu oldukları halde bundan beş gün evvel ... çiftliğimden ... firar eyledikleri."
[412] BOA HR. SFR.04. 701/97, 1890: "Firar ve ziraatimi yüzü üstüne terk eylemeleri hakk-ı acizanemde büyük özüre muceb olacağına göre ... salifülesam kesanın buraya iadeleri."
[413] BOA HR. SFR.04. 701/101, 1890: "İştip kazasına tabi Vardar çiftliği karyesinde mutasarrıf bulunduğum çiftliğimde hizmetkarlık etmekte olan Tikveş'in Risan karyesinden 25 yaşlarında Taşo ve kaza-yı mezkurun Bilişte karyesinden 23 yaşlarında Rano nam kimesneler şehr-i haziranda on beşinci Cuma günü ... mezkur çiftliğimden sirkatle Bulgaristan'a firar eyledikleri ve bunların Sofya'da hizmetkarlık etmekte olan İştipli Koca Miladin nezdine girecekleri istihbar kılınmağla bunların ... olarak işimi terkle firar ve bargirlerimi sirkat eylemeleri ... mezkur bargirler ile beraber salifülesam kesanın iadeleri."
[414] BOA HR. SFR.04. 701/114, 1890. The members of the law enforcement ("zabıta") failed to find the fugitives in Sofia.

the fugitives were caught on the border[415] and returned to İştip for the legal proceedings.[416] As such, the çiftlik-owners in these examples claimed not only their stolen goods and animals, but also their çiftlik workers to be returned to complete their duties in agricultural production and hence, pay off their debt. Similar cases of flight also took place at the beginning of the 20th century, such as the case whereby an 18-year-old worker fled from a çiftlik located in the village of Peshtalevo, owned by Mustafa Bey, a resident of the Papa Nikola quarter of the town of Pirlepe, to the village of Dedebal, located in the alluvial plains towards the north-east of the town center of Manastır, to be employed as a worker.[417] As such, competition among landowners for labour seems to have continued well into the 20th century.

To sum up, not only restrictions imposed on rural mobility but also resulting waves of flight from çiftliks and villages remained in place, with varying degrees of intensity, from the 17th into the early 20th century in the area under study. As rural inhabitants, privately or collectively, continued with their migration to cities or different *tımars* and *çiftliks* in conjunction with a process of dispossession, which will be discussed in more detail below, they gradually came to constitute a reserve of labour force for urban and rural wage-work as well as sharecropping.[418] In general terms, the coexistence of continuous restriction of mobility and illegal movement seems to have marked the rural landscape.

In this context, the obsession with the specification of the duration of the labour agreement observed in the aforementioned legal texts can be understood in relation to the concern of the state and the landowners to control the mobility of rural

[415] BOA HR. SFR.04. 701/116, 1890: "Merkumların esna-yı firarlarında hudud kordonları tarafından derdest olunmaları."
[416] BOA HR. SFR.04. 701/116, 1890: "Palanka kaymakamlığından buraya gönderilerek mahkeme-yi bidayete teslim kılındıkları."
[417] BOA YB. 021. 55/269 1321.
[418] Matkovski, "La resistance des paysans macedoniens contre l'attachement a la glebe pendant la domination ottoman," 704.

workforce in an environment of labour scarcity, which in turn resulted in competition among çiftlik-owners for labour force. The accompanying concern of the state to safeguard the livelihood of çiftlik workers in the form of granting security of dwelling and employment by putting checks on the potentially arbitrary acts of the çiftlik-owners can be seen as the other side of the same coin whereby agricultural production is to continue without interruption and increase in productivity, if possible, through the creation of longer-term incentives on the side of the producers to refrain from completely exhausting the cultivable land in a single term of production -hence, the example of the tenancy duration in England, the epitome of capitalist -and thus, efficient- agriculture. While it is true that short-term contracts can also be employed as tools of labour discipline by creating a situation of constant insecurity in certain contexts, the debt-based character of the longer-term contracts under question, hand in hand with the existing practice of restricting mobility, carries with it the imprint of labour bondage in an environment of unequal distribution of economic, political and legal power.[419]

6.3 The question of "*angarya*"

While the theme of the extension of the duration of labour agreement, as raised in the drafts of the "*layiha*" discussed above, is directly related to the restriction of rural mobility, often through the creation of indebtedness, which will be discussed in detail below, the other main theme of the "*layiha*" is the definition of the content of the labour arrangement with the focus being on the prohibition of "*angarya*". In the classic literature on Ottoman economic history, not only limits on rural mobility but also the use of forced labour has been associated with the legal concept of serfdom,

[419] "In a labor-starved world without free land, control over land and laws often leads to peonage": McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 72.

the existence of which has been rejected wholesale.[420] In contrast, the Braudelian framework has evaluated the çiftlik phenomenon as part of the creation of bonded labour in a manner comparable to the emergence of second serfdom in Eastern Europe, explained as a result of trade opportunities.[421] Beyond these frameworks, studies focusing on the class relations between landowners and rural producers have demonstrated formidable evidence for the existence of forced labor and instances of dependency in various localities of the Balkan countryside.[422]

The imposition of forced labour on the peasantry by the çiftlik-owners of the Balkans turned into a topic of general concern starting at least from the declaration of the Tanzimat reforms in 1839 onwards.[423] Although the controversy over "*angarya*" was not entirely resolved, especially regarding the acceptance of its existence by provincial officials,[424] the vocabulary and concerns of documents from various points

[420] See: Barkan, "Türkiye'de "Servaj" Var Mıydı?" 721-724; İnalcık, "Village, peasant and empire"; İnalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftliks: State, Landlords, and Tenants."
[421] See: Stoianovich, "Land Tenure and Related Sectors of the Balkan Economy, 1600-1800," 402, 407-409; Sadat, "Rumeli Ayanları: The Eighteenth Century," 353.
[422] See: Güran, & Uzun, "Bosna-Hersek'te Toprak Rejimi: Eshab-ı Alaka ve Çiftçiler Arasındaki İlişkiler (1840-1875)"; İnalcık, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi*; Terzibaşoğlu, "Landed Estates, Rural Commons and Collective Agriculture in Ottoman Niş and Leskofçe in the Nineteenth Century."
[423] "Rumeli canibinde olan mahallerin ekseri vücuh ve ... memleketlerinde bulunan reayayı kendu abd-i müşterekleri hükmünde tutub çiftlik hizmetlerinde vesair umur ve hususlarda cebren bila ücret kullanmak ve bazı umur-u ... vesairelerine müdahale ve taarruz etmek mesellu teaddiyat ictisar eyledikleri istihbar ve tahkik buyurulduğundan": BOA C. DH. 196/9764, 1255.
"Rumeli eyaletinde bazı çiftlikler ashabı reayaya angarya kullanmakta olduklarından ne suretle men' olunduğu": BOA A.} MKT. MHM. 6/68, 1264.
"Rumeli eyaletinde bulunan bazı çiftlikat ashabı çiftliklerinde bulunan reayayı angarya işletib işletmedikleri bil tahkik ara sıra vuku' bulduğu anlaşılmış olmasıyla da fimabad memnu olduğuna ve badezin mütecasir olanlar hakkında mecazat icra olunacağına dair": BOA A.} MKT. UM. 66/36, 1267.
[424] For example, the governor of Edirne ("*vali-yi eyalet-i Edirne*") completely denied the existence of *angarya* in his domain: "İşbu angarya maddesinin buralarda vukuu olmayub saye-yi ... vaye-yi hazret-i padişahide efrad-ı ahali müsterih ül hal ve müreffeh ül ... oldukları halde kendu işleriyle meşgul ve ber muceb-i ... seniye hiç kimesnenin meccanen ve yahud ücretle ahaliden birini angarya hizmetlerde kullanmağa ictisar edemeyeceği": BOA A.} MKT. UM. 286/34, 1273.
Almost 20 years before, Nazır Kapucubaşı Osman Ağa had also denied the existence of angarya in Drama: "Kaza-yı mezbur ahali ve reayasını bu ana kadar gerek kendusu ve gerek vücuh ve ashab-ı alakadan ... bila ücret cebren kendu hizmetlerinde istihdam vesair güna teaddi eylediklerin vuku olmayub ve bundan böyle dahi vukua gelmemesine ... dikkat olunacağı derkar olunmuş olub": C. DH. 196/9764, 1255. In the document under question, the general obligations on the residents of the district are shortly listed ("*ahali ve reaya-yı merkumenin ber mutad-ı kadim senede vaki olan hizmetleri*"). One of these is the transportation of grains apportioned to the army and the imperial palace as well as the tax in kind on agricultural produce from the location of harvest as far as to the

of the 19th century indicate that forced labour was indeed a resilient practice in existence in and around the Balkans, even though it was legally forbidden after the Tanzimat.[425]

Banning of forced labour by the Tanzimat renders the aforementioned issue of mobility even more intriguing. In a state decree simultaneously addressed to the *mutasarrıfs* of places under Tanzimat regulations, including Rumeli, İvranya, Yanya, Silistre, Tırhala, Vidin and Selanik, the workers of çiftliks were allowed to change their location -as long as they remained within the boundaries of their respective districts and all movements were kept under proper registration- specifically in cases of arbitrary demands and forced labour imposed on them by çiftlik-owners ("*angarya veya suret-i aherle zulm ve teaddi*"). As such, controlling population movements rather than completely stopping them seems to be at the center of the efforts in the latter half of the 19th century while forced labour was shunned, not only due to the ethical (and practical) problems its existence created for the liberal-minded, modernizing as well as more traditional, patriarchal state officials, but also because of the underlying awareness that forced labour was positioned in the center of rural unrest and the redemption of the reaya from *corvee*, through permission to rural movement if necessary, was the only way out.[426]

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port of Kavala (implicitly by small farmers). Then, it is stated that the landless who are employed on their free will in imperial çiftliks get half of the agricultural produce ("*çift ve çubuğu olmayub acize makulesinden olanlar dahi emlak-ı hümayun çiftlikatına bil tav ül rıza ortakçı tutulub*") and hence, the alienation of half of the produce they cultivated is identified as the specific obligation of this group. According to Osman Ağa, these constituted all types of services expected from the rural inhabitants: "Marülzikr Drama kazası reayası ber minval-i muharrer hidemat-ı mezkureden başka bir güna angaryada istihdam olunduğu olmayub her halde teadiden himaye olunmakta bulunmuş olduğu": Ibid. Nevertheless, peasant complaint regarding *angarya* seems to have persisted, reaching to the center in the end. As such, outright denial by officials should not be seen as an unexpected reaction.

[425] Regarding the resilience of "*angarya*" even after it was legally forbidden, it was often argued that the legal prohibition of forced labour during the initial phase of Tanzimat were unfortunately reversed in the turmoils of the following decades: BOA A.} MKT. UM. 286/34, 1273.

[426] "Zir irade-yi atufilerinde kain mahaller çiftlikatında mütemekkin yarıcı ve hizmetkar makulesinden bulunan reayanın biri mütemekkin olduğu çiftlik sahibinden angarya veya suret-i aherle zulm ve teaddiye giriftar olarak adem-i tahammülünden naşi li-ecli iskan aher yere çiftliğe gidecek olsa bu reaya çiftliğimin kadim reayasındandır hasb-el şürut mahal-i ahere salıvirmem diyerek çiftlik sahibi

The discussion on *corvee* continued well into the latter half of the 19th century. An article from *Journal de Constantinople*, published on September 13, 1860, dealt with the question of forced labour.[427] Here, the discussion started as a polemic against the allegedly exaggerated accounting of the extent of *corvee* in the Balkans by a French newspaper.[428] According to the writer of the article, the main problem with the criticized account stemmed from its misdating of *corvee* and feudalism: While the existence of *corvee* had indeed been a phenomenon under the feudal regime of the "*beys*" of the earlier periods, the article argued, the introduction of the Tanzimat reforms had already greatly diminished their power. The principal embodiment of the older feudal relations in the modern age of the 19th century, however, could be found in *çiftliks* which were mostly inherited from older feudal landowners and where attachment of the peasantry to the land seemed to continue. Nevertheless, it was argued that the measures created by Tanzimat were now modifying even the relationship between the çiftlik-owner and the cultivator, giving it the quality of a bilateral contract.[429] In this argument, while the existence of a

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bulunanlar çiftliğine iade ile esir gibi istihdam ve firarını ... ile hakkında istediği icraya ikdam etmekte ve o dahi halastan ümidini kat' ile ma...en iskan ve angaryaya razı olduklarından ve beynlerinde vuku bulan bazı fesad ve uygunsuzluklar ekseri bu mesellu zulm ve teaddiden ... etmekte idüğünden": BOA. A.} MKT. UM. 290/24, 1273, BOA. A.} MKT. UM. 290/45, 1273. As such, movement within the district is allowed: "Çiftlikat reayasından gerek yarıcı gerek hizmetkar makulesi olsun biri ... mütemekkin olduğu çiftlikattan kalkub ahere bir çiftliğe gitmek istedikte dilediği mahale gitmesi ... aher kazaya gitmesi caiz olmayub fakat bulunduğu kazadan dışarı çıkmamak ve vergilerini temkin edeceği mahalden kaydı vechiyle istihsal kılınmak": BOA. A.} MKT. UM. 290/24 1273, BOA. A.} MKT. UM. 290/45, 1273. The investigation on whether this was a locally acceptable solution had started by 1849: BOA A.} MKT. 236/26 1265.

[427] I thank Berna Kamay for sharing this document with me.

[428] *Journal de Constantinople*, September 13, 1860: "Nous nous proposons de donner aujourd'hui quelques details sur le system des corvees actuellement en vigeur dans quelque province de la Roumelie, afin de demontrer l'inexactitude de assertions du journal français l'Union qui, dans un article don't nous avons deja en partie releve les erreurs, pretend que les corvees sont intolerable et pesent tour sur la portion chretienne des habitants de la Roumelie."

[429] *Journal de Constantinople*, September 13, 1860: "Il semble que le journal français s'est trompe de date, et qu'au lieu de discuter l'etat de la Roumelie actuelle, il la decrit telle qu'elle existait sous le regime feudal des beys qui exerçaient autrefois un pouvoir preque absolu dans les provinces de l'Empire Ottoman. Alors, il est vrai, les villageois etaient assujettis par ces seigneurs a toutes sortes de corvess; mais depuis que leur autorite a ete annuee par l'introduction du Tanzimat, une modification complete a eu lieu egalement dans les relations qui existaient entre eux et la population des campagnes qu'ils administraient. Le seuls vestiges de ce system feudal sont les Tchiftliks on fermes appurtenant

certain degree of attachment to the land was not completely denied, a novel character was attributed to the relationship between the landowner and the cultivator. As such, the argument focused on a transition from the oppressive, corvee-based feudalism of the older Ottoman rule in the Balkans into a new economic form whereby even the çiftliks -the principle embodiment of the older feudal relations especially regarding the attachment of the cultivator to the soil- were also undergoing certain transformations. While the expression of the novel form of labour relation through the form of a bilateral contract remains to be a liberal understanding of agrarian societies, the analysis of the article seems to be part of a general effort of coming to terms with the contradictions indicative of a transitional context.[430]

The existing rule regarding sharing of the produce, the article argued, was such that the cultivators who supplied the draught animals themselves got half of the produce while they obtained only one-third if the çiftlik-owner provided the oxen. This, of course, is a gross simplification of local variations. However, the critical

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pour la plupart aux descendants des anciens beys provinciaux et cultivees par des paysans qui son ten quelque sorte attaches a la glebe, quoique d'autre part, certaines stipulations qui interviennent entre le maître et les laboureurs donnent aussi a leurs relations le caractere d'un contrat bilateral." Historically, the article relates the origins of these estates to the internal strife in the Ottoman Balkans whereby peasants fell under the control of the "*beys"* either for protection or as means to pay of their debts. Also, the political and legal power of these "*beys"*, it is argued, made it even easier for them to sentence the wrongdoers to work on their lands.

[430] *Journal de Constantinople*, September 13, 1860. It was also added that the state itself sometimes had to resort to the use of unpaid work, especially when no other type of labor was available. Nevertheless, the article argued that such instances were mostly for undertakings beneficial to the whole community, such as public construction: "Outre ces corvees, que les particuliers peuvent exiger en vertu des stipulations et d'usages traditionnels, il e nest d'autres requises quelquefois par les employes du gouvernement. Celles-la se redusient a tres peu de chose et par des dispositions recemment emanees, les paysan qui y prennent part avec leurs betes reçoivent une certaine retribution qui s'eleve ordinairement a 30 paras par cheval et par heure. Le passage des troupes ne cause aux villageois aucun inconvenient, vu qu'elles vont Presque toujours s'etablir dans les grands khans et non pas dans les maisons des paysans comme l'affirment certains journaux europeens. Quelquefois, dans des cas exceptionnels, les habitants de quelques communautes Rurales sont requis de preter leur concours a des travaux d'utilite publique et avantageux pour le pays meme qu'ils habitent. Tels ont te par exemple les corvees que les habitants des districts de Seres, de Drama et de Zihna ont executes l'annee passee a l'embourchare du fleuve Strymon pour le deblayer et en regulariser le cours, et on doit seulement regretter que la crue des torrents grossis par les pluises d'automne aient completement detruit ces travaux au moment ou ils etaient presque acheves. Tels sont aussi parfois certains travaux indispensable pour l'etablissement des telegraphes dans certaines provinces. Au reste les requisitions extraordinaires don't nous venons de parler ne se font que tres rarement et seulement lorsqu'il est impossible de se procurer d'une autre maniere la main d'oeuvre necessaire."

point for the argument is that while this method of sharing made it possible for the cultivator to subsist and pay his taxes in a year of good harvest, the help of the landowner was often required in years of bad harvest.[431] Although the argument was not developed any further, it is reasonable to suspect, based on the existing evidence, that the result of such an assistance provided by the landowner would be the creation of relations going beyond a simple bilateral contract and the gradual emergence of debt bondage, as will be discussed in detail below. Furthermore, the argument of the article regarding the coexistence of çiftlik workers and small peasants within the confines of the same settlement indicates an ongoing process of piecemeal land acquisition at work, as will be discussed in the following parts.[432]

About 20 years later, in a letter written in July 1883[433], a certain Mr. Evans went on and about the rural life in the Ottoman Balkans as he recounted his travels around the northern end of the *vilayet* of Manastır, mainly in the area around Skopje, where he claimed to have visited more than 50 villages and witnessed onerous conditions:

> Were there any reasonable prospect of a successful uprising, the motives for it are certainly very strong. Since the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin, the Christian population of Dardania has been tyrannized over as it never has been before within the memory of man. No words of mine can sufficiently describe the abject slavery in which the peasantry of this region is at present held … The most crying grievance, however, is the forced labour, or "angarya," which is exacted here with merciless brutality … the manner of enforcing this "angaria" considerably adds to its oppressiveness. No

[431] *Journal de Constantinople*, September 13, 1860: "D'apres les coutumes actuellement en vigueur, si les laboureurs cultivent le tchiftlik avec leurs boeuf, ils ont droit a la moitie du product; mais s ices animaux appartiennent au proprietaire du terrain, ils ne prennent que le tiers de la recolle. Dans les bonnes annees, cette quote part du laboureur lui suffit pour payer sa capitation et son bedelie et pour nourrir sa famille; mais dans les mauvaises il doit souvent reclamer l'assistance de son maître."
[432] *Journal de Constantinople*, September 13, 1860. Some villages completely consisted of çiftlik workers while the others were a mixture of çiftlik workers and landholding peasants: "Un village est quequefois entierement compose de paysans assujettis au travail des tchiftliks: quelquefoi il contient aussi des paysans proprietaries libres (rayahs); tandis que ces derniers sont requis parfois d heberger les mousafirs, (voyageur ou etranger), les laboureurs des tchiftliks sont dispenses de cette obligation." These observations are also in line with the previous analysis of the income survey registers.
[433] FO 424/136, *Macedonia Correspondence: 1881-1884*, "Correspondance No: 141, Some Observations on the present state of Dardania, or Turkish Serbia (including the Vilayet of Kossova and part of the Vilayet of Monastir)", by Mr. A. Evans, 142-144.

> consideration is shown for the necessities of field labour, and men are literally beaten in from the plough or the harvest field. In most villages here the "metayer" system prevails – half the produce being paid to the Turkish landholder; in some of the mountain villages, however, the land is the peasant's own. It is, however, saddled with a land tax … in addition to the payment of the Sultan's tithe … The taxation itself, I imagine is not so oppressive as the method of levying it and adding to it by irregular means.[434]

Admittedly, the dramatic tone of this narrative should be toned down through an evaluation with a much calmer demeanor; nonetheless, the first-hand observations on not only the existence of a process of peasant dispossession in the form of *çiftlik* formation and the widespread practice of sharecropping but also instances of forced labour, specifically put into action by the state in this case, as well as a situation of general agrarian unrest, are in line with other documentary evidence.

As these examples from the 19th century attest, while the very existence of the practice of the imposition of forced labour on the peasantry in villages and *çiftliks* had been under discussion by contemporaries and specific opinions on the issue varied, the persistent focus of the debate implies that instances of *corvee* indeed occured in a variety of localities despite the prohibition brought about by the Tanzimat reforms.[435] As such, the ongoing obsession in the aforementioned "*layiha*" with the development of a clear definition of the content of the labour agreement revolved around the same issue –that is, *corvee* is forbidden. Therefore, the continuity of this concern attests to the resilience of forced labour even in the early 20th century when the legal prohibition of this embarrasing practice, which often emerged in rural context as a companion of restrictions on mobility and emergence of debt bondage, was still required. As such, the language employed by the state -that

[434] FO 424/136, 143.

[435] In this context, McGowan's argument that the binding of peasant producers to land was viewed by the state as an "administrative convenience" which would "maximize the resources at the disposal of the sultans and their vezirs" whereby the peasantry remained "legally free", even though their movement was practically restricted and corvee labor could be free-handedly imposed on them as they were "saddled with a stigma of inferiority", seems to be questionable in light of the existing evidence: McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 52.

of protection of the peasantry- can be considered not only as a part of the discursive heritage of the ancient ideology of "circle of justice" embraced as a tool of legitimacy by political formations blooming on a rural tax base, but also as a more contemporary response to the peasant unrest multiplying around the mid-19th century in the Ottoman Balkans.[436]

Nevertheless, perceieved as a specific form of pre-capitalist ground rent (or rent in labour), one must be careful not to exaggerate the structural significance of this particular form. As Marx traces the transformation of pre-capitalist ground rent, from rent in labour into rent in kind and rent in money, he underlines that the nature of ground-rent does not change from an economic point of view.[437] Furthermore, even in classical feudalism, the relationship between the landlord and the serf did not always take the form of rent in labour; historically, mixed forms of rent in labour, rent in kind and rent in money, in addition to the employment of wage-labour, which could also be mixed with various demands, were quite common.[438] While rent in labour was most probably perceived as the most onerous form of imposition by the peasantry and could emerge as one of the first points of contestation in times of rural

[436] Because corvee is often associated with a harsher form of feudalism and personal bondage, its existence probably created discomfort on the side of the modernizing state-officials as well as paternalistic-minded personae of the more traditional kind. It is also possible that the perception of this form as the most onerous obligation by the peasantry at large might have contributed the controversy over it: Alfonso, "Exploring Difference within Rural Communities in the Northern Iberian Kingdoms, 1000–1300," 91-92; Melton, "Gutsherrschaft in East Elbian Germany and Livonia, 1500–1800: a critique of the model," 335-336. Nevertheless, in the drafts of the "layiha" discussed above, whereas a specific penalty -that of fraud- is clearly defined for the cases of peasant flight, neither such specification nor cautionary measures can be found for possible cases of forced labour on the part of the çiftlik-owner other than a vague warning that it was forbidden from that point onwards.
[437] Marx, *Capital Vol.3*, 925-938.
[438] Bloch refers to "two forms of subjection: that which affected a man in his person, and that which affected him only as the holder of a certain piece of land": Bloch, *Feudal Society I: The Growth of Ties of Dependence*, 242-243. He also underlines that, during the history of western European feudalism, "the form of dependence in which the subordination of man to man had found its most complete expression either disappeared or changed its character" in the sense that "it was conceived of less as a personal tie and more as an inferiority of class which by a sort of contagion could pass from the soil to the man. There would henceforth be servile tenements, the possession of which made a man a serf, and the abandonment of which sometimes set him free": Ibid, 278- 279. Also see: Cerman, "Demesne lordship and rural society in early modern East Central and Eastern Europe: comparative perspectives."

unrest, at the end of the day, there remains the fact that the landless peasant cultivating the land of the çiftlik-owner through sharecropping contract spends a portion of his labour-time for the benefit of the landowner, whether it be in the form of labour or produce. Furthermore, the banning of arbitrary demands, which was often used with reference to forms of "*angarya*", beyond those responsibilities defined explicitly in the labour contract, mostly remains to be a case of legal formality: The obligation for the sharecropper to transport the produce of the çiftlik-owner, or the provision of charcoal and wood to the landowner by the tenant of a çiftlik, resemble more to "feudal" relics of the past than to practices of a relationship of equals as the allegedly "bilateral contract" between the parties, in reality, remains to be flexible enough to accommodate duties and responsibilities from different periods. In other words, the codification of such duties and responsibilities cannot, by itself, prevent the arbitrary imposition of anything, but it instead subsumes it in the fashion of a contract, especially in a context of economic, political, and legal inequality.

6.4 Rural poverty, peasant indebtedness, and bonded labour

In 1879, Lieutenant-Colonel Primrose addressed a letter to Sir H. Elliot from the town center of Filibe, which turned out to be the last stop in his journey through Rumelia, starting from Bosnia and following a route north of Manastır, through Uskub, Kumanova, Palanka and Kustendil into Bulgaria.[439] In the letter under question, he recounted his travels through his route from Priepolje into Filibe starting with his observations on the characteristics of the landscape: "The country is, uninteresting, little cultivated, and consists chiefly of rolling alluvial plains bordered

[439] FO 424/89, *Affairs of Turkey - Further Correspondence Part 43, 1879 November, No.52,* 40-53.

by ranges of hills of inconsiderable elevation."[440] He then went on with the general depiction of the conditions of the peasantry of the respective areas:

> The difference from the dense forests and swelling woodlands of Bosnia to these barren and shadowless flats and solitary naked hills is as remarkable on the one side as the contrast given on the other by the cheerful and independent aspect of the Bulgarian peasants, their homes and their small gardens, to the timid and sullen appearance of the Christians of the Vilayet of Monastir, their miserable cabins and their rude if not degraded condition.[441]

The working conditions in the northern area of Manastır, Primrose continued, were not heartwarming either. With reference to agricultural production in the area around Skopje and Palanka, Primrose wrote: "labour was ... said to be dear, so much as 5 piastres a-day (about 10d.) being paid per man; but, as the tillage is chiefly done by Christians, who receive little or nothing in return but bread and salt, this grievance seems fictitious, or at least exaggerated"[442] while regarding Kumanova where the working conditions were somewhat better, he recited that "the labourers get 20 paras a-day (1/2 d.) and food, that is, bread and occasionally vegetables, never meat; they also share in good harvests in the produce of the cultivation."[443]

One of the most important corollaries of rural poverty, appropriation of peasant land, and generalized employment of sharecropping is the problem of peasant indebtedness.[444] The endemic of rural indebtedness can be observed in many documents starting at least as far back as the 16th century. The sijil registers of Manastır and Pirlepe contain cases of individual debt, usually taken by villagers from

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[440] FO 424/89, 48.
[441] FO 424/89, 48.
[442] FO 424/89, 48-49.
[443] FO 424/89, 49. These working conditions also found their echoes in the case of domestic labourers, as Primrose explained: "The condition of the household domestics (always Christian) in Turkish houses is very pitiable. They are literally slaves. They receive bread and salt, never meat or clothes, are beaten cruelly for every trifling fault, often imprisoned at the pleasure of their masters, and receive but scanty wages": Ibid, 51.
[444] The members of the military class obtained peasant land not only through purchase but also through creation of indebtedness: Ergenç, "XVIII. yüzyılda Osmanlı Anadolu'sunda Tarım Üretiminde Yeni Boyutlar: Müzara'a ve Müraba'a Sözleşmeleri,"137. "In many cases, farmers had to surrender de facto ownership to the moneylender, becoming sharecroppers or wage-labourers and, occasionally, they had to leave the land physically": Aytekin, "Cultivators, creditors and the state: rural indebtedness in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire," 292.

town inhabitants or *vakıf*-owners.[445] Most interesting, however, remains to be the abundance of cases of collective indebtedness, sometimes by several villagers and sometimes by whole villages, whereby peasants took up the role of the guarantor ("*kefil*") for each other. In almost all cases, the payment of debts included payment of interest as well.[446] The cases of failure in the payment of debt or interest could end up in forced sale of land as well as the appropriation of real estates such as houses and stores.[447] Other than the usual cases of indebtedness by peasants to urban personages and landlords, there were also instances whereby relations of indebtedness, which could end up in the appropriation of land, were occurring among the villagers.[448] While debts mostly took the form of cash, there were cases of indebtedness in grains as well.[449] Furthermore, McGowan notes that some villagers of Manastır were collectively indebted to certain figures and were obliged to send workers to them annually in place of the payment of interest in the 17th century.[450]

The problem of indebtedness seems to have continued into the 18th and the 19th century with varying degrees of visibility in the sources.[451] One of the ancestors of the biggest çiftlik-owning family of İştip in the mid-19th century, Nazırzade

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[445] Erikçi, *8 Numaralı Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin (1-64. Varak) Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi (H.1050- 1051/M.1640-1642)*, 138, 145, 202.
[446] For some cases of indebtedness, see: Erikçi, *8 Numaralı Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin (1-64. Varak) Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi (H.1050- 1051/M.1640-1642)*, 145, 146, 148, 151, 152, 163, 164, 170, 178, 180, 182, 184, 187, 189, 190, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 216, 217, 220, 221, 226, 227, 233, 234, 242, 243, 247, 252, 253, 259, 260, 261, 267, 281, 288, 291, 295, 293, 299, 300, 303, 304, 309, 310, 311, 321, 330; Özcan, *8 Numaralı Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin (65-120 Varak) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi*, 89, 102, 104, 106, 110-11, 178-179. The restriction of mobility through collective debt often functioned as an important tool of control: Matkovski, "La resistance des paysans macedoniens contre l'attachement a la glebe pendant la domination ottoman," 705-707.
[447] Erikçi, *8 Numaralı Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin (1-64. Varak) Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi (H.1050- 1051/M.1640-1642)*, 150, 238; Özcan, *8 Numaralı Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin (65-120 Varak) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi*, 102.
[448] Erikçi, *8 Numaralı Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin (1-64. Varak) Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi (H.1050- 1051/M.1640-1642)*, 197.
[449] Ibid, 160, 191, 324.
[450] McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800*, 136.
[451] Kavgacı, *63 Numaralı Manastır Şer'iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi (1778-1782)*, 485; Matkovski, "La resistance des paysans macedoniens contre l'attachement a la glebe pendant la domination ottoman," 704-706.

Mehmed Ağa, emerged as a figure who was heavily involved in lending of loans to his çiftlik-workers as well as inhabitants of a number of villages in the late 18th century.[452] In the 1840s, the villagers of Magarevo and Trnova, both located towards the west of the town center of Manastır, complained in a petition that they had been indebted to certain Muslim and non-Muslim personages for 30 years. Although they never faulted in the payment of interest, they argued, their poverty pushed them to ask for a period of five to six years of delay for the interest payment.[453] At the beginning of the 20th century, some common demands, including cancelling of some taxes and amelioration of certain issues, were raised in a series of petitions approved by the members of the local administrative body ("muhtar" and "aza") of various villages in the district of İştip, part of the vilayet of Kosova at the time.[454] The villages that contributed to the petition under question were dispersed around the north-west and southeast of the town center of İştip, implying that the problems raised in the petition constituted a generalized condition in the district, as can be seen in the map below (Figure 156).

[452] Pehlivan, *İştip'de Ayanlık: Nazırzade Ailesi*, 73-78. Also see, BOA. C. ML. 363 / 14862, 1191: "zikr olunan 28 kıta çiftliğinde ortakçı tabir olunan reaya zimmetinde eğerce müteveffa-yı mumaileyhanın 2053 kuruş matlubu olub."
[453] BOA C. ADL. 98/5943, 1257: "Manastır sancağında kain Magarevo ve Trnova karyesi reayasının bazı ehl-i islam ve reayaya 30 seneden beru ba defter-i müfredat ve temessük () kuruş deynleri olub düyun-ı mezburun sene be sene iktiza eden güzeştesinin tediyesinde kusurları yoğ ise de bu husus perişani hallerine muceb olmuş olduğundan bahisle hallerine merhameten ashab-ı matlub kendulerine 5-6 sene bila güzeşte mahal vermeleri." The petition under question travelled through various offices in the center, including Meclis-i Vala and Maliye Nezareti.
[454] BOA. TFR.I. ŞKT. 56/5538, 1322. 25 villages are included in the formation of common demands: Prehod, Trogerci-i Bala, Trogerci-i Zir, Nemanica, Leskovica, Varsaklı, Balovan-ı Bala, Lezovo, Patatino, Dolani, Kalo Petrovic, Nikoman, Koshevo, Poçivalo, Ljuboten, Gorachino, Yeniköy, Tunadar, Shopur, Dinler-i Zir, Dinler-i Bala, Susevo, Krividol, Brest, Çardaklı.

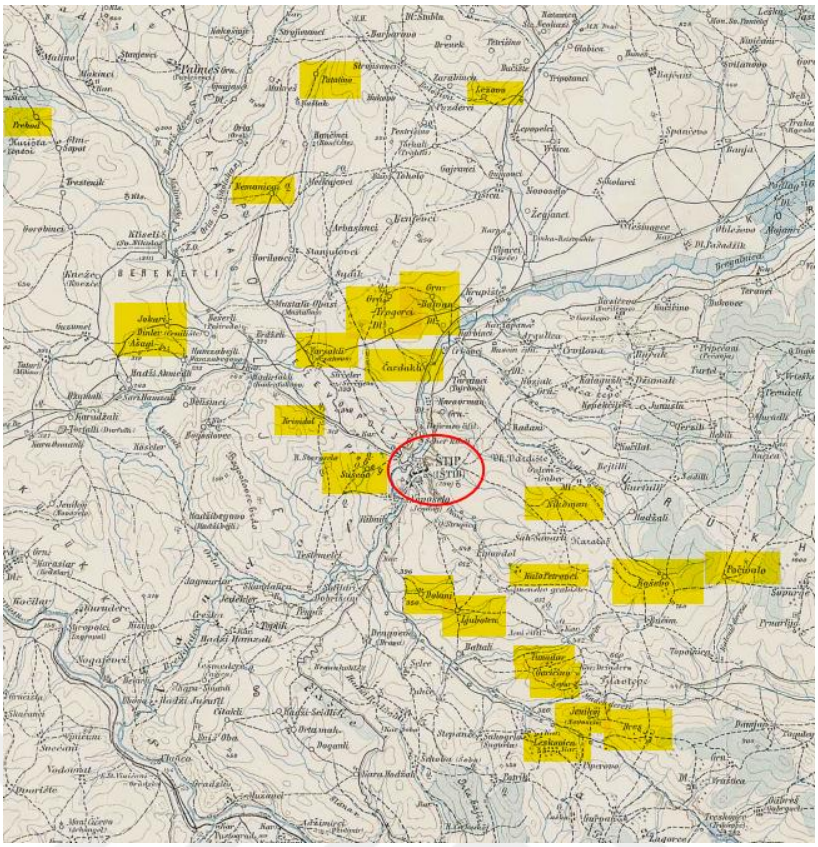

Figure 156. Villages that participated in the signing of the petition concerning rural poverty.

At the beginning of the petitions, rural poverty was addressed as a major problem among the villagers of İştip, and certain changes in the existing practices were demanded.[455] Here, one of the major complaints turned out to be the manner of tax collection and the related abuses by the "*mültezim*" that could potentially result, the peasants warned, in the complete abandonment of agriculture.[456] The latter issue was raised once again when it was proposed that the cancellation of older debts of taxation could create an incentive for the fugitives to return to their villages.[457] In

[455] BOA. TFR.I. ŞKT.55 /5423, 1322: "İştip kazası halkından bulunub tebaa-yı şahanenin düçar olageldiği sefalet"; BOA. TFR.I. ŞKT. 56/5538, 1322: "İştip kazası halkından bulunduğumuzdan ahalinin fakir hali cihetiyle bazı müşkilatımızın kaldırılması zımnında."
[456] BOA. TFR.I. ŞKT. 56/5538 1322: "Aşarın Manastır vilayeti celilesi dahilinde emir buyurulan ve yahud diğer münasib bir usule tahviliyle mültezim mezaliminden ve terk-i ziraate badi olan birçok usulden vekaye buyurulması!"
[457] BOA. TFR.I. ŞKT.55 /5423 1322: This is the third complaint and demand raised in the petition: "Üçüncüsü, 315 senesine değin tahsil olunmamış örf-ü bedel-i askeri ve temettu' vergisiyle tarik-i bedel-i nakdi bakayasının … buyurulmasıyla müterakim vergiden dolayı firar edenlerin ve ötede beride perişan gezenlerin memleketlerine avdetine sebeb olması."

addition, migration into town centers was identified as a serious problem for the productive capacity in villages and çiftliks alike due to lack of agricultural labour it caused.[458] As such, the issue of flight was still a part of the reality of the countryside, hand in hand with rural poverty and indebtedness, right into the beginning of the 20th century.

From a general perspective, the problem of indebtedness is aggravated in agricultural societies when taxes assume money form, mainly due to the frequency of delayed payments for agricultural produce, low levels of productivity, and the relative shortage of cash in the economy as a whole. In this context, the peasant is, at one point or another, obliged to borrow money to fulfill the taxation demands of the state, even leaving aside the ground rent to be paid to landowners. In the Ottoman case, these general tendencies were further exacerbated by a series of famines and droughts that sporadically emerged from the 16th to the 18th century.[459] Furthermore, constant war-making and financing of wars through provisioning and forced purchases of agricultural produce by the state below their market value turned out to be other factors which amplified requirement for cash and pushed to peasantry into indebtedness.[460] As such, the relationship between usury and indebtedness can only be understood with reference to rural class relations: "The functioning of unorganised rural money markets is inextricably interwoven with personal power relations in the villages" whereby "the lender frequently enjoys considerable

[458] BOA. TFR.I. ŞKT.55 /5423 1322: "Çiftçilik yalnız sürmekle olmayub envai' hizmetle olduğundan kura halkının ve çiftlik hizmetkarlarının ve çoban vesair hizmetçilerin temettu vergisinden muafiyetiyle bu yüzden kasabalara nakl-i mekan idub çiftlikatı hizmetkarsız bırakılmaktan olan ahvalden vekayesi!" It is quite interesting that this seems to be a demand shared by both çiftlik-owners and some farmers. As discussed in Section 6.2, the issue of migration into town centers had been already raised 50 years before the drafting of these petitions as a problem in İştip: BOA A.} MKT. MVL. 89/ 49, 1273, BOA A.} MKT. NZD. 202/24, 1273. Another issue related to capacity of agricultural production is the demand that taxation on draught animals should be cancelled: BOA. TFR.I. ŞKT.55 /5423, 1322.

[459] Faroqhi, "Indebtedness in the Bursa area, 1730-1740," 197-198.

[460] Ibid, 204. Also see: Aytekin, "Cultivators, creditors and the state: rural indebtedness in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire."

personal power over the borrower."[461] As such, the landowner acts not only as the employer of rural labor, but also functions as a credit lender, creating a process that feeds upon itself:

> Such interpenetration of markets not only increases the exploitative powers of the landlord but also has certain dynamic consequences. The freedom to take decisions or the area of feasible choices for the economically vulnerable sections shrinks and this may, overtime, mean the perpetuation of bondage whose form is not so obvious. Superficially, there are free markets and free choice but in practice the area of feasible choices is limited or can even be non-existent. In the case of a tenant who has to commit his labour to the landlord, the position may be virtually one of an attached labourer. Further such a situation wherein lease and labour are tied up, if it prevails generally, may have an effect at the macro level on the labour market itself.[462]

To put it differently, high levels of monetization of the economy, coupled by the relative lack of capital other than usurious capital, eventually ended up, in the Ottoman case, in a situation of generalized peasant indebtedness, which, in turn, led to the loss of peasant land.[463] While dispossession through usury had been widespread from the 16th century onwards, a novel factor also came into the picture starting from the late 18th into the 19th century, as the gradual erosion of subsistence production by production for market started to create a certain degree of market-dependency for the previously self-sufficient rural producers. In the 19th century, the increasing prevalence of the practice of land mortgages made a further contribution to the transformation of the peasantry into a body of landless sharecroppers while a part of this dispossessed population found themselves entangled in relations of dependency, which were having a new life due to widespread indebtedness.[464] In this context, landowners more often than not tended to create their own sharecroppers to

[461] Bhaduri, "On the formation of usurious interest rates in backward agriculture," 343.
[462] Bharadwaj, & Das, "Tenurial conditions and mode of exploitation: A study of some villages in Orissa," 224.
[463] See: Oyan, *Feodalizmden kapitalizme, Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye*, 321-324; İnalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftliks: State, Landlords, and Tenants," 22; Stoianovich, "Land Tenure and Related Sectors of the Balkan Economy, 1600-1800," 400.
[464] Oyan, *Feodalizmden kapitalizme, Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye*, 321-324.

work in their *çiftliks* through activities of usury, which was especially practical in the face of a rural background whereby land was relatively abundant, labor was scarce and wages were supposedly high[465] while the existence of relations of dependency and bondage to the land was a crucial factor behind this situation of "scarcity of labor" and the resulting competition between *çiftlik*-owners to obtain adequate labor-force.[466] Accordingly, as peasant indebtedness turned into a serious problem in the region under study and this, coupled by the weight of taxation, ended up in a constant flow of collective as well as individual peasant flight, many villages were left completely vacant and then agglomerated into *çiftliks*, which could further benefit from relations of dependency for the creation of a labour reserve.

6.5 Rural Conflict, Land Grab and Dispossession of the Peasantry

The discussion so far has focused on the intertwined processes of restrictions on the mobility of villagers and çiftlik-workers, and at least the occasional presence of bonded forms of labour in the context of rural poverty and peasant indebtedness. The present part will focus on the culmination of these processes in the formation and further expansion of çiftliks, which often took the form of appropriation of peasant land.

Controversy over land was a recurring phenomenon in the region under study throughout the 19th century and into the early 20th century. As far as sources are concerned, two main lines of rural conflict have been identified. As mentioned above, the first is the one that took place between the inhabitants of a settlement and an intruding party who tried to either appropriate the land of the former or impose obligations, such as rent, on the residents by claiming a form of ownership over the

[465] Oyan, *Feodalizmden kapitalizme, Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye*, 319-320.
[466] Terzibaşoğlu, & Kaya, "19. Yüzyılda Balkanlar'da Toprak Rejimi ve Emek İlişkileri," 58.

area, whether it was agricultural land or an area under common use. As such, this often took the form of appropriation of peasant land and the turning of villages into çiftliks, and often represented a clash between two different systems of property ownership and land use as villagers came to defend their rights against landlords as collective bodies.[467] The second form of conflict, which emerged in the cases of contestation over the use of common land by two or more villages that claimed an ancient right to the use of the land under question, mainly took place within the framework of older property relations which were at their demise by that time.

6.5.1 Appropriation of peasant land and turning of villages into çiftliks

In the rural setting of the Ottoman Balkans, class conflict took both overt and covert forms.[468] In general, complaints raised by the residents of villages and towns against local notables and state officials had been an old story in the area under study.[469]

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[467] See: Terzibaşoğlu, "Landed Estates, Rural Commons and Collective Agriculture in Ottoman Niş and Leskofçe in the Nineteenth Century"; Terzibaşoğlu, & Kaya, "19. Yüzyılda Balkanlar'da Toprak Rejimi ve Emek İlişkileri," 49-105.

[468] For example: İnalcık, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi*; Kırlı, "Tyranny Illustrated: From Petition to Rebellion in Ottoman Vranje"; Aytekin, "Peasant protest in the late Ottoman Empire: Moral economy, revolt, and the Tanzimat reforms"; Kolovos, "Riot in the village: Some cases of peasant protest around Ottoman Salonica"; Pinson, "Ottoman Bulgaria in the first Tanzimat period-the revolts in Nish (1841) and Vidin (1850)."

[469] The family members of the Nazırzade family, the ayan of the district in the latter half of the 18th century, were often accused of misconduct, torture, and murder by the peasants of İştip: Pehlivan, *İştip'de Ayanlık: Nazırzade Ailesi*, 34-64. In 1793, the locals of Pirlepe accused a certain Osman Efendi for causing financial ruin for the peasantry by imposing completely arbitrary monetary exactions. While it was initially ordered that Osman efendi was to be exiled to Bozcaada, he was soon forgiven and sent to his birthplace of İştip: BOA AE.SSLM.III 405/23336, 1207. In the late 1790s, the residents of the district of İştip raised a complaint that their "*naib"*, Karaferyevi Fehmi Abdullah efendi, in a heinous collaboration with Turfullu Mehmed Sipahi, a troublemaker active in the region with his military entourage, imposed a number of unlawful exactions on the inhabitants and set out to appropriate the property of the villagers and the town dwellers alike: BOA AE.SSLM.III 204/12152, 1211. More than 40 years later, the name of Turfullu Mehmed Sipahi reemerged in the sources for organizing an open attack on the district of İştip with bands of Arnavud "*eşkiya*", consisting of more than 2000 people, after he learned about the legal verdict for his imprisonement, causing sheer horror on the side of the inhabitants ("*kazamızı cümlemizi esir mesellu … mehuselerine giriftar edecekler*"; "*cümlemiz terk-i vatan ve civar kazalara perakende ve perişan ve emval ve eşyalarımızı zabt etmeleriyle*"): BOA C. DH. 34/1655, 1255. In the beginning of the 19th century, the residents of İştip, including a wide selection of people from various classes, complained about Palaslı Mehmed Paşa, the "*mutasarrıf"* of Köstendil at the time, who arrived at the district during his travels, accompanied by Arnavud soldiers, and harassed the locals through forceful acquisition of tremendous amounts of money, animals and belongings of the villagers during his stay in the district while his son Veli Paşa soon followed after him and copied the actions of his father: BOA HAT. 48/2308 1218. The petition

Agrarian conflict over the appropriation of land, however, constituted the central axis around which different classes contested over their respective rights.

While disputes over land occasionally took place between individual villagers,[470] the main line of controversy in the rural setting turned out to be the one that ran between the villagers and the owners of çiftliks, often located in the same or nearby settlements. When cases of rural class conflict erupted between çiftlik-owners and villagers, it often centered on the issue of appropriation of peasant land.[471] At least from the late 18th century onwards, the state displayed an increasing concern with the ongoing appropriation of peasant land and the turning of village land into çiftliks, and tried to establish a system of checks on it, such as ordering the local

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under question included various groups of people ("*ashab-ı alakalar*", "*köy mutasarrıfları*", "*imamlar*" etc.). Comparable cases of forceful acquisition of money came not only from aspiring notables and self-indulgent state officials, but also from smaller çiftlik-owners. In the late 1790s, two town-dwelling çiftlik-owners from Manastır were accused of not only avoiding paying the taxes due from their çiftliks but also forceful exaction of money from the peasants -either çiftlik-workers or villagers living nearby: BOA C.DH. 120/5954, 1213.

[470] Legal cases over land disputes and controversies over boundaries displayed an increase throughout the 19th century: Terzibaşoğlu, "Eleni hatun'un zeytin bahçeleri: 19. yüzyılda Anadolu'da mülkiyet hakları nasıl inşa edildi?" 124-129. Both villagers and town residents often got engaged in conflict over land, as visible in the considerable number of petitions of complaints. Often, the main question revolved around the issue of inheritance and the related disputes over rightful ownership through the holding of title deeds. Other common cases included controversy over the appropriation of land as well as gardens and water sources, in addition to shares, between villagers within the same settlement: BOA AE.SABH.I. 194/13017, 1200; BOA A.} DVN.11/89, 1260; BOA A.} DVN. 29/41, 1263; BOA A.} MKT.UM. 130/3, 1269; BOA MVL 555/91, 1284; BOA TFR. I. ŞKT. 15 /1420, 1321; BOA TFR. I. ŞKT. 15/1449, 1321; BOA TFR.I.KV. 39/3833, 1321; BOA TFR. I. ŞKT. 15/1468, 1321; BOA TFR. I. ŞKT. 15/1479, 1321; BOA TFR. I. ŞKT. 15/1480, 1321; BOA FR.I.KV. 70/6947, 1322; BOA TFR.I.KV. 176/17503, 1325.

[471] In this context, "the scattered nature of çiftlik land" is crucial to understand the mechanisms of accumulation of land by çiftlik-owners: Terzibaşoğlu, "Landed Estates, Rural Commons and Collective Agriculture in Ottoman Niş and Leskofçe in the Nineteenth Century," 354-355. In the context of western Anatolia, Nagata has emphasized that "a typical çiftlik would consist of several parcels of cultivated land sparsely intermingled among pasture or fallow land": Nagata, "Ayan in Anatolia and the Balkans during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Case Study of the Karaosmanoğlu Family," 281-282. Based on the çiftliks of Hacı Hüseyin Ağa, Nagata puts forward the example of Burunören *çiftlik* which consisted of 17 parcels each of which was around 60 *dönüms*, rather than relying on the model of "plantation-like çiftliks" of İnalcık: Nagata, *Tarihte ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, 124. A defter from the 1760s, which demonstrates the boundaries of a çiftlik located in the settlement of Dinler in İştip, also provides evidence in this direction. In this defter, a total of 24 parcels of land, each in a specific location, are registered. As such, the cultivable fields do not constitute an undivided continuity. The defter also includes information on other elements of the çiftlik, such as houses for farmers ("*çiftçi haneleri*"), rooms ("*odalar*"), warehouse ("*anbar*"), tools of production such as oxen and plough iron, as well as vineyards and meadows: BOA TS. MA. d. 5913, 1181. For some examples of çiftlik layout, see: Appendix D.

judges ("*kadı*") to refuse to officiate the transfer of peasant land to other groups, possibly indicating the acceleration of the dispossession of the peasantry around that time due to indebtedness.[472]

An illustrative example regarding the origins of çiftliks can be found in the story of the members of the family of Rüstem Bey.[473] By the time some of these

[472] BOA C.ML. 582/23920, 1210; BOA C.DH. 190/9454, 1211: "Kadim karyenin sonradan çiftlik ittihaz olunması mugayir-i defter-i hakani ve münafi-yi kanun olduğuna binaen." As discussed in the previous parts, peasant indebtedness was identified as a crucial factor behind the sale of peasant land and the turning of villages into çiftliks: BOA C.ML. 582/23920, 1210; BOA C.ML. 253/10440, 1211. BOA C.ML. 582/23920, 1210: "Edirne ve Keşan ve havalisinde ve sair bazı mahallerde kain bazı karye reayasının bazı murahabacı makulelerine deynleri olmağla reaya-yı merkum bazı mahkemelere varub bizim filan adama şu kadar deynimiz vardır ol deynimizi eda için mutasarrıf olduğumuz emlak ve arazimizi filan adama şu mikdar baha ile füruht ve kasrid eyledik ve nukuden şu kadar akçe aldık diyerek … fimabad kura reayası emlağı kimesneye füruht etmemeleri ve füruht etti deyu hüccet verilmemeleri ve kadimi kura bir vakitte çiftlik ittihaz olunmamak." This concern was also formulated in the Article 130 of Land Code (1858): "Ahalisi mevcut olan bir karye çiftlik ittihazıyla arazisi müstakillen bir şahsın uhdesine ihale olunamaz": Akgündüz, *Mukayeseli İslam ve Osmanlı Hukuku Külliyatı*, 712. Nevertheless, it is also added that villages abandoned by the villagers could be legally turned into çiftliks: Ibid. With reference to the çiftliks of the Karaosmanoğlu family in western Anatolia, Nagata underlines that among the Karaosmanoğlu çiftliks one can find those established on old village areas, *vakıf*, *koru* and *mera* lands as well as those purchased from other families: Nagata, *Tarihte ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, 95, 192. Nagata also underlines that the sale of agricultural lands gradually became a common practice as bigger çiftliks started to take form: Ibid, 93. Throughout such processes, despite the theoretical existence of the miri land principle, it seems that town-dwellers gradually started to acquire the *tapu* or *temessük* of agricultural lands and started to pass them, as their own property, to their heirs: Ibid, 110-111. In general, the practice of "purchasing" lands with the purpose of engaging in production for market as an outlet of investment by town-dwellers had been an already-existing practice. In the context of western Anatolia, Nagata refers to two kinds of capital transfer, from the city to the countryside and from the countryside to the city, while the Karaosmanoğlu family, in this context, can be seen as an example of the latter: Ibid, 90-91. In the context of the Balkans, Stoianovich argues in favor of the former as he underlines that "the shift of capital to the land is also frequent among the wealthier urban element, the class of provincial notables known as ayans": Stoianovich, "Land tenure and related sectors of the Balkan economy, 1600-1800," 400. According to Demetriades, a somewhat comparable process could be observed in the çiftliks of Gazi Evrenos Bey in Thessaly, where prominent families that accumulated wealth through tax-farming and usury tended to use landowning as an "outlet" of investment as well: Demetriades, "Problems of land-owning and population in the area of Gazi Evrenos Bey's wakf," 52-53. For a discussion of the relationship between the Land Code of 1858 and the commodification of land, see: Aytekin, "Agrarian Relations, Property and Law: An Analysis of the Land Code of 1858 in the Ottoman Empire." Also: Aytekin, "Hukuk, Tarih ve Tarihyazımı: 1858 Osmanlı Arazi Kanunnamesi'ne Yönelik Yaklaşımlar"; İslamoğlu, "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858."

[473] Rüstem Bey himself took up various official positions in the early 19th century: BOA. AE. SMHD. II. 72/5307, 1235; BOA. HAT. 902/39643, 1240. For the activites of Rüstem Bey as a *deruhdeci*, see: Ursinus, "The Çiftlik Sahibleri of Manastır as a Local Elite, Late Seventeenth to Early Nineteenth Century," 253-254. While Rüstem Bey has been identified as a part of the Zaimzade family and Abdülkerim Bey as a part of Mustafapaşazade family in the early 19th century (Ibid, 253), it is possible that these families were related at some point, most possibly through marriage, as Abdülkerim Bey is identified as a claimant to Kruşevo towards the mid-19th century in the sources, as will be discussed below (BOA İ.MVL. 53/1015 1259: "Medine-yi Manastır kazasına tabi Kruşevo karyesi reayasıyla medine-yi mezbur vücuhuyanından Abdülkerim Bey vesair müşterekleri

figures emerged in the income survey registers, they had already become central figures in a long-term controversy with the villagers of Kruşevo, located in the northern part of Manastır.[474]

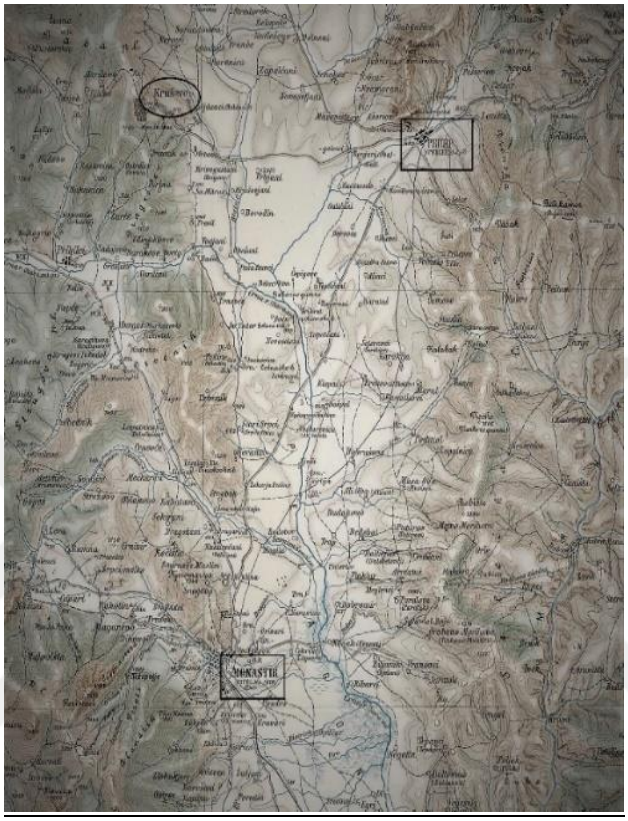

Figure 157. The village of Kruşevo

The conflict between the villagers of Kruşevo and a number of landowners and local notables of Manastır emerged in the registers at least as early as 1837 (1253). By this time, the villagers had refused to pay the annual rent they were obliged to pay for eight years, causing an accumulation of debt totaling 96,000 kuruş. The controversy

meyanelerinde münazaa kayd olunan arazi"). Rüstem Bey himself had already died before the eruption of the controversy under question: BOA C.DRB. 27/1331, 1242.

[474] For a discussion on Kruşevo from the perspective of labor mobility, see: Sefer, Yıldız, & Kabadayı, "Labor Migration from Kruševo: Mobility, Ottoman Transformation, and the Balkan Highlands in the 19th Century."

over this debt, in turn, led to a series of investigations that revolved around the question of the legitimacy of the status of the land and property under question.[475]

In the late 1830s, the peasants of the village of Kruşevo wrote a petition complaining that Rüstem Bey and the members of his family had expropriated their village land, turning it into their own private property and çiftlik[476] imposing a number of obligations which entailed not only forceful extraction of money but also the dragging of the peasants into a trap of indebtedness.[477] In this petition, the peasants of Kruşevo underlined that the controversy between themselves and the family of Rüstem Bey had a rather long past, occasionally interrupted and then continued in tandem with the changes in the administrative positions. Historically, they argued, the initial assault of the family of Rüstem Bey, which caused flight on the side of the inhabitants[478], came to a pause thanks to the efforts of Hurşid Paşa, who registered the settlement as a village.[479] While the intentions of Rüstem Bey remained intact, as the peasants of Kruşevo argued, the following presence of Mehmed Reşid Paşa prevented the actualization of his plans for some time. Unfortunately -for the inhabitants of Kruşevo- the coming of Ahmet Zekeriya Paşa to the duty of the governorship of Rumeli marked the revival of the appropriation process.[480] This marked the beginning of the controversy over the legal status and the

[475] BOA C.DH. 184/9165, 1253. In a petition written by the villagers of Kruşevo a few years later, it was claimed that this controversy had a past of 80 years: BOA. İ. MVL. 34/586, 1257.
[476] BOA İ. MVL. 34/586, 1257: "Karyemizi çiftlik ittihaz ile rencide ve teaddi olunmakta."
[477] BOA İ. MVL. 34/586, 1257: "Kendulerinden bi gayr-ı hak bir yük 34000 kuruş almış"; "senede on altışar bin kuruşa rabt-ı maktua aldıklarından maada nam-ı icare ve tekalif sair ve mesarif deyu 80000 kuruş dahi mutalebe ve cebren sarraflardan güzeştesiyle aldırub."
[478] BOA İ. MVL. 34/586, 1257: "Mezkur karyemizi zabt ve ... mülukanelerimiz ve çiftliklerimizdir deyu ... 80 seneye baliğ dest-i tasarruflarında esirleri gibi aciz ve naçar zulm ve teaddilerine adem-i tahammül ve iktidarlarımızdan birer ve ikişer firar ederek külliyen dağılmış olduklarımız."
[479] BOA İ. MVL. 34/586, 1257: "Dest-i mezalimlerden ve kayd-ı emlak ve çiftlikattan azade olarak sabığı vechiyle karye kayıd."
[480] BOA İ. MVL. 34/586, 1257: "Yine ber takrib ile karyemizi pençe-yi işkencelerine giriftar idub." The villagers of Kruşevo pleaded: "maruz-u fukara reaya kullarıdır ki, karyemizi çiftlik ittihaz ile rencide ve teaddi olunmakta olduklarımızdan bu kullarının karyemiz öteden beru karyedir çiftlik değildir": Ibid. The general outlines of the controversy have been explained as such:

legitimacy of the land and property held by the çiftlik-owners under question and the turning of former peasant land and villages into çiftliks.[481]

In the controversy, the notion that the status of a settlement being an ancient village ("*kadim karye*") was largely employed by the peasants of Kruşevo against the claims of the heirs of Rüstem Bey to private ownership of the settlement[482] under the guise of "*ağalık*."[483] As such, the peasants identified the existence of an act of transgression on their ancient rights in the very creation of this claim to private ownership.[484] In turn, the family of Rüstem Bey put forth their claim to the land and

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"Manastır kazasına tabi Kruşevo karyesi feth-i hakaniden beru defterhane-yi amire kuyudu üzere kaza-yı mezbura merbut iken karye-yi merkume emlak ve çiftlikatı ber takrib sonradan Manastırlı Rüstem Bey ve Kerim Bey taraflarından cebren zabt olunarak senevi on altışar bin kuruş maktu' ve 80000 kuruş tekalif zulme tarh ve temil ile ahz ve tahsil olunmakta bulunmuş ve muahharen gerek müteveffa Hurşid Paşa ve gerek Mehmed Reşid Paşa zamanlarında kemafissabık kaza-yı mezbura tabi karye namıyla kayd olunub ol vecihle virgü-yü mezkur tevzi' ve tahsil kılınmış ise de Rumeli müşiri esbak atufetlu Ahmed Zekeriya Paşa zamanında mir-i mumaileyhaya ber takrib karye-i merkumeyi zabt ve iltizampirle envai' zulm ve teaddiyattan hali? olmadıkları ve mir-i mumaileyhadan birisi meclis azasından bulunmasıyla mahalinde ihkak-ı hak ... olacağı beyanıyla karye-yi merkumenin kemafissabık kaza-yı mezbura rabt ve ilhakı ve ber minval-i muharrer senevi almış oldukları mebaliğin ne mikdarı hazerat-ı şahaneye verilmiştir teyit eylemek üzere mir-i mumaileyhadan birisinin bu tarafa celile-yi meclis-i valada mehakemeleri hususu karye-yi merkume ahalisi tarafından ba arzuhal istida olunmuş olduğu ba tezkere ifade ve eşkar kılınmış olmağla icabı ledel mulahaza suret-i enhaya nazaran karye-yi merkume müteveffa Hurşid Paşa ve Reşid Paşa zamanlarında mir-i mumaileyhanın karye-yi merkumeye müdahaleleri icab etmeyeceği teyit ederek men' olunmuşken muahharen bir suretle tekrar müdahaleye … ictisar eylemiş olduklarından": Ibid.

[481] BOA İ. MVL. 35/634, 1258: "Manastır beylerinin böyle hilaf-ı defter-i hakani ve mugayir-i kanun zikr olunan karyeye müdahaleleri bunların ecdadından beru ol karyede 2-3 menzilin arsasına mutasarrıf bulunmuş olarak sonradan vücuhdan bulunmak takribiyle bütün köy arsaları bizimdir şu vakitten beru icaresini alırız diyerek kadimden icare aldıklarını isbat ... olmadıklarından nişan edeceği ... olmuş ise de bu suret olsa olsa 3 - 5 hane arsası hakkında olabilub ... 1200 evli bir karyenin yeri arazi-yi miriyeden olarak"; "muahharen müşarünileyh Zekeriya Paşa zamanında ne vecihle sened olarak ber takrib bu canibden ferman tahsil etmişler ise de aldıkları sened usul-u şer ve kanuna münafi olacağına binaen itibara şayan olmayacağı."
BOA İ. MVL. 50/958, 1259: "Bu makule müstakil karyenin çiftlik ittihazı hilaf-ı kanun olduğundan mumaileyhanın karye-i mezburede çiftlik ittihaz ile vaki olan müdahaleleri men ve karye-yi mezburenin ber vech-i malikane mutasarrıfıyla hazine-yi celile-yi maliye tarafından zabt."

[482] BOA İ. MVL. 50/958, 1259: "Karye-yi mezbur feth-i hakaniden beru kadim köy olduğu defterhane-yi amirede mukayyed olub."

[483] BOA İ. MVL. 50/958, 1259: "Senevi 16000 kuruş cebren fukaradan ağalık namıyla ahz etmek üzere iken."

[484] The repeated emphasis on the concept of "*kadim karye*" can be evaluated in relation to the concept of "hakk-ı karar". For the latter concept, see: Terzibaşoğlu, "Eleni hatun'un zeytin bahçeleri: 19. yüzyılda Anadolu'da mülkiyet hakları nasıl inşa edildi?"

property under question with reference to the legitimacy of property and inheritance.[485]

As the case progressed, it became visible that there were a significant number of parties interested in the settlement under dispute. Many of these figures, furthermore, were the çiftlik-owners of the district of Manastır in the mid-19th century, as a number of their names were identified in the income survey registers. As such, there existed a considerable degree of coordination and network among the çiftlik-owners of Manastır, thanks to, in part, the familial bonds between these figures and, in part, the combination of their economic power with their activities in loci of political influence. [486]

As a lenghty legal process unfolded, petitions and deputies having been sent back and forth between İstanbul and Manastır[487], the flow of events took another interesting turn in 1843 when almost 150 people of local importance ("*Manastır'da sakin bil cümle ulema ve suleha ve ihtiyarat kulları*"), among whom those with the titles of "*ashab-ı alaka, dergah-ı ali, müderris, imam*" abounded, came forward as witnesses of the çiftlik-owners under question.[488] As such, the upper classes of the

[485] BOA İ.MVL. 35/634, 1258: "Manastır kazasına tabi Kruşevo karyesinde vaki ber vechi mülkiyet ecdadımızdan mürus olarak arsadan alel iştiraken hissedarat."
BOA İ.MVL. 50/958 1259: "Ber vech-i mülkiyet eben-an-cedd mutasarrıflar olarak."
[486] BOA İ.MVL. 35/634 1258: "Manastır kazasına tabi Kruşevo karyesinde vaki ber vechi mülkiyet ecdadımızdan mürus olarak arsadan alel iştiraken hissedarat Abdülkerim Bey ve Raşid Bey ve Davud Bey ve Hurşid Bey ve Muhiddin Bey ve Abdurrahman Bey ve Âdem Bey ve Ahmed Bey ve Mehmed Bey ve Abdullah Bey ve hisse-yi mezkurdan ... Hanım ve Esma ve ... ve Şeyma ve Hafize hanımlar." The status of çiftliks as inheritable property came to the fore in a later controversy between Abdurrahman Bey and his brother Abdullah Bey over the sale of their çiftlik of Çayırlı and Bucin, which they held jointly, by the latter during the absence of the former: BOA A.}MKT.UM. 342/66, 1275; BOA A.} MKT. DV. 192/14, 1277; BOA A.} MKT.DV. 192/94, 1277; BOA A.} MKT. UM. 480/77, 1277; BOA A.} MKT. DV. 202/18, 1278. A similar controversy occurred in another çiftlik located in Çayırlı in the same year whereby Mahmud Bey, being "*vekil*", sold the çiftlik of Mustafa Bey ("*pederimden ırsen müntakil mutasarrıf olduğum*") under its current value: BOA A.} MKT. DV. 166/35, 1277.
[487] BOA İ. MVL. 50/958, 1259.
[488] BOA İ.MVL. 50/958 1259: "Manastır kazasına muzaf Kruşevo dimekle maruf karyede reayasının mütemekkin oldukları ebniyelerinin malum ül taraf arsalarına beldemiz vücuhundan Abdülkerim Bey ve Raşid Bey ve Hurşid Bey ve Abdurrahman Bey ve Abdullah Bey ve Mehmed Bey ve Adem Bey ve Ahmed Bey ve Said Bey ve Şerif Bey ve Ömer Bey ve Davud Bey ve Muhiddin Bey ve Asma ve Afife hanımlar vesair hissedarat kullarıyla ber vech-i mülkiyet eben-an-cedd mutasarrıflar olarak

district, who were also the members of local administrative and legal bodies, showed support in favor of the landowners.

Another petition written by the villagers in 1843 made it even more visible how absurd the whole affair was. In their petition, the villagers of Kruşevo protested that even though the center and province had initially decided in favor of the villagers, officiating that Kruşevo was indeed an ancient village, the repeated application of the çiftlik-owners changed the final verdict. In their protest of the situation, the villagers implicitly indicated the absurdity of the coexistence of tax and rent imposed upon them: If Kruşevo was a village, then the claim of the heirs of Rüstem Bey and the payments they demanded were unjust; if Kruşevo was a çiftlik, then they wondered why they were expected to pay taxes that were supposed to apply to miri land that belonged to the state.[489]

It soon became visible that the whole situation was quite perilous for the state as well as the landowners of the Balkans in general. Because many of the settlements under dispute were initially appropriated by a number of powerful individuals whose ownership was officiated through the issuing of title deeds and inherited to the heirs, who in turn raised their claim with reference to their right to private property

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reaya-yı mesfurun müstecirler olmalarıyla icare-yi …sını … ita edegelmişler iken muahharen beher hissedarlara gadr… sevdasında olarak icare-yi mezkureyi edadan istinkaf suretinde bulunduklarından bundan mukaddemlerde bu tarafta şer ile bil terafu işbu arsa-yı mezkure müştereken mumaileyhanın mülk-ü mürusleri olduğu ber vech-i şer' badelisbat ve reaya-yı mesfurunun kendi ikrarlarıyla dahi zahir ve aşikar olduğundan ol vakit icare-yi malume-yi marifet-i şer ile mersumundan tahsil olunmuş ise de reaya-yı mersumun karye-yi mezkurede asla ve kata alakaları yoktur diyerek bundan akdemlerde hilaf-ı inha ile gadr… sevdasında olduklarından arsa-yı mezkure mumaileyhanın ez… mürusen bil iştiraken mülkleri olub reaya-yı mesfurunun müsteciren mütemekkinler oldukları malumumuzdur ber minval-i muharrer husus-u mezbura şahid olmamız."

[489] BOA İ.MVL. 50/958, 1259: "Yine Deraliye'ye vürud ve meclis-i vala-yı adliyede mahkeme olunarak hakpirlerimizde olduğunu teyit ederek mir-i merkum ve dava-yı mezkuru huzur-u şere havale ile başkatib efendi davamızı zabt ve emr-i ali ve buyurdukları tevkifpirle şimdiye kadar senevi 16000 kuruş vermişsiniz yine vereceksiniz sulh olacaksınız diyerek bizlere ibram ve ihafe virub virilub kenar köşe kaçmak üzere olduklarımızdan karye-yi mezburun emlak ve arazileri için bu kadar temettuat vergisi ve ... ve rüsum-u cizye ve zecriye ve aded-i ağnam senevi iki yüz bin kuruşu mütecaviz vergimiz olub bu kadim köydür padişahımızın mülküdür deyu ifade olunmaktadır … defterhanede mukayyed kadim köydür deyu iskana her bir tekalifatı ita ideyoruz köy olmayub emlak bunların ise terk-i öşrü ber mahal."

inherited from their ancestors, any decision in favor of the peasantry would amount to a questioning of the existing status quo[490] and in the end, the middle-ground solution designed to solve the controversy turned out to be the sale of the land and the property under dispute to the residents of Kruşevo in installments.[491]

Similar cases which carried many of the elements of the dispute between the villagers of Kruşevo and the heirs of Rüstem Bey, abounded in the mid-19th century in and around the region under study. In 1852, the villagers of Hoceste (Hostista) and Kosnica, part of the sanjak of Manastır at the time, as well as the villagers of Sorovic (Sorovicevo) in Filorina, located close to the southern end of the district of Manastır, in addition to a village from Yanya, raised similar complaints regarding turning of their villages into çiftliks.[492] In the case of the conflict over the settlement of Kosnica

[490] BOA İ. MVL. 50/958, 1259: "Reaya-yı mezkure bundan akdem mir-i mumaileyha karye-yi mezkurenin müdürü olmak mülasebesiyle uyuşub beher sene 16000 kuruş mülk icaresi olmak üzere ita eylediklerini ... olmağla mülkiyetini ikrar ettikten sonra inkâr etmek hilaf-ı şer-i ali olduğundan"; "bundan 54 sene mukaddem mülkiyet üzere Kerim Bey pederinin emlak-ı karyeden 115 haneyi tazyiken ita eylediğini müşar hüccet-i şeriye Rumeli Valisi esbak müteveffa Zekeriya Paşa huzurunda verilmiş olan ilam-ı şere ifade olunarak 16000 kuruş icarın tadil ve tesviyesi ve bu suretle ıslah-ı zatül beyn-i tarafları tercih olunmuş ve ol havalide bulunan mukataat ve çiftlikatın ekseri bu usulde olmağla reayanın istidaları vechiyle olsa cümlesi davaya tasaddi ile usul-u mukataaya muris-i halel olduğu bazı ashab-ı vukuf taraflarından ihbar kılınmış olduğu."

[491] BOA İ. MVL. 53/1015, 1259. This solution was developed with the appointment of Edhem Efendi as judge ("*molla*") after Meclis-i Vala decided that the controversy was to be solved on the local level: "Tesviye-yi maslahatı mütezammın mahalli meclis ve efendi-yi mumaileyh taraflarından bil tevarüd meclis-i vala-yı mezkura ita olunan mazbata ve ilam-ı alilerine nazaran molla-yı mumaileyhin medine-yi Manastır'da akd eylediği meclis-i şer'-i şerifte tarafeyn ledel terafu reaya-yı mersumenin ikrarı vechiyle emlak-ı mezkure arsaları mumaileyhin emlak-ı muriseleri olmak üzere badel hakem zikr olunan arsalar 250000 kuruşa reaya-ı mersumeye bey' ve temlik olunarak mebaliğ-i mezbur tekasit-i münasibeye rabt ve teşvik ile kat'-i münazaa olunmuş olduğundan keyfiyet-i mürafaa marülzikr emr-i ali kaydı bila senet şerh verilerek bundan böyle münazaa zuhurunda icra olunmak üzere bu suretinin emsal ittihaz olunması ve meblağ-ı mezburun vakt-i takasitinde mersumundan tahsil ve mumaileyhe teslimi zımnında Rumeli müşiri atufetlu paşa hazretlerine 1 kıta emr-i ali ısdar ve ısra ve keyfiyet-i malum olmak için hazine-yi celileye dahi ilm ü haberi ita kılınması."
Most interestingly, it was openly stated that the judge under question was promised of promotion and relocation, most probably to Salonica, if he was to handle to issue successfully (which he did, at least from the perspective of the state): Ibid. In 1890, Kurşevo appeared in the sources in relation to this family one last time: BOA DH.MKT. 1741/3, 1307: "Manastır hanedanından merhum Kerim Bey'in çiftliği olduğu halde mübaya etmiş oldukları Kruşova kasabası hakkında 47 sene mukaddem istihsal olunan ferman-ı ali zayi olduğuna mebni kaydından 1 kıta suretinin celbi kasaba-yı mezkure muhtaratı tarafından istida' olunduğu."

[492] BOA İ.MVL. 230/7968, 1268: "Manastır sancağında kain Hociste ve Kosniç karyeleri ahalisinin takdim eyledikleri arzuhallerinde kura-yı merkume filasıl karye iken devletlu İsmail Paşa ve müşterekleri taraflarından çiftlik suretiyle zabt ve taarruz olunduğundan maada haklarında ne suretle teaddi ve eza zuhura gelmekte olduğu … bahisle müdahale-yi vakıanın meni istida ve bu … olarak Filorina kazasında vaki Sorovic karyesi ahalisi Rumeli Ordu-yu Hümayunu erkanından saadetlu Abdi

against Şakir Bey and Emin Bey, sons of Sinan Bey, the villagers claimed that the settlement under question, which consisted of 116 households and fields of 1500 *dönüm*s, was in fact a registered village and they had inherited the land from their peasant ancestors with title deeds.[493] The villagers argued that behind the forceful turning of their village into a çiftlik laid a relationship which had initially started in the form of collection of money from the villagers by the father of the aforementioned Sinan Bey for providing protection against highwaymen ("*eşkiya*") and then gained a different character when the person under question put a claim to the village for being his own çiftlik.[494] After Sinan Bey started to treat the village as his own çiftlik which he inherited from his father, his sons -Şakir Bey and Emin Bey- came forward with the same claim yet also having the legal means to turn the village into their çiftlik at their disposal this time.[495] The conflict that erupted in the village of Kosnica ended up with the death of four villagers who were arrested and imprisoned. While their death raised many suspicions on the side of other villagers, especially regarding the possibility that they were tortured to death, the authorities denied these accusations and claimed that these villagers had died of a fever from malaria they caught along with a few other prisoners.[496] In the 1850s, Şakir Bey and Emin Bey reappeared in another conflict, this time with the villagers of Banica,

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Paşa hazretleri ve Yanya sancağında Kondoros nahiyesinde vaki Berominco karyesi reayası dahi Hayreddin Beyden arz-ı istinkat etmişler olub."

[493] BOA MVL 125/52, 1269: "Kosnica karyesi ahali-yi rum reayası fukara kulları olub karye-yi mezkure toprağında eben-an-ceddlerimizden müntakil mülkiyet üzere ba hüccet-i şer mutasarrıf olduklarımız 116 haneden ibaret ve karyeyi mezkurun bil cümle hududunda tapu ve temessükle mutasarrıf olarak ziraat edegeldiğimiz 1500 dönüm tarla."

[494] BOA MVL 125/52, 1269: "Dergâh-ı ali kapucubaşılarından Sinan Beyin pederi Mahmud Paşa zamanında bu biçarelerini karye-yi mezkura gelub giden eşkiyadan korusun ve bu taraftan bir korucu niyazı ile beher haneden beşer kuruş virmekliğimiz ile müşarünileyh karye-yi mezkuru bütün bütün çiftlik ittihaz eylemesiyle şimdi oğlu Sinan Bey babamdan müntakil çiftliğimdir."

[495] BOA MVL 125/52, 1269: "Miri mumaileyhin … oğulları Şakir Bey ve Emin Bey zuhurpirle pederleri müteveffaya verilen cevaba âdem-i kanaatleriyle babamız müteveffanın çiftliğidir deyu emri ali tahsilleriyle bu kulları hazır meclis vekili iken bildiği gibi inha ve mazbatasını ahzıyla kura-yı mezkurenin bilcümle hududu dahilinde zikr olunan 1500 dönüm araziyle 116 hanenin 86 hanesini çiftliğimiz hanesidir … bütün bütün zabtla."

[496] BOA A.} AMD. 45/53, 1269: "Rumeli mutasarrıfı saadetlu paşaya tahrirat yazılmış ve öyle işkence ve eziyet vukuunun aslı olmadığının burada şikayet eden kesana dahi bildirilmiş."

located to the east of the town of Filorina and near the western shore of Ostrovo Lake. In this case, Şakir Bey and Emin Bey claimed that their land and property in Banica, which they claimed to have been unjustly appropriated by the villagers, had been under the ownership of their family for 70 years and inherited from their ancestors.[497] While the conflict was resolved with the decision of an annual payment of grains imposed on the villagers, Şakir Bey and Emin Bey pushed further and collected not only grains of almost twice the amount, but also money, in part due to the convenience their administrative position provided for them.[498] In the 1850s, a similar controversy emerged between the inhabitants of Sorovic, located also in Florina, and Abdi Paşa, who had a çiftlik in the settlement, over land and property.[499] Just like in the previous examples, the decisions fluctuated as the case was sent back and forth between the center and the local bodies.[500] In the early 1850, the village of

[497] BOA A.} AMD. 43 98, 1269: "Manastır sancağında Filorina kazasına tabi Banice karyesi hududu dahilinde kain bir kıta çiftlik arazisinden dolayı Priştineli Şakir ve Emin Beyler ile karye-yi mezkurda reayası beynlerinde tekevvün iden münazaa keyfiyeti."
BOA MVL. 136/84, 1269: The petition written by Şakir Bey ("rikab-ı hümayun kapucubaşılarından miralay Şakir kulları") goes as such: "Filorina kazası Banica karyesi hududu dahilinde 70 seneden beru eban-an-cedd mutasarrıf olduğumuz malum ül miktar emlak ve arazinin karye-yi mezkur reayalarından Dersaadet'te bulunan bağçevan esnafından çend nefer reaya … zikr olunan emlak ve arazi-yi mezburu fuzuli zabt etmek meramında oldukları"; "reaya-yı mersume hoşnud ve kani olmadıklarından mahalinde tehdid-i hudud etmek üzere irade buyurulmuş ise de reaya-yı merkume ()da vaki olan mahkemeye mahalinden gelmiş olan ilam-ı şer ile meclis mazbatasına razı olmadıklarından başka mahalinde gidub tehdid-i hudud etmeğe dahi hoşnud olmadıklarından haksız oldukları teyit etmekle."
[498] BOA A.} MKT. UM. 163/57, 1270: "Florina kazası kurasından Banica karyesi reayasının bundan mukaddem takdim eyledikleri arzuhalleri karye-yi mezkûr arazisinden dolayı Bihleşte kazası hanedanından Şakir ve Emin Beyler ile olan münazaaları üzerine senevi 1000 () zehair verilmek üzere karar verilerek faslı olunmuş ise de mir-i mumaileyh kaza-yı mezkurda müdür bulunarak ol mikdar zehair ahzına kanaat eylemeyub kendilerinden cebren 1700 () zehair aldığından başka 3000 kuruştan mütecaviz akçe dahi tahsil eylemiş." About 10 years before the eruption of this conflict, a hailstorm had arrived and destroyed all the produce of that year, pushing the villagers of Banica towards pleading to the state for the annulement of their taxes for a year: BOA İ.MVL. 10/158, 1256: "Banica nam karyenin … kaffe-yi mezruatı külliyen mahv ve telef olmuş." While it was not possible to find any direct evidence, the conflict under question might have been related to the formation or an extension of a debt relation between the villagers and Şakir Bey and Emin Bey due to this previous disaster. The controversy under question seems to have continued at least for another 10 years: BOA MVL 466/3, 1281.
[499] BOA A.} MKT. UM. 122/9, 1269: "Abdi Paşa hazretlerinin Manastır sancağında Florina kazasına tabi Sorovic karyesinde kain uhdesinde bulunan Sorovic çiftliği derununda temekkün idub bil isticar ziraat etmete olan reaya ile beynlerinde olan arazi nizaı."
[500] Initially, the decision was made in favor of Abdi Paşa: BOA A.} MKT. UM. 76/94, 1267. Then, the villagers protested: BOA MVL 157/99, 1271: "Manastır sancağında Filorina kazasında Sorovic

German witnessed a comparable dispute which was, similar to the case of Kruşevo, triggered by a forced payment of a sum of cash under the name of an alleged "*ağalık*".[501] In 1859, a çiftlik at the settlement of Sveti Todor, owned by a certain Mişo who worked as a translator for the councillorship of England, became a topic of controversy with the peasants of nearby villages when the former accused the latter of appropriating his çiftlik land.[502] In the 1860s, a conflict erupted over land between the villagers of the settlement of Sofilari, located towards the southwest of the town

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nam karyede olub Rumeli ordu-yu hümayunu erkanından saadetlu ferik Abdi Paşa hazretlerinin uhdesinde bulunan Sorovic çiftliği derununda müsteciren mütemekkin olub çiftlik-i mezkur arazisini bil isticar ziraat etmekte bulunan reaya ile paşa-yı müşarünileyh beynlerinde olan münazaa hakkında bil defaat olunan tahkikat ve icra kılınan mürafaalara reaya-yı merkume kani olmadıklarından mukaddeman vuku bulan istida"; BOA A.} MKT .UM. 163/18, 1270; BOA MVL 157/99, 1271: "Bu kere Hacı Hristo vesair taraflarından takdim olunan arzuhalde mahalinde icra-yı terafularında kenduleri haklı olduğu şeren tahkik ederek ilam olunuş olduğundan münazaaya … olan arazi hasılatından olub meclis marifetiyle der anbar olan zehairin taraflarına itası inha ve istida kılınmağla keyfiyet meclis-i valaya ledel havale bu hususu mahalinde ne suretle fasl ve ruyet kılınmıştır henüz buraca meçhul olmasıyla keyfiyetin bil tahkik işar kılınması." As mentioned above, in the beginning of the 1850s, a certain Hristo wrote a petition in which he argued that Abdi Paşa had appropriated his land and property, as well as the property of other villagers of Sorovic, and joined them to his own çiftlik located in the same settlement. Hristo was even imprisoned on the pretext that he had left the district without permission, even though he was travelling for purposes of legal proceedings: BOA A.}MKT.UM.92/14, 1268.

[501] BOA İ.MVL. 211/6907, 1267: "Manastır sancağında Prespa kazasında vaki German karyesinde bulunan bilcümle hane ve bağ ve bağçe vesaire karye-yi mezkure ahalisi uhdelerinde olub eşkiyadan halas için mukaddeman Arnavud beylerine ağalık ita eylediklerine ve muahharen eşkiya-yı merkumeden halas bulduklarından ağalık vermediklerine binaen zikr olunan beyler ile German çiftliği mutasarrıfesi Üsküb valisi atufetlu İsmail Paşa hazretlerinin müteveffiye halilesinin vekili tarafından davaya tasaddi olunarak mir-i mumaileyhanın ba sened bir şeyleri olmadığından aldıkları ağalık fuzuli demekte olduğu mahalinde bil teyit ol vechle taraflarına cevab verilmiş oldukda yine müdahaleden hali olmadıklarından meni hususu karye-yi mezkure ahalisi canibinden ba arzuhal istida." The result was in favor of neither side in terms of ownership of land ("Manastır sancağında Prespa kazasında German çiftliği karyesi aslından karye olmayub emlak-ı hümayundan zabt-ı mukteza-yı irade-yi seniyeden olan çiftlikattan olduğu teyit eylemesine ve bu makule emlak-ı hümayun çiftliklerine sahib olmak iddiasında bulunanlara cevab verilmesi nizamı iktizasından bulunmasına mebni çiftlik-i mezkurun emlak-ı hümayun-u şahaneye idhalen kaydının tesviyesiyle ileride sair çiftlikat mesellu maktuen ihale olunmak üzere 67 senesine mahsuben mahalinde emaneten bil idare hasılatını mübeyyin defterinin gönderilmesi"); yet, the payment exorted from the peasants in the name of "ağalık" was annuled: BOA İ. MVL. 211/6907, 1267. Also see: BOA HR.SYS. 2934/56, 1851. Just like in the case of Kosnic, some villagers were imprisoned during this dispute as well: BOA A.} MKT. NZD. 74/88, 1269: "Manastır sancağı dahilinde kain German karyesi reayasının karye-yi mezkure toprağında vaki eben-an-cedd mutasarrıf oldukları emlak ve araziyi çiftlik diyerek 6 nefer kocabaşı ile reayadan sair ele geçenlerin haps olunmuş olduğundan." This case was finally sent to "*çiftlik komisyonu*" to be handled with other similar cases: A.} MKT. MHM. 44/56, 1268.

[502] BOA HR.MKT. 329/3, 1276: "İngiltere devlet … Manastır konsolatosu tercümanı Mişo'nun Florina kazası dahilinde ba mülkname-yi hümayun uhde-yi tasarrufunda bulunan Sveti Todor çiftliği merbutatından olub civar bulunan bazı kura ahalisinin yded-i zabtına geçmiş olduğu eda kılınan arazinin istirdadı hakkında vuku bulan istida."

of İştip, and Kazım Bey, a local notable ("*vücuh*") of the district at the time.[503] In many of these cases of conflict, the officials openly expressed their concerns about a potential expansion of rural unrest around the Balkans if radical decisions were to be taken in favor of the peasantry.[504]



Figure 158. Villages of Hoceste, Kosnica, Sorovic, Banica, and German.

[503] BOA MVL 976/51, 1280: "Üsküb sancağı dahilinde kain Koçana kazasında Sofilari karyesi ahalisiyle İştip kazası vücuhundan Kazım Bey beyninde olan arazi nizaı." The case could not be resolved for some time due to the complications created by administrative divisions.

[504] BOA İ.MVL. 50/958, 1259: "Ol havalide bulunan mukataat ve çiftlikatın ekseri bu usulde olmağla reayanın istidaları vechiyle olsa cümlesi davaya tasaddi ile usul-u mukataaya muris-i halel olduğu bazı ashab-ı vukuf taraflarından ihbar kılınmış olduğu."
BOA İ.MVL. 230/7968, 1268: "Manastır ve Yanya sancaklarında kain malum ül esami çiftliklerin filasıl karye oldukları ve mutasarrıflarının envai ezasını gördüklerini mezkur çiftliklerde … reaya mütevelliyen eda ve beyan etmeleriyle eğerce tarafeyn vekilleri irsal olunarak fasl ve rüyet-i keyfiyet olunması huzur-u hazret-i fetvapenahiye ve meclis-i muhasebeye havale kılınmakta ise de bunlardan Beromonce çiftliği reayasının haksızlığı teyit etmişken yine istidayı sabıklarından hali olmadıklarına nazaran ileride bütün Rumeli çiftliklerinin reayası böyle edalara kalkışarak ihlal-i usule sebeb olacaklarından hem şu mahzurlar ber taraf olmak ve hem de gerek reaya-yı merkumeye ve gerek bundan böyle bu mesellu istidası vuku bulanlara ona göre cevab verilmek üzere."
Similar controversies occured in neighbouring districts as well. For example; BOA A.} MKT. DV. 159/65, 1276: "Manastır sancağına tabi Köprülü kazasında İstefance karyesi ahalisi tarafından takdim olunan arzuhalde karyede vaki olub kadimden beru mutasarrıf oldukları ziraat … kimesne tarafından dahl ve taarruz icab etmez iken kaza-yı mezkur sakinlerinden Ali nam kimesne fuzuli müdahale".
BOA A.} MKT. UM. 379/27, 1276: "Ohri kazasına tabi Esonişte karyesi ahalisinin karyeleri civarında bulunan orman derununda oldukları tarla ve meraların Manastır ahalisinden Malik Bey zabt daisinde bulunduğundan müdahale-yi vakanın meni hususu karye-yi merkume ahalisinin vekilleri tarafından istida olunmuş … yaylak ve arazi-yi mezkure kendu meraları iken Malik beyin validesi Emine Hanım fuzuli zabt ve kendisine mülk ittihazı muradında olduğundan bahisle müdahale-yi vakasının meni hakkında geçen sene vuku bulan dava."

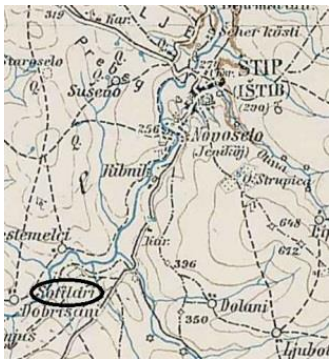

Figure 159. The village of Sofilari (İştip)

Comparable cases of conflict erupted around the late 19th and early 20th centuries as well. In Pirlepe of the late 1890s, Hurşid Paşa and the residents of the village of Krstec came against each other in a dispute over the involvement of watchmen ("*bekçi*") in the controlling of the use of land and the grazing of animals by the latter.[505] In the early 20th century, the workers of the çiftlik of Polina in Manastır challenged the ownership claim of the çiftlik-owners and were, as a result, forcefully evacuated from their houses.[506] In the same period, the çiftlik-owners of Varsaklı - Mehmed Bey, Tayfur Ağa, Celal (Bey?) and Hacı İbrahim efendi- were accused of trying to expand their çiftlik land at the expense of the peasant land of the neighboring village of Serçe.[507] The names of these çiftlik-owners reemerged in a

[505] BOA BEO 1244/93242, 1316: "Manastır vilayetine tabi Pirlepe kazası dahilinde vaki olub ırsen ve sıraen taht-ı tasarrufumda bulunan malum ül hudud Dutluk Çiftliği arazisinden Borile nam mevkide hemcivar bulunan Krstec ahalisine idare-yi ita edildiğinden ve bu suret hükm-ü nizama mugayir ve hukuku tasarrufiyesini ... olduğundan bahisle mevki-yi mezburun istirdadı istidasını ve bazı ifadeyi havi süvari mirlivalarından saadetlu Hurşid Paşa tarafından şura-yı devlete verilen arzuhal"; "Paşa-yı mumaileyhanın ba tapu taht-ı tasarrufunda olan arazi bila hüküm hiç kimesneye tasarruf ettirilmeyeceği gibi sınır maddesi içinde mehakim-i aidesine müracaatla isbat-ı müddeileri lazım geleceği gösterilmiştir; "Paşa-yı mumaileyhin bir güna iddiası olduğu halde mehakemeye müracaatla ikame-yi dava eylemesi lazım geleceği."

[506] BOA DH.MKT. 2685/69, 1326; BOA DH.MKT. 2697/65, 1326. The early 20th century also witnessed many a number of instances of damage to property, including burning of buildings, meadows and agricultural produce, as well as stealing of animals from çiftliks: BOA TFR.I.KV. 32 3160, 1321; BOA TFR.I.KV. 34 3364, 1321; BOA FR.I.KV. 41/4008, 1321; BOA TFR.I.KV. 135 13483, 1324; BOA TFR.I.KV. 44 4367, 1321; BOA TFR.I.KV. 96 9530, 1323.

[507] BOA TFR. I. KV. 21/2052, 1321: "Serçe karyesi hududunda vaki olan araziyi ziraat ve ihya etmekte oldukları halde karye-yi mezkure civarında vaki Varsaklı çiftliği mutasarrıflarından Mehmed Bey ve Tayfur Ağa ve Celal ile Hacı İbrahim efendi mezkur araziye müdahale."

compilation of complaints prepared by the villagers from various villages of İştip.[508] While this text contains very specific information on various personae as well as crimes and damage inflicted on a number of individual villagers[509], it was also specifically mentioned that the land of some of the villagers was confiscated by the aforementioned çiftlik-owners -Mehmed Bey, Celal Bey and Tayfur (Bey).[510]

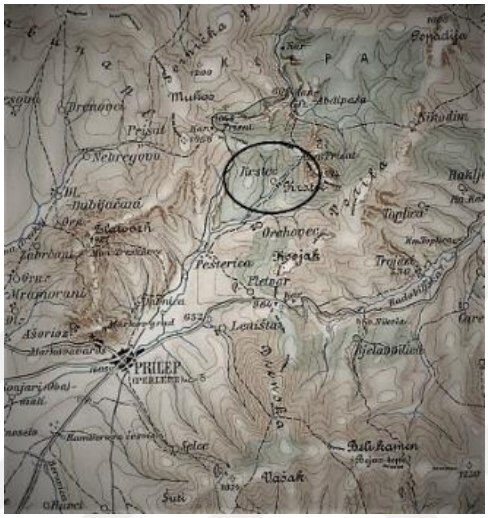

Figure 160. The village of Krstec (Pirlepe)

[508] BOA TFR. I. KV. 22/2156, 1321: This compilation of complaints seems to have been prepared simultaneously with the one discussed in Section 6.4. While the greater majority of the village names are the same in both documents, a few new villages have also been identified here.
[509] BOA TFR. I. KV. 22/2156, 1321. Cases of physical assault on the villagers abounded. In the accounting of instances of violence, Yüzbaşı Zekeriya Ağa and (polis?) İstoyan are the most often recurring names in addition to some watchmen (*bekçi*) of villages, some military personae (*çavuşlar* vs) who were accused of beating, torturing, and killing people. It is also mentioned that these figures dwelled in the houses of the villagers arbitrarily, and confiscated their belongings and animals.
[510] BOA TFR.I. KV. 22/2156, 1321: "Köylülerinin ba tapu mutasarrıf oldukları araziyi Mehmed Celal ve Tayfur Beylerin gasb etmiş olduklarına dair." It is also mentioned that Christian villagers were prevented from going to their fields and vineyards by Muslim villagers who sometimes reaped the meadows of the former as well. Another village that seemed to be having trouble with landowners is indicated to be Meckujevci ("*Meckujevci ahalisinin alakalardan meşakkat çekmekte olduklarına dair*").

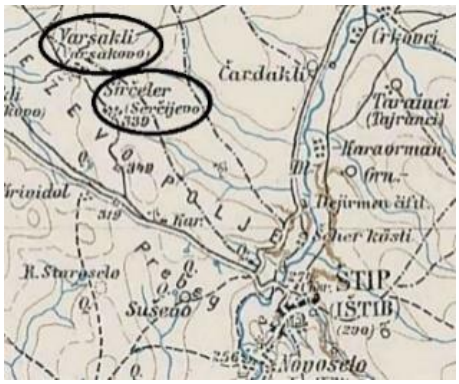

Figure 161. The villages of Varsakli and Serçe (Sirceler/Sercijevo) (İştip)

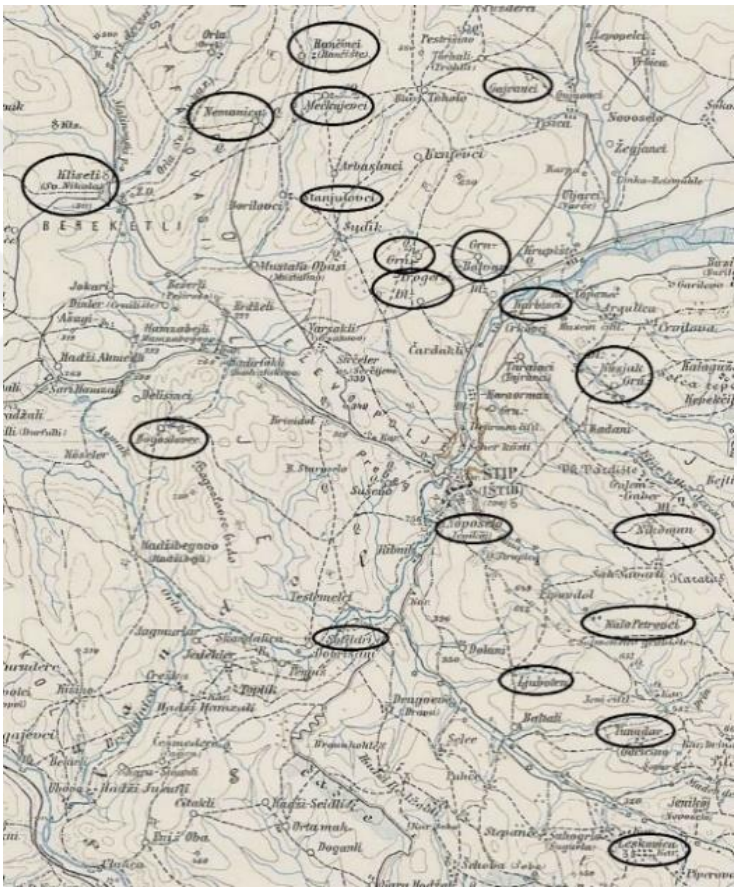

Figure 162. The villages that participated in the signing of the petition from 1903 (İştip).

A piece of evidence regarding the relationship between indebtedness and dispossession came from the imperial çiftliks ("*emlak-ı hümayun*") of the district of Kavaye, part of Ohrid, located to the southwest of the district of Manastır in 1857. The workers of these çiftliks were indicated to have been left with only a pair of

oxen by that time ("*birer çift öküzlerinden maada hiçbir şeye malik olmadıkları*"), having succumbed to indebtedness. Moreover, some of them had even started selling their draught animals and tools of agriculture in order to pay off their debt, abandoning agriculture altogether.[511] In conjunction with these processes, furthermore, it was underlined that land in the region was being appropriated piecemeal and taken out of the use of the peasantry.[512] In general, the main focus of the state remained on the eroding tax base, and the payment of the accumulated debt through installments was proposed as a solution.[513] As such, the long-term processes of peasant dispossession seem to have initially started from the appropriation of peasant land, after which the landless peasants would start to work as sharecroppers. This situation, however, could safely continue only as long as they had draught animals. When, due to indebtedness, these former peasants and current sharecroppers had to sell their oxen, the main prospect available to them seemed to have been resorting to urban or rural wage labour.

Other than cases of outright dispossession, landowners sometimes seemed to have forced or manipulated others to sell their land and property under their value. In 1857, a duo of brother and sister, Yusuf and Züleyha, wrote a petition complaining that Hüseyin Bey had bought the çiftlik they had inherited from their father and held jointly ("*müştereken*"), under its market value and demanded the correction of this wrongdoing.[514]

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[511] BOA A.} MKT. MHM. 153/16, 1275: "Ohri sancağına tabi Kavaye kazasında kain emlak-ı hümayun çiftlikleri çiftçilerinin … bazı muhtekir makulesine medyun ve zaten dahi kendileri fukaradan olarak birer çift öküzlerınden maada hiç bir şeye malik olmadıkları vechiyle ashab-ı matlub tarafından vuku bulan tazyikata mebni çift ve alatını füruht etmekte ve bir taraftan dahi ifa-yı deyne çare bulmak üzere oraya buraya savuşmakta olduklarından."
[512] BOA A.}MKT.MHM. 153/16, 1275: "Ve bir de mezkur çiftliklerin bir takım tarla ve arazisi bazı kesan canibinden fuzuli zabt ve hasılat vakıası ahz ve kabz olunmakta olub."
[513] BOA A.}MKT.MHM. 153/16, 1275: "Bu ise mezkur çiftliklerin harabetine ve bilahere hazine-yi celileye hasarı … olacağından cihetle düyun-u mezburenin hükümet-i mahaliye marifetiyle birer münasib taksite rabt olunarak kendilerinin yine mahallerine celb ve cem' ettirilmesi."
[514] BOA A.}MKT.UM. 271/13, 1273.

Cases of conflict over land also occurred between the landowners themselves. In some occasions, the absence of landowners made it possible for others to appropriate their land directly. In Pirlepe of the 1850s, the land of a certain Hacı Abdullah was taken over by Muhiddin Ağa, a member of the local council, when his father had died during his absence.[515] In Manastır, around the same time, the share of a deceased çiftlik-owner was unjustly taken over by another figure.[516] In İştip of the 1890s, the very "*kaymakam*" of the district was accused of transgressing a çiftlik located at the settlement of Karbinci and causing financial loss for the owner.[517] As such, various forms of controversy over land, in the form intra-class competition, also seem to have occurred between landlords to a certain extent, in addition to competition over labor force, as was discussed in the previous part on the restriction of rural movement.

6.5.2 Intervillage Conflict and the Question of Commons

Beyond the recurrent cases of conflict over the turning of village land into çiftliks, which often took the shape of the appropriation of peasant land by a çiftlik-owner, and sometimes individual, but mostly collective, opposition displayed by the village under threat, the other central axis of controversy which could be detected in the sources took place between the inhabitants of neighboring villages. As the income survey registers have displayed the existence of considerable permeability regarding the official boundaries of settlements and the abundance of cases of villagers owning land outside of their official place of residence, an occasional conflict between individual villagers over co-terminus land should not have been unexpected. However, the most crucial theme in the cases under study is that many instances of

[515] BOA A.}MKT.DV. 131/52, 1275.
[516] BOA A.}MKT.DV. 148/87, 1276.
[517] BOA DH. MKT. 1799/63, 1308.

contestation took the form of infringement of the ancient rights of a specific village, mainly over an area under common use, by a body of intruding villagers. In the Ottoman Empire, the forms of property ownership displayed a long-term tendency towards the expansion of individual rights at the expense of rights over commons.[518] In the 19th century, the main relic from the older communal forms turned out to be pastures and forests.[519] As such, the villagers, on occasion, were not only acting as collective bodies in their opposition to the çiftlik-owners, but also against the villagers of other settlements, referring not only to their collective status of being an ancient village ("*kadim karye*") against the forceful turning of their villages into çiftliks, but also to the specific existence of their respective rights to areas under

[518] Barkan, "Türk Toprak Hukuku Tarihinde Tanzimat ve 1274 (1858) Tarihli Arazi Kanunnamesi", 337-340; Tökin, *Türkiye Köy İktisadiyatı*, 26-27; Terzibaşoğlu, "Landed Estates, Rural Commons and Collective Agriculture in Ottoman Niş and Leskofçe in the Nineteenth Century"; Terzibaşoğlu, "The Ottoman Agrarian Question and the Making of Property and Crime in the Nineteenth Century"; Aytekin, "Agrarian relations, property and law: An analysis of the Land Code of 1858 in the Ottoman Empire."

[519] "Mera, bir veya birden fazla köy yahut kasaba ahalisine müstakillen veyahut müştereken kullanılmak üzere, yetkili makam tarafından tahsis edilen veya kadimden beri ilgili köy veya kasaba tarafından hayvanları otlatılan metruk araziye denir": Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri 1,* 186. Barkan differentiates between pastures under individual ownership and pastures under communal use: "Mamafih böylece bir köy veya kasabanın ihtiyaclarının müştereken tatmini icin terk ve tahsis edilmiş arazi-i metrukeden olan meralarla arazi-i miriye muamelesi gören ve tapuyla tasarruf edilip yalnız sahiplerinin hayvanlarının otlatılmasına mahsus olan meraları birbirine karıştırmamak lazımdır (madde: 99) ki, Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nda, bilhassa son zamanlarda bu nevi meralar ve ormanlar da çoğalmıştır." Barkan, "Türk Toprak Hukuku Tarihinde Tanzimat ve 1274 (1858) Tarihli Arazi Kanunnamesi", 338. In the income survey registers, only two cases of *çiftlik*-owners owning a pasture and a woodland were specifically recorded, probably because these areas were rented out and generated an income for their owners. Regarding meadows, only one case of communally owned meadow ("*karye-yi mezbur mülkü çayır*") has been identified while the remaining meadows were registered for each household separately. In the income survey registers, therefore, it seems that the areas under common use did not enter into the picture, probably because they did not constitute any tax potential for the state. Accordingly, such sources should not be taken at their face value since they had a normative character as well. In relation to the question of commons, for example, Stahl, in his work on the Romanian village communities and historically specific ways in which feudalism developed, demonstrates how the "feudalization" of the peasant communes was accompanied by their registration for fiscal purposes in the form of "autonomous households" in order to make survey and surplus-appropriation easier for the landlords: Stahl, *Traditional Romanian village communities: The transition from the communal to the capitalist mode of production in the Danube region,* 168-170. Stahl calls this process the "individualization of peasant households": Ibid, 170.

common use.[520] In the sources under study, the common land under question turned out to be mostly pastures ("*mera*"), and occasionally forests.[521]

In the early 1840s, a conflict erupted between a group of farmers whose land near the central town of Manastır was confiscated by the state for the building of a military base and the villagers who refused to allow the former group to open up a space for agricultural production in their pasture. In the controversy, the former group argued that their previously held land, where they continued with agricultural production uninterrupted and paid their taxes to "*sahib-i arz*" annually, had been transmitted from their ancestors under title deeds. These farmers, who had lost their only source of subsistence, wrote a petition whereby they claimed that Ahmet Zekeriya Paşa, the governor of Rumelia (*Rumeli valisi / müşiri*) at the time, had initially allowed them to convert a part of a pasture, apparently under the use of eight unnamed villages located close to the central town of Manastır, into agricultural land; yet, this permit was revoked with reference to the inappropriateness of turning ancient pasture under common use into arable fields after the taking of Ahmet

[520] As Barkan underlines, "müştereken tasarruf edilen orman ve meralardan yalnız o köyün sakinleri istifade edebilir: Barkan, "Türk Toprak Hukuku Tarihinde Tanzimat ve 1274 (1858) Tarihli Arazi Kanunnamesi," 338. Also see the Article 91 of the Land Code (1858): "Kadimden bir karyeye veya kasabaya ihtitâben (koru olarak) ve intifâen (yararlanmak üzere) mahsus olup baltalık tabir olunan koru ve ormanların eş cârim ancak ol karye ve ol kasaba ahalisi kat' edip, başka karye ve kasaba ahalisinin kat'etmeğe salahiyeti yoktur, ve müteaddit karyelere kezalik minel-kadim ihtitâben ve intifâen mahsus olan koru ve ormanların eşcârını dahi ol karye ahalisi kat'edip, sair karye ahalisi kat' edemez. Ve bu makûle koru ve ormanların resmi yoktur": Akgündüz, *Mukayeseli İslam ve Osmanlı Hukuku Külliyatı*, 705. Also see the Article 97 of Land Code (1858): "Bir karyeye minel kadîm (kadimden beri) mahsus olan mer'ada yalnız ol karye ahalisi hayvanatını ray' eder ve âher karye ahalisi ol mer'aya hayvanat süremez. İki veya üç ya daha ziyade karye ahalisi beyninde minel-kadîm müşterek olan mer'a her hangi karyenin hududu dahilinde bulunursa bulunsun, ol karye ahalisi hayvanlarını müştereken ray' ettirip (otlatıp) yek diğeri ra'ydan men edemezler": Ibid, 706. These patterns were not specific to the Ottoman Empire either. For example, in medieval England, "the village was united in its opposition to those from nearby settlements who encroached on their land and grazed their animals on the wrong side of the boundary": Dyer, "The English medieval village community and its decline," 419.

[521] For some analyses of comparable processes of the expansion of manors at the expense of areas under the common use of the peasantry in Eastern Europe, see: Zytkowicz, "The Peasant's Farm and the Landlord's Farm in Poland from the 16th to the Middle of the 18th Century"; Topolski, "The manorial-serf economy in Central and Eastern Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries." Because areas under common use were often crucial for the survival of the peasantry, even the absence of outright and complete expropriation of peasant land did not indicate the security of peasant livelihood at large.

Zekeriya Paşa off duty and the villagers who had the common right to those pastures under question prevented them from settling. After they depicted their plight as such, these farmers concluded their petition by demanding either agricultural land of the same size as the ones they lost or the payment of the value of their confiscated land.[522]

In the mid-1850s, the villagers of the settlements of Kanina and Bareşani of Manastır became engaged in a legal battle over the use of a nearby pasture for their respective animals and the water of a river branch for the irrigation of their respective fields.[523] In the controversy, the villagers of Kanina turned out to be the

[522] BOA A.}DVN. 1/63, 1257. The petition goes as such: "Bu kulları Manastır kasabası sakinlerinden olub kasaba-yı mezbure toprağında kain eben-an-cedd başka başka tapu temessükü ile mutasarrıf olduğumuz malumat ül hudud arazilerimizi zabt ve beher sene ziraat ve öşr ve rüsumun sahib-i arza eda idegelir iken asakir nizamiye-yi şahaneyi muhafaza ve ikametleri için kasaba-yı mezkurede bir aded inşa olunan kışlak-ı hümayunun ahuruyla talim ve taallum olunacak meydanı tarlalarımıza inşa ve tahsis olunub bu husus için arazi-yi mezkurun kadr ve kıymetinedir ve arazilerinize ne istersiniz deyu bila sual zabt olunmuş olduğundan bu kullarının ibal-i evladlarımız ile … nakdilerimiz ancak arazi-i mezburelerden olduğundan her vechile gadr(geli) olduğundan hal ... Rumeli sabık devletlu Ahmed Zekeriya Paşa hazretlerine ifadepirle müşir-i müşarünileyh hazretlerine kasaba-yı mezburun hududu dahilinde 8 aded karye ahalilerinin koyun vesair davarları rey olunagelen meradan herkese arazilerinin dönümleri mikdarı yer ita olunub söküb ziraat etmek üzere iken müşarünileyh hazretlerinin azli vukuuyla ahali-yi kura zuhurpirle ol mera yerleri cümleden mukaddem olmağla sökülüb ziraat olunmaz deyu tarih-i atik ile kanunnameler ihracıyla yerleri zabt ve ziraatten men(geli) ile men eylediklerinden ve husus-u mezburun ... ve hukukunu dahi mahalinden bil istilam tahkik buyurularak malum olanları buyuruldukda merahim-i aliyelerinden mercu ve mütezarridir ki arazi-yi mezburelerin kıymeti-i şerisi ber muceb-i kanun alıverilmek ve yahud ol yerlerinden gösterilen mera-yı kadimden söküb ziraatimize ahali-yi kuradan kimesnenin dahl ve taarruzlarının meni." The formulation that included elements of inheritance ("*eben-an-cedd*"), holding of title deeds ("*tapu temessükü ile mutasarrıf olduğumuz*") and the emphasis on the uninterrupted continuity of agricultural production and payment of taxes ("*beher sene ziraat ve öşr ve rüsumun sahib-i arza eda idegelir iken*") display most of the components of the general claim to legitimacy of the time. See the Article 97 of Land Code (1858) regarding pastures: "Arazi-i mezrûa misillû bir kimse tarafından sökülüp ziraat ve hirâsete izin ve ruhsat verilmez ve ziraat eden olur ise men' olunup her ne vakit olsa mer'a olmak üzere ibkâ kılınır": Akgündüz, *Mukayeseli İslam ve Osmanlı Hukuku Külliyatı*. Diyarbakır, 706. See the Article 101 of Land Code (1858): "Defterhâne-i Âmirede mukayyet olup bir karye ahalisine müstakillen veyahut üç beş karye ahalisine müştereken minel-kadîm mahsus olan yaylak ve kışlağın otundan ve suyundan yalnız kendilerine mahsus olan karyeler ahalisi intifa' eyleyip ecânibden bulunan digger kurâ ahalisi intifâ edemez. Ve bu makûle yaylak ve kışlağın otundan ve suyundan intifa' eden ahaliden tahammüllerine göre cânib-i mîrî için rüsûmat-ı yaylakiye ve kışlakiye alınır. Ve böyle ahaliye mahsus olan yaylak ve kışlaklar alınıp satılmaz ve tapu ile bir kimseye müstakillen tasarruf ettirilemez ve ahalinin rızası olmaksızın ziraat ve hiraset dahi olunmaz": Akgündüz, *Mukayeseli İslam ve Osmanlı Hukuku Külliyatı*, 707.

[523] BOA A.}MKT.NZD. 220/79, 1273: "Manastır kazasına tabi Kanina karyesi ahalisinin kadimden beru ve hayvanlarına mahsus ve müstakil meraya bir taraftan dahl ve taarruz olunması icab etmez iken Bareşani karyesi ahalisi fuzuli mugayir-i hak zabt etmek daisiyle müdahale etmekte olduklarından müdahalelerinin meni hakkında ahali-yi merkume tarafından mukaddeman selefleri devletli paşa hazretlerine vuku bulan istida." It is quite intriguing that the petition under question was signed by not only the peasants of the village of Kanina, but also the landowners of the settlement in 1857 ("*karye-yi*

allegedly rightful users of the pasture under question while the villagers of Bareşani were defined as the intruding party. As such, the peasants of each village entered into the contestation as collective bodies and defended their collective rights to the areas under question, which was claimed to have a long past ("*Kanina karyesi ahalisinin kadimden beru ve hayvanlarına mahsus ve müstakil mera*"). Therefore, in this clash of two neighboring villages, the identity of each party, having a claim to ancient roots, came to the fore, and the villagers defended their collective right not only to the çiftlik-owners who tried to appropriate common land but also against other villages.

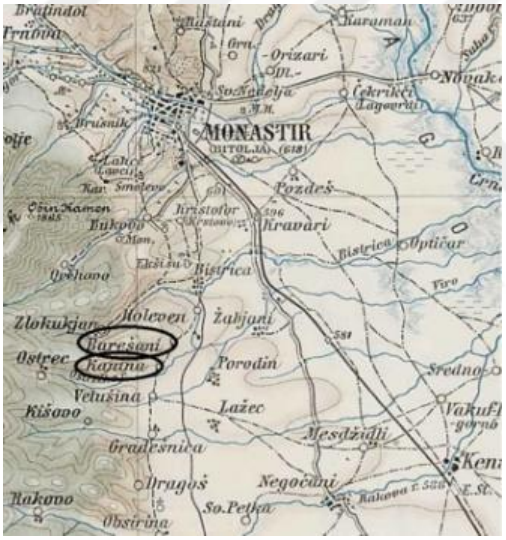

Figure 163. The villages of Kanina and Bareşani, Manastır

Cases of this kind abounded in the region under study in the later 19th and the early 20th centuries. In 1849, the villagers of Dragos and Negocani of Manastır came against each other over the use of a common pasture.[524] About five years later, the

merkume ashab-ı alakasıyla ahali-yi reaya kulları"): BOA A.} MKT. NZD. 220/79, 1273. Also see: BOA A.} MKT. UM. 264/47, 1273.

[524] BOA A.}MKT. 165/29, 1265.

villagers of Dragos once again raised a complaint against the villagers of Negocani for trying to intrude the pasture under the use of their village.[525]

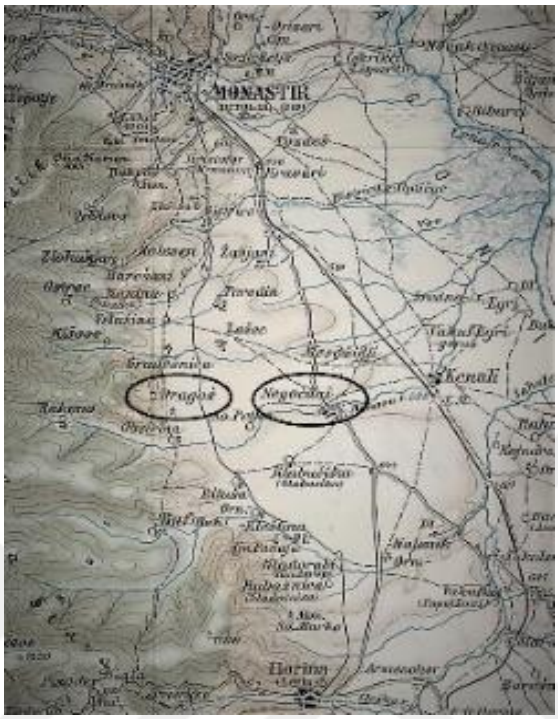

Figure 164. Villages of Dragos and Negocani, Manastır.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the villagers of Gorobinci and Guzumel of İştip came against each other over the use of meadows and trespassing of official boundaries.[526] About two months later, it became visible that these two villages were, in fact, trespassing the boundaries of Knezce, which was located between them.[527]

[525] BOA A.}DVN. 98/92, 1270.
[526] BOA TFR.I. ŞKT. 15/1445, 1321.
[527] BOA TFR.I. KV. 35/3453, 1321.

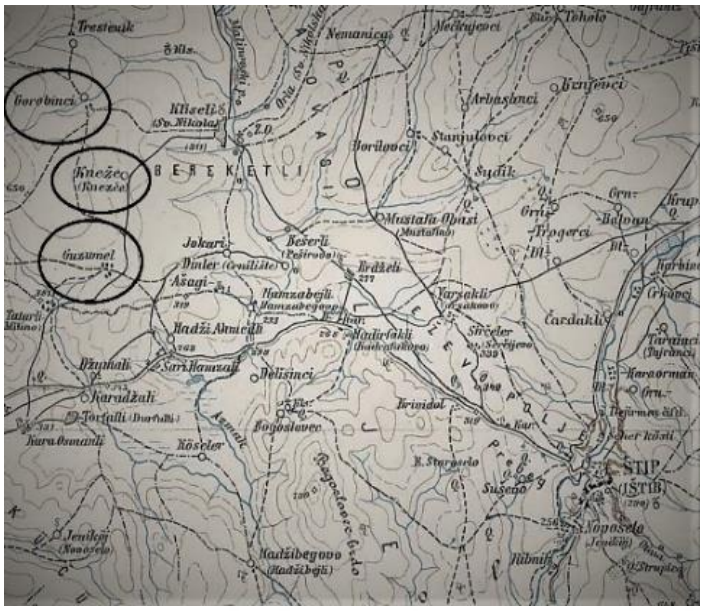

Figure 165. Villages of Gorobinci, Knezce, and Guzumel (İştip)

In 1908, the villagers of Patatino, Nemanica, and Barbarova, all located towards the northern plains of İştip, came against each other over the issue of boundaries between their respective common pasture areas.[528] In the same year, the villagers of Orle entered into this dispute and strongly protested the villagers of Nemanica, who had not only entered into their pasture and forcefully cultivated it, but also cut the trees of a nearby grove.[529]

[528] BOA TFR.I. KV. 197/19656, 1326: "İştip ve Kratova kaymakamlıklarına, İştip'e tabi Patatino karyesi ile Kratova'ya merbut Barbarova karyesi beyninde mütehaddes hudud münazaasında her iki kazadan tayin edilecek memurlar arifetiyle tedkik ve hali kararlaştırıldığı."

[529] BOA TFR.I. KV. 195/19486, 1326. The petition written by "*heyet-i ihtiyar*" of the village of Orle to *Rumeli Vilayet-i Şahane Umum Müfettişliği* goes as such: "Karyemizin müddet-ül-kadim merası bulunan Aktaş ve civarındaki … İştip kazasından Nemanica karyesinden üç yüzü mütecaviz ahali-yi hristiyan dünkü gün yüz elli kadar sabanla tecavüz ederek mezkur merayı sabahtan akşama değin suret-i cebriyede sürdükleri gibi 50 seneden mütecaviz … bulunan korunun ağaçlarını dahi kesmeğe kıyam eyledikleri."

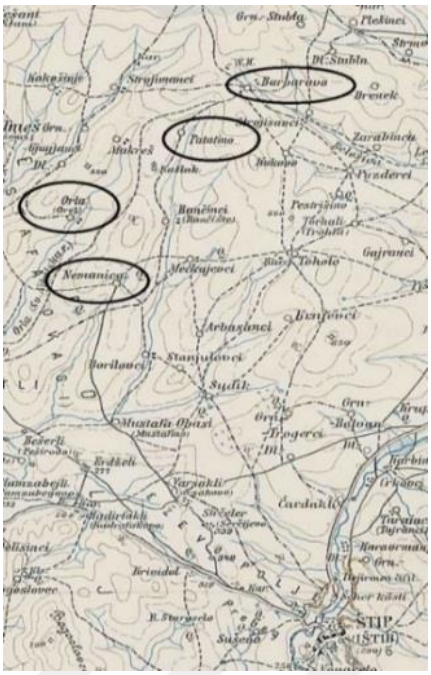

Figure 166. Villages of Patatino, Nemanica, Barbarova, and Orle (İştip).

In the district of İştip, the use of a grazing area turned out to be an issue of controversy among the villagers of the settlements of Balvan-ı Bala, Krupişte, and Casica/Caşka in 1901. This time around, the watchmen ("*bekçi*") of the villages were also getting involved in the process, accusing the peasants of other villagers for trespassing the pasture boundaries and damaging agricultural land with their animals, and imposing punishment on the alleged trespassers, including fines as well as confiscation of personal belongings.[530]

[530] BOA TFR.I.KV. 26/2524 1321 (1319?): "İştip'in Balovan-ı Bala karyesi ahalisine Casica ve Krupişte karyeleri bekçileri ve yahud ahalisi taraflarından tecavüz vuku bulub bulmadığına bil tahkik"; "Balovan karyesi muhtarı ile ileri gelenlerinden Efram veled () bil celb keyfiyet sual olundukda birkaç ay mukaddem kendi karyelerinin hududu dahilinde hayvanatını rey iden Dufan veled Anastaş'ın 20 kuruş kıymetinde kuşağı Casica bekçisi İbrahim tarafından ahz olunduğu ve hayvanatları Casica hududuna geçmediği halde bazı defa hududu (tecavüz etti) ve mezruata zarar eyledi diyerek ceza namıyla para taleb ettiğinin Balovan karyesi ahalisinden bazıları Casica karyesine mahsus olan otlakta hayvanlarını rey ettikleri cihetiyle münasib ücret vermekte iseler de bu hususta rızaları ... olduğundan şikayet etmediklerini ve başka bir güna tecavüzat vuku bulmadığı gibi Krupişte bekçi ve ahalisinden dahi bir güna davaları olmadığı ... Keyfiyet bekçi-yi merkumeden istifar olundukda merkum Dufan'ın hayvanatını Casica karyesi mezruatına tecavüz ederek zarar ika' eylediğinden dolayı kuşağını aldığını ve mezkur kuşak elyevm hanesinde olduğunu ifade eylemekte." The watchman İbrahim under question was then taken off of his job and another watchman was appointed to Casica while the villagers of Balovan-ı Bala changed their previous statement regarding Krupişte (the involvement of the state might have encouraged them to change their position): "Ancak

The major blow to the commons, however, seems to have come not from the collective bodies of other villagers but mostly from individual peasants and çiftlik-owners, whereby different frameworks of property ownership clashed. In 1849, a villager from Nizopolje wrote a petition whereby he accused a certain villager from nearby Magarevo of trespassing the boundaries to their common pasture and adding it to his own summer pasture.[531] In this case, a body of villagers came to defend their collective rights against the claim of a specific peasant to private ownership. The villagers also occasionally clashed with the çiftlik-owners of their region. For example, Abdurrahman Bey and his brothers, who were among the biggest çiftlik-owners of Manastır in the mid-19th century, appeared in sources for having been involved in a controversy over a grove in the later 1850s.[532]



Figure 167. Villages of Magarevo and Nizopolje, Manastır

Balovan-ı Bala karyesi muhtarıyla ileri gelenlerinden Efram veled () işbu … çakeraneme arz olunduğu üzere Krupişte karyesi ahalisinden ve bekçisinden bir güna tecavüz vuku bulmadığı … beyan eyledikleri halde bugün tebdil-i lisan ederek hudud meselesinden bazı Balovan-ı Bala karyesinde aid olan merayı zabt ederek hayvanlarını rey etmeğe ruhsat vermemekte olduklarından dolayı davaları olduğu ve bir ay mukaddem mezkur Krupişte bekçisi hayvanat zarar ika' eyledi diyerek hayvanatlarından 24 kuruş para ve () ile çoban Başo'dan birer gipe ve Coko veled Maco'dan bir kıyye yapağı aldığı ve mukaddeman Casica karyesi ahalisiyle hudud meselesinden dolayı cereyan eden mehakeme neticesinde istihsal eylemiş bulundukları." The watchman as well as the "*muhtar*" of Krupişte denied the validity of these accusations and accused, in turn, Balovan for trespassing, claiming that their pasture was larger than that of Balovan and hence, they did not need their land.

[531] BOA A.}DVN. 56/73, 1266. The petition written by Abdülhalim bin İbrahim, resident of Nizepolje, goes as such: "Manastır kazasına tabi Nizepolje karyesi ahalilerinden olub müddet ül kadim karyemiz dahilinde bulunan mera hududuyla mahdud olan karyemizin merası iken kaza-yı mezbura tabi Magarevo karyesi mütemekkinlerinden () nam zımmi mera-yı mezkur kendi yaylağına ilave ile ... ederek bir gayrı hak fuzuli zabt murad etmekle."

[532] BOA A.} MKT. MHM. 200/23, 1277: "Manastır hanedanından Abdurrahman Bey ile biraderlerinin mutasarrıf oldukları koruya () karyesi sakinlerinden kocabaşı Reste vesair bazı kimesneler taraflarından vuku bulan müdahale."

In 1903, two villagers from of settlement of Meckujevci of İştip raised a protest against the villagers of Strojisavci, who were using their land of 200 *dönüms* as pasture, even though the former figures claimed to have had it under their possession with title deeds for 20 years.[533] As such, it was individual villagers against the villagers of a whole settlement this time. However, the question of the origins of this private ownership and whether there had been an act of appropriation of the common pasture of Strojisavci in the beginning is an issue left unanswered in the sources.

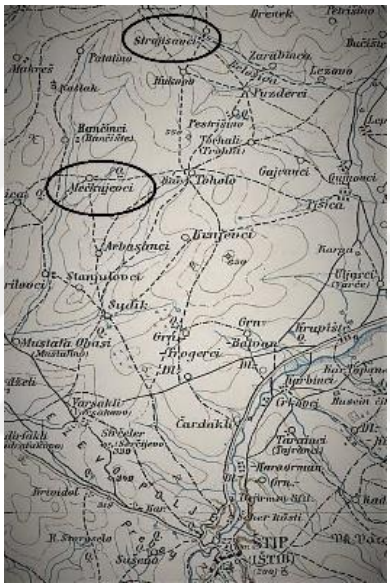

Figure 168. Villages of Meckujevci and Strojisavci, İştip

Another case of controversy occurred in the village of Tarainci (Tajranci) in İştip around 1906.[534] This time, it was a çiftlik-owner -Hüsnü efendizade Hikmet- who raised a complaint against other landowners of the settlement ("*karye-yi mezkur ashab-ı alakalarından Bekir ve Talib ve Halil ağalar*"), claiming that they were trespassing the boundaries of his property by grazing their animals in his çiftlik land. Most interestingly, the allegedly trespassing landowners justified their action by

[533] BOA TFR. I. ŞKT. 15/1421, 1321; BOA TFR. I. KV. 26/2582, 1321.
[534] BOA TFR.I.ŞKT. 100/9938, 1324: "Evvelce arz olduğu üzere İştip'den Tarainci'deki çiftliğimizde tapu ile mutasarrıf olduğumuz arazilerimizde karye-yi mezkur ashab-ı alakalarından Bekir ve Talib ve Halil ağalar hayvanatlarını cebren rey ettirmekte olduklarından."

claiming that the çiftlik land of the aforementioned Hikmet was, in fact, part of the village pasture, implicating that is was legal not only for the villagers but also for them to graze their animals on it.[535]

The appropriation of not only pastures but also other areas under common use, including mountains and forests, by third parties, who parceled out the areas under question ("*mukaddemleri cibal-i mübaha ve ormanlardan iken ber takrib ifraz kılınmış olan koru mahalleri*") seems to have become a concern of the government in the mid-1850s, along with the generalized obsession with title deeds for the legitimacy of landowning.[536] Furthermore, the state seems to have become more and

[535] BOA TFR.I.ŞKT. 88/8736 1324: "Tarainci dimekle meşhur çiftlikte ba tapu mutasarrıf olduğumuz malum ül mikdar arazi-yi mezruaya kadimden beru aben an ecdadımızdan bil intikal tarihi malum olmayan bir zamandan beru … ziraat ve temlik etmekte bulunduğumuz ... mezkur çiftlikte arazisi bulunan Bekir efendi ve Talib ve Halil ağalar güya araziyi mezrua-yı mezkuremiz karye merası olduğu beyanıyla müdahale etmek istemişler ise de mezkur araziye tasarrufumuz ba tapuya müstenid olduğu ve kadimden beru bila niza yedimizde bulunduğu mahalli hükümetce bil tahkik anlaşılması üzerine merkumanın müdahaleleri men edilerek."

[536] BOA A.}MKT.MVL. 82/46, 1273: "Cibal-i mübaha ve kadimden ahali-yi karyeye mahsus olan orman ve meralardan bil ifraz ittihaz olunmuş olan koruları gerek eban-an-cedd ve gerek suret-i uhra ile tasarruf bihakkın olmadığından bu mesellu koruların ber minval-i meşruh cibal-i mübaha ve kadimden ahali-yi karyeye mahsus orman ve meralardan ifraz olunub müstakilen koru ittihaz olunduğu maruf ve mütehakkık olduğu surette zikr olunan korulardan mutasarrıflarına kefayed? ettirilerek cibal-i mübaha ve orman ve meralara terk ve ilave kılınması ve bu mesellu koruların cibal-i mübaha ve kadimden ahali-yi karyeye mahsus olan orman ve meralardan ifraz olunduğu malum olmadığı takdirde eskiden icare-yi zemin kılıflı bir şey tahsis kıllınmış ise o makule koruların mahallerine ber minval-i muharrer ragabat-i …ya ragabat olunarak mukataa-yı zemin takdir ve tahsis kılınıb mutasarrıflarına dahi tapu senedi ita olunması ve varaka-yı mezkurenin bend başısında dahi o mesellu arazi sahiblerinin yedlerinde cedid sened bulunmadı deyu mutasarrıf oldukları arazi canib-i miri için zabt olunmak ber vecihle caiz olmayacağından tayin olunan müddet-i mezkurenin tadiliyle yalnız yedinde atik senedi bulunanlara tecdid ve tedil ettirilmesi ve yedinde asla senedi bulunmayanlar dahi taht-ı tasarruflarında olan araziye akall-ı 10 sene bila niza' mutasarrıf oldukları karyeleri ahalisinden birkaç kimesneye ihbar ettirildikten sonra yerlerinde müceddeden ve meccanen tapu senedi verilmesi"; "suret-i hal tekrar taraf-ı vala-yı fetvapenahi ile bil muhabere gelen cevabda komisyon-u mezkurun vermiş olduğu karar kanunname-yi hümayunun mugayiri olduğu" ; "işbu bend-i evveldeki muharrer maddenin ber muceb-i mazbata icra-yı iktizası ve varaka-yı mezkurenin bend başında beyan kılındığı üzere 10 sene bila niza' arazi-yi miriyeye mutasarrıf olanların yedlerinde gerek atik senede bulunub ve gerek bulunmasun mutasarrıf idegeldikleri arazinin zabtı muhalif-i kanun görünüb fakat 10 sene müddet tasarruf ile hakk-ı kararı sabit olmayarak ve yedinde bir güna ihticaca salih sened bulunmayarak arazi-yi emiriyeyi mutasarrıf dahi caiz olmayacağından o makulelere sarf-ı mahlul nazarıyla bakılub canib-i miri için zabt olunması ve bend-i saliste muharrer hususlar bazı tecdid ve ita-yı senedat ve mahlul çiftlikat hakkında icra olunacak muamelata dair fetvahaneden beyan olunan mütalaanın münasib ve yolunda bulunduğundan işbu hususların dahi fetvahaneden kaleme alınan varakada yazıldığı vecihle icabının ifası." See the Article 92 in Land Code (1858): "Ahali-i kurâya mahsus koru ve ormanlardan bir miktarı ifraz ile koru ittihaz olunmak veyahut ziraat için açmak üzere bir kimseye tefviz ile bâ-tapu müstakilen veya müştereken tasarruf ettirilmez. Tasarruf eden olur ise, cemî-i zamanda ahalinin men'eylemeğe salahiyeti vardır": Akgündüz, *Mukayeseli İslam ve Osmanlı Hukuku Külliyatı*, 705. For a detailed discussion on the contestations over the use of forests and the changing definitions and legal categories of the state, see:

more engaged in re-defining the status of commons throughout the 19th century. In 1891, the villagers of the settlement of Ribarci, located in the alluvial plains towards the west of the town of Manastır, became involved in a legal battle against the officials as they pleaded against the imposition of taxation for the hay they collected from the pasture under the use of their own village. In their complaint, the "*muhtar*" underlined that the nearby villages of Mogila, Trn, Radobor, Novak, Çekrikçi, Opticar, Eğri, and Karaman did not pay anything for the same practice and demanded equal treatment. Much to their dismay, however, the villagers of Ribarci were imprisoned for their disobedience, probably because they refused to pay the tax they claimed to be an unjust imposition in the face of their poverty.[537] During the legal proceedings, however, the officials argued that the villagers of Ribarci were, in fact, selling the hay they collected from the pasture under question and obtaining an income. In this context, the final verdict was that villagers could only use the common pastures for their own needs while the remaining hay belonged to the state; if they were to obtain an income from the sale of the products from the land under question, they were obliged to pay the due taxes.[538] As such, a strict line was drawn

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Dursun, "Dispossession by concession: forest commons in the Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic."

[537] BOA BEO 135/10086, 1310: "Hayvanları için karyeleri merasından topladıları giyahtan akçe talebiyle hapsolunduklarına dair Ribarci karyesi muhtarı imzasıyla Manastır'dan gelen telegramname suretinde telgrafhaneden ahz ve mutalasıyla keyfiyetin bil tahkik işarı." The petition written by the "*muhtar*" ("*karye-yi mezkure ahalisi vekili muhtar-ı evvel-i karye-yi Ribarci"*) in 1308 goes as such: "Meskun olduğumuz Ribarci karyesinin vergi ve aşarı vermekte olduğumuz meramızdan hayvanatımızın idaresi için topladığımız hasılata akçe taleb olunmakta ve bu gibi hasılat için karyemize civar olan Mogila Trn Radobor Novak Çekrikçi Opticar Negotin Eğri Karaman karyeleri ahalisi bir şey vermemekte oldukları cihetle muamele-yi mütesaviye icrası istida olunduğu halde dünkü güne karyemiz ahalisi mahpus ifa olunduğumuzdan acizleri efkar-ı fukaradan olub … tahsiline bir madde-yi mahsusa olmayan 1 akçe için töhmet-i tazyiğe alınmamıza rıza-yı padişahi olmadığından."

[538] In the following months, "*meclis-i idare-yi vilayet*", the governor ("*vali*") of Manastır as well as Maliye Nezareti got involved in this controversy over the status of pastures under the common use of villagers and the revenue obtained from them. BOA BEO 151/11280, 1310: "Hayvanat için karyeleri merasından topladıkları giyahtan akçe taleb edilmekte bulunduğunda dair Ribarci karyesi muhtarı imzasıyla varid olan telgrafname üzerine sebk eden istilama cevaben Manastır vilayetinden bil mürur leffen taraf-ı atufilerine irsal kılınan 12 receb sene 310 tarihli ve 50 numrolu tahriratta karye-yi mezkure ashab-ı alakası hasıl olacak mebaliğ köyün menafiine sarf olunmak üzere meradan bir kısmını bekledub? husule gelen saz vesaireyi civar karye ahalisine satmakta oldukları ihbar edilmiş ve

by the state between the immediate subsistence needs and the possibility of monetary gain for the peasantry regarding the lands under common use.

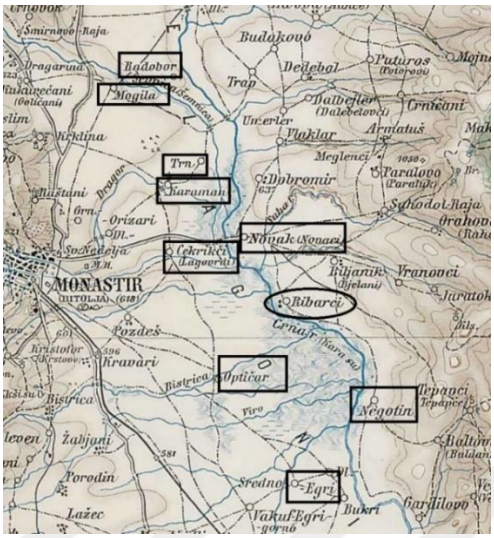


Figure 169. The villages of Ribarci, Radobor, Mogila, Trn, Karaman, Çekrikçi, Novak, Opticar, Negotin and Egri (İştip).

In 1894, the status of a grove raised by the residents of Magarevo,[539] located in the common pastures of their village, became a point of contestation between the villagers and the state – and specifically, "Orman ve Maadin ve Ziraat Nezareti". While the villagers claimed that it was them who had raised that very forest in the first place on their pasture and hence, they should have been entitled to its products freely, the ministry immediately claimed ownership over this forest and demanded due taxes putting forth the argument that while the previous status of pasture provided immunity from taxation to the villagers of Magarevo for grazing their animals, the income obtained through the trees growing in this forest was to be

karye dahilinde ihtiyac-ı ahaliden fazla olan meralardan nakden hasıl olacak menafaat hazine-yi celileye aid bulunması cihetiyle mezkur Ribarci baltasından kura-yı mütecavire ahalisinin çıkarmakta oldukları hasıla-yı esmanın hazineye ahzı meclis-i idare-yi vilayetçe kararlaştırılıb"; "her karye ahalisinden kendi sınırları dahilinde bulunan mera vesaireden meccanen istifadeye hakları olmasına göre karar vaki civar kura ahalisinin oradan toplamış oldukları giyah vesaireye münhasır olduğunun ve ol suretle muamele kılınmakta bulunduğunun cevaben arz ve izyarı meclis-i mezkurdan ba ilam ifade kılınmış ve karye-yi mezbure ahalisine bundan dolayı ilişilememekte bulunmuş olmağla."

[539] In the income survey registers, Magarevo emerged as a settlement consisting of 6 quarters with the main income originating from engagement in textile production.

included in the bundle of taxation due to the miri status of the forest under question.[540] Once again, the state came forward to re-define the content and extent of the commons, in practice as well as in theory.



Figure 170. The village of Magarevo (Manastır)

6.6 Conclusion

The previous analysis of the income survey registers, mainly focusing on the general structure of the rural society of three selected districts in the mid-19th century, aimed at analyzing a complex reality in flux through a static picture to identify general patterns and structures. While the unparalleled richness of the sources in terms of information, as well as the immense geographical scope they encompassed, made

[540] BOA BEO 393/29403, 1311: "Manastır vilayetine tabi Magarevo karyesi hayvanatına mahsus mera dahilinde yetiştirmiş oldukları koruya mahalli orman müfettişliğinden müdahale olunduğundan bahisle hakkında karyey-i mezbure ahalilerinden Nikola imzasıyla verilen arzuhal üzerine … eden işara cevaben varid olan tezkere-yi atufilerinde mezkur ormanın zikr olunan karye ahalisine müteallik olmayub miri ormanları idaresinde bulunduğu cihetle buna baltalık ve … verilemeyeceği ve yalnız mezkur ormanlarda köylünün ihtiyacat dahiliyesi mikdar kesilecek kerestelik ve tahtalık eşcar-ı resme tabi olduğu gibi rey ettirecekleri hayvanatlarından ber güna resm istihsal olunamayacağı nizamen muayyen bulunduğuna mebni salifülzikr ormanları hüsn-ü muhafazası ile beraber civarında bulunan karye ahalisinin ... nizamı dairesinde ihtiyaçları ref ettirilerek bu babda müşkilata mahal verilmemesi"; "mezkur ormanı kendileri yetiştirmiş olub mukaddeman dahi bu babda vaki olan müdahalenin menine dair yedlerine ferman-ı ali bulunduğu beyanıyla bazı ifade ve tekrar-ı istidayı havi mezkur karye muteberanından Panaki imzasıyla varid olan arzuhal dahi leffen savb-ı atufetlerine isbal."
BOA BEO 458/34338, 1312: "Mağduriyetlerinden bahisle yedlerinde bulunan ferman-ı ali mucebince zikr olunan ormanın kendilerine terki istidasını havi merkum Panaki imzasıyla merkeze verilen arzuhal."
A long bureaucratic process unfolded through the course of this controversy: BOA BEO 518/38829, 1312.

them an indispensable tool for the analysis of rural societies, they also came with certain restrictions, which were, for the purposes of this thesis, mainly temporal and methodological. In order to transcend these restrictions, a compilation of different sources has been incorporated into the analysis, and the time period under investigation has been extended.

This chapter has focused on a selection of petitions, investigation reports, and legal documents from the late 18th to early 20th century to incorporate into the picture of rural society some crucial dynamics which were left relatively obscured in the income survey registers due to the aim and scope of these sources. Accordingly, issues such as the nature of the relationship between landowners and peasants, the restrictions on mobility and imposition of *corvee* labor on the peasantry and *çiftlik*-workers in a context of rural inequality, poverty, and peasant indebtedness, as well as the turning of peasant land into *çiftliks*, have been addressed in order to present a multifaceted, dynamic and conflictual portrayal of the countryside of the Ottoman Balkans in the 19th century.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed to examine the property structure, class relations, and agricultural production patterns in the countryside of the Ottoman Balkans in the 19th century. For the analysis at hand, the çiftliks, or landed estates under the de facto ownership of personae from various socio-economic positions who organized agricultural production on the basis of different labor arrangements in the mid-19th century, have constituted the methodological entry point into the study of the rural economic and social structures.

As discussed in the previous chapters, the çiftliks of the Ottoman Empire, especially concerning the forms they took in the 18th and 19th centuries, had often been treated in the orthodox history-writing within the confines of the rigid framework drawn by the principles of miri land regime and çift-hane system whereby çiftliks either emerged on wasteland outside of the former or left the existing mode of smallholding peasant production intact as implied by the latter. The other prevailing view posited the çiftlik question through the lens of the expansion of the capitalist world market and the painful integration of the Ottoman Empire into this newly emerging system through the creation of bonded forms of labor, with the priority having been given to the transformative impact of trade on the forms of economic and social organization. Regarding the commercialization of agricultural production in general, the focus has mainly centered on the expansion of petty-commodity production on the basis of smallholding peasant producers whose integration into the markets proceeded in the fashion of voluntary participation. The

classic çiftlik debate, therefore, mainly developed within the confines of these frameworks.

The question of the transformation of traditional agrarian structures, especially from the 18th and the 19th century onwards, has occupied a critical place in the literature on agrarian history and development of capitalism as the processes of agrarian transformation are closely interlinked with a wide range of issues, including the changing class relations in the countryside, the transformation of the organization of agricultural production, the changing character of the relationship between urban and rural sectors and, of course, the development of industrial capitalism. This epoch of wide-scale agrarian transformations that begot far-fetching developments in the global context did not leave the Ottoman Empire intact either, as the latter also underwent considerable economic, social, and political changes in the same period. Most importantly, an agrarian question emerged as a rather broad-scale phenomenon, coming to include the Ottoman lands as well. In this general context, the landed estates, or çiftliks, of the Ottoman Balkans have the strong potential to open up a venue that can enable the addressing of the historically specific features of the Ottoman Empire with reference to globally prevalent issues of the time, such as the development of capitalism, nature of various forms of agrarian transitions, and processes of rural dispossession. In this context, the present thesis can be considered an attempt to transcend these frameworks and locate the Ottoman çiftlik question in the broader framework of agrarian class structure and labor relations in the Ottoman Balkans in the mid-19th century through an empirical study of the rural society.

The region under study comprised the districts of Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe as administratively defined in the mid-19th century. The main research questions around which the framework of the present thesis has been constructed with regard to

the rural class structure in the districts under study are as follows: What is the extent of çiftliks vis-a-vis villages in the region under study, both in terms of landowning and residence of rural producers; what are the common characteristics of these forms of organization in the mid-19th century, and what are the main axes on which these forms varied; how can the property structure and internal organization of the villages be characterized; and what is the nature of the relationship between çiftliks and villages in the composition of the countryside in general?

In order to propose some answers to the questions posed above, the information on property ownership, organization of agricultural production, and forms of labor arrangements obtained from the income survey registers of the mid-19th century has been the main focus of the analysis. One of the main handicaps in the existing literature on the income survey registers has been the exclusive focus of each of these studies in a specific location -mostly a town center- and the heavily descriptive expounding of the results, which rendered the possibility for obtaining a wide-scale perspective significantly difficult. In contrast, this thesis has aimed at developing an analytical framework for answering the questions above in a way that would make the development of a comparative framework across different regions possible, especially due to the focus on the relational aspects of the factors under study. Furthermore, the handling of data on a region of quite a large scale makes it possible to go beyond the relatively restricted foci of monographic studies and have a sense of the general configuration of agricultural production, property structure, and labor relations on the district level and beyond, in addition to the variations within the boundaries of the districts themselves as well as the internal structures of çiftliks and villages respectively. The present thesis explicitly combines the analysis of the çiftlik economy with the broader background of rural society through these sources.

As such, it goes beyond the confines of the çiftliks and tries to analyze the rural configuration as a whole. Lastly, the large-scale data and the resulting statistical analysis are combined with GIS analysis to develop a broad-scale portrayal of rural society. As such, this thesis utilizes the income survey registers in a novel way to develop an analysis of the rural class structure in the Ottoman Balkans, including çiftliks and villages in their spatial dimension.

The general structure of this thesis consists of three main footholds. Here, the first one is centered on the relations between landowners and rural producers. As such, the first point of focus has been on the class relations that were formed around the phenomenon of Ottoman çiftliks which entailed a number of implications regarding the character of the economic and social system at hand, including the question of the ownership of landed property, the separation between the owner and the cultivator of agricultural land, market-oriented production, various forms of labor relations, appropriation of agricultural surplus by landowners, erosion of traditional peasant self-sufficiency and the related emergence of a degree of market dependency, as well as the appropriation of peasant land through various methods. Accordingly, regarding the rural society of the Ottoman Balkans, the çiftliks have been evaluated as the most visible proxy of class relations in the rural setting directly related to the disruption of the traditional peasant society.

Behind the first layer of rural inequality signified in çiftlik presence, the existence of some indications of stratification among the rural inhabitants has also been observed. Accordingly, the second main foothold of the thesis has centered on the relations among the rural population itself. In a traditional "peasant" society, the main form of inequality takes the form of inequality in access to land, which is often coupled with the hiring of the labor of the landless or poorer peasants by the

wealthier segments of the peasantry, both of which signify the existence of certain tendencies towards differentiation in the village society, hand in hand with the erosion of traditional peasant self-sufficiency and the emergence of a degree of market dependency. In this context, the extent of the presumed peasant self-sufficiency and homogeneity reigning at large in the relevant literature has been questioned in the Ottoman context.

Lastly, the third foothold of the thesis has centered on the question of space and geography in relation to the patterns of rural organization. Accordingly, this thesis has been formed in a dialogue with the concerns of environmental and spatial history with an emphasis on the importance of space as much as the concept of temporality in historical research. This engagement has been crucial not only for the spatialization of historical data but also for a proper appreciation of the diversity and complexity of forms of rural organization. As such, the corollary of one of the main aims of this thesis -namely, transcending the limits and problems that often arise with an exclusive focus on averages, especially regarding the internal composition of the peasantry- has turned out to be, on the dimension of space and geography, sensitivity towards diversity within relatively artificial units of analysis, such as the one also used in this study -a district. Accordingly, this thesis has aimed at integrating into the picture of the rural society a geographical and topographical expression of heterogeneity by indicating the specific loci of concentration of different forms of rural organization, which, in turn, can only be properly appreciated in their relation to each other. All in all, this thesis has focused on the central themes of çiftlik production and rural inequality with sensitivity to geography and space in historical analysis.

The study of income survey registers, focusing on the rural society of three selected districts in the mid-19th century, mainly tried to analyze a complex reality in flux through a static picture. Despite the large-scale body of information that these sources provided, their temporally and methodologically limited nature required that supplementary archival sources from an extended time period should be incorporated into the analysis to contextualize the snapshot obtained from the income survey registers. Accordingly, the study incorporated into the analysis a selection of petitions, investigation reports, and legal documents from the 18th to early 20th century in order to address some crucial dynamics which were left relatively obscured in the income survey registers due to the nature and logic of these sources. As such, a wide range of issues, including the nature of the relationship between landowners and peasants, restrictions on mobility, and imposition of *corvee* labor on the villagers and çiftlik-workers in a context of rural inequality, poverty, and peasant indebtedness, as well as the appropriation of peasant land, the turning of villages into çiftliks, and the resulting cases of contestation over land, have been addressed in order to present a multifaceted and dynamic portrayal of the rural society of the Balkans in the 19th century. As such, the present thesis tried to draw a general picture of the rural landscape as a space of inequality, stratification, dispossession, and class relations while positing the central theme of çiftlik question in this broader context.

In the selected area under study, the internal structures of çiftlik and village formations and the interaction between these forms have been examined. The results of the study implied that, beyond points of commonality, each of these districts was characterized by a different level of çiftlik formation, rural inequality, and various specificities of its own.

Overall, on the basis of the data expounded in this thesis, it seems safe to argue that the presence of çiftliks was, in fact, quite significant in the region under study. First and foremost, in the capacity that çiftlik formation signified a process of concentration of land in the hands of a group of landowners, all three districts displayed varying yet considerable presence of çiftliks: In Manastır, where the formation of çiftliks turned out to be the most advanced, the çiftlik-owners owned almost three-quarters of the registered cultivable land in the district and directly controlled the labor force of one-third of the rural residents; in the district of İştip, the çiftlik-owners owned two-fifths of land and controlled a quarter of the rural labor force; and in the district of Pirlepe, the çiftlik-owners owned one-third of cultivable land and controlled one-fifth of the labor force in the countryside, beyond the possible relations of labor, indebtedness, and contestation with the villagers. Considering the imbalance between the small number of çiftlik-owners and large number of rural inhabitants and workers, not only the extent of land concentrated in the hands of the former but also the amount of agricultural surplus channeled from the pockets of the latter into those of the former is quite considerable. The fact that the workers of the çiftliks were mostly landless, hand in hand with the existence of a substantial group of landless villagers, attests to the strong possibility of an ongoing process of peasant dispossession. Most importantly, such dispossession is likely to indicate the formation of a certain degree of market dependence in the area under study.

The çiftliks seem to have shaped not only the specific loci with which they came into direct contact but also the composition of the rural landscape in general. For one thing, the emergence of çiftliks entailed various techniques ranging from openly predatory methods, such as outright dispossession of peasant producers or

claiming of landownership and demanding of payments of rent, to more discreet mechanisms, such as the loss of the peasant's land to a debtor as well as forceful or tricky purchase of land from villagers. In this context, the evidence under study indicates that the appropriation of peasant land and the turning of villages into çiftliks were by no means rare events in the 19th century, as attested by the existence of a body of legal cases of disputes over landowning claims.

The patterns of settlement whereby the relatively smaller numbers of single-çiftlik settlements and the prevalence of settlements with multiple çiftlik-owners, in addition to the large number of settlements where çiftliks and villages coexisted, rather than being distinct universes, point towards how interlinked these forms of settlement actually were. As such, the districts under study displayed a considerable degree of interdependence and interaction between the çiftliks and the villages, which were not antithetical entities but, on the contrary, considerably mingled together, with regard to their usual co-existence in the same settlement, as well as the proximity and labor mobility between the çiftliks and villages of separate settlements. As such, the data under analysis indicate that çiftliks had a crucial part in shaping of the rural landscape they were positioned in. Put differently, çiftliks can be seen as one of the critical proxies of the property and labor regime in the Ottoman Balkans at large.

One of the distinctive features, in terms of the organization of rural production in the district of Manastır has turned out to be the division between the concentration of çiftliks around the central alluvial plain around Crna River, and the tendency of the villages to cluster in the uplands. Moreover, some of these villages were loci of specialized textile production, in addition to villages where agricultural production coexisted with engagement in textile-related activities. The higher level

of çiftlik formation in Manastır, in terms of the absolute number of çiftlik-workers as well as the amount of land in the hands of çiftliks-owners, might have been closely related to the emergence of specialized loci of textile-production, as well as a variety of other branches of economic activity, due to the possibility that a labor reserve might have been created through the dispossession of the peasantry in the context of a developed çiftlik economy. In this regard, studies that would specifically focus on the history of these textile-based settlements as well as research focused on the general characteristics and activities of merchants, commissioners, and usurers active in the region could have been quite enlightening to understand the patterns of the development of rural industries. Furthermore, the fact that the çiftliks of Manastır displayed a more marked clustering around the central river plains can be explained with reference to the higher level of çiftlik formation in this district, while the pattern remained more dispersed in the districts of İştip and Pirlepe where the level of çiftlik formation was lower, even though it was still possible to observe a slight tendency towards the clustering of çiftliks around the central alluvial plains rather than the outside borders of the districts surrounded by hills and mountains crowded by villages. In other words, it is a possibility that Manastır displayed the portrait of a region in a developed stage of çiftlik formation whereas İştip and Pirlepe were still çiftlik landscapes in the making. As such, focused studies on the individual histories of rural settlements would be greatly enlightening to understand their different origins and patterns of development. This general pattern of settlement distribution also raises the question of the relative strength of the lowland and upland communities in terms of communal customs and collective action.

Regarding the internal composition of the villages, a significant degree of inequality in access to land, as well as certain lines of class relations between the

upper and the lower segments of the peasantry, in the form of the hiring of the labor of the landless villagers by the village rich, have been identified in the sources, albeit with varying degrees in the districts under study. Furthermore, the existence of a small number of peasant çiftlik-owners, who were still residing in their villages where they could be engaged in agricultural production, sometimes without the employment of any additional labor and sometimes on the basis of various labor arrangements, have also been observed in the sources, in addition to the strong possibility that some of the town-residing çiftlik-owners of the mid-19th century might have had rural origins, especially in the cases when they were identified as farmers. Within the villages, the households that obtained their income exclusively from engagement in agricultural production constituted only a minority, while most agriculturalists were engaged in supplementary forms of activity in addition to those completely cut off from agriculture and subsisted by working as wage-laborers as well as engaging in a plethora of activities, such as transportation and craftsmanship. As such, the specialization and division of labor in the economic organization of the rural society might have been complemented by a certain degree of dependency on the food market, at least for some parts of the rural population.

Regarding the reliability of the sources under study, the points that the income survey registers omitted are as important as the aspects of rural life articulated in detail. As these sources were prepared for the establishment of a uniform and direct tax relationship between the state and the producer household, mostly taxable property was included in the analysis, in addition to certain factors of production, such as draught animals, and relatively sporadic notes on real estates, such as houses dwelled in or stores owned. One missing factor in this regard has turned out to be areas under common use, such as pastures and forests, while various

supplementary sources from the 19th century have indicated the continuing yet precarious presence of these forms of land use in the region under study, even though the income survey registers remained almost utterly silent about them. As such, a comprehensive study on the extent of çiftliks formed in the areas under common use vis-à-vis çiftliks emerged on former peasant lands, and çiftliks established on wasteland, could be quite enlightening to understand different mechanisms behind the emergence of çiftliks in the Ottoman Balkans. Another critical handicap of these sources, that only information on inflow is indicated while outflow, in the form of expenditures, is almost wholly omitted as a rule, requires the combination of these sources with other historical material, the primary one being in this context accounting books of specific çiftliks.

In general, the results of the present study indicate that the concept of peasant society, conceived in a Chayanovian sense, and the notion of the prevalence of petty commodity production based on the family labor of the smallholding peasants fall short of explaining the great degree of diversity and complexity of the rural structure in the districts under study. For one thing, the considerable presence of çiftliks signified the disruption of the rubric of an idealized harmonious and homogeneous peasant society. Furthermore, beyond the presence of çiftliks, the internal configuration of the villages was also far from equality. In general, the countryside seems to have been a place of a high degree of controversy, conflict, and contestation over land and labor in the period under question. In this context, the generalized precariousness of rural life caused chronic poverty and indebtedness for a considerable part of the peasantry, which seems to have ended up in the emergence as well as further expansion of çiftliks, hand in hand with instances of bondage to land and elements of forced labor even after the Tanzimat reforms.

The outlook of the çiftliks under study varied significantly with regard to the size of the estate area, the number of çiftlik-workers, and specific form of labor arrangements. Nevertheless, the common point shared by all of the çiftliks of Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe was the complete separation between the owners and the cultivators of land. In this context, the degree of the commodification of land and labor comes to the fore as research topics of utmost significance. Beyond the heavy weight of çiftlik production in the form of the appropriation of agricultural surplus by a group of landowners in the districts under study, the question of how much of the produce of the direct cultivator, as well as that of the labor-employing and large-landholding villager, managed to find their way to the markets, needs closer attention. Furthermore, the channels through which the produce of the çiftliks and the villages reached internal and external markets, as well as the relationship between çiftlik-ownership, engagement in commerce and money-lending, and involvement in various forms of industrial pursuits, also await further consideration.

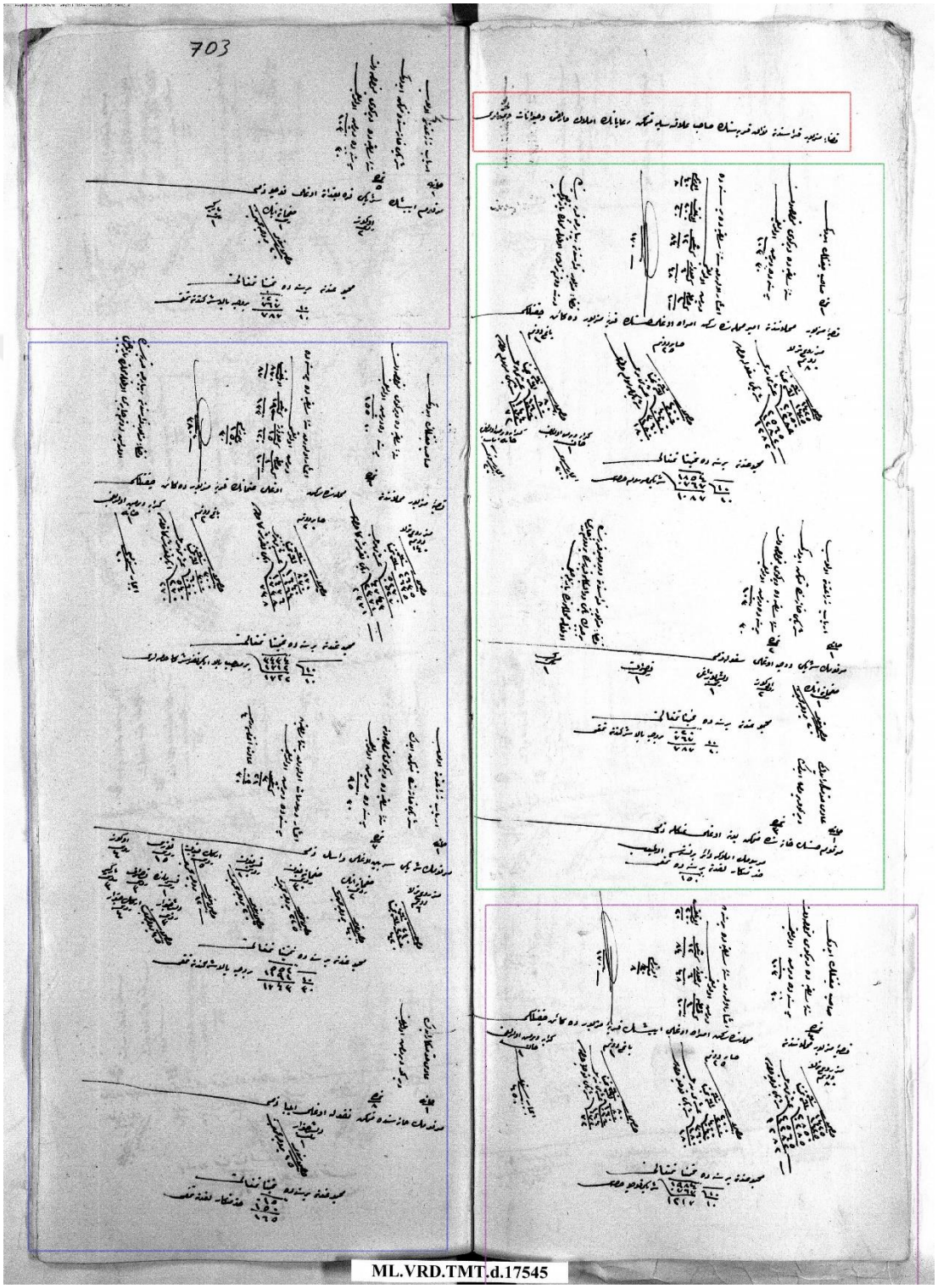
The data obtained from the sources also indicate the importance of contextualizing various forms of labor arrangements and putting them in their historical perspective rather than considering them as merely technical arrangements. As such, in the specific historical context under study, both sharecropping and wage-labor might have contained some elements of dependency rather than being the complete opposites of each other. From another perspective, the remuneration of wage labor could take the form of a payment in kind rather than being exclusively based on money form. In general, the outlook of the çiftliks of the 19th century admittedly displays many contradictions of coexisting imperfect forms indicative of transitional contexts. For future research, a focus on the different characteristics of different forms of çiftliks in terms of labor arrangements as well as the involvement

and entrepreneurship of çiftlik-owners or certain figures who were the direct representatives of the çiftlik-owners -such as the infamous figure of *subaşı* that was conspicuously absent in the sources under study- from a variety of geographies and times could be enlightening with regard to the inner workings of these forms of organization of agricultural production.

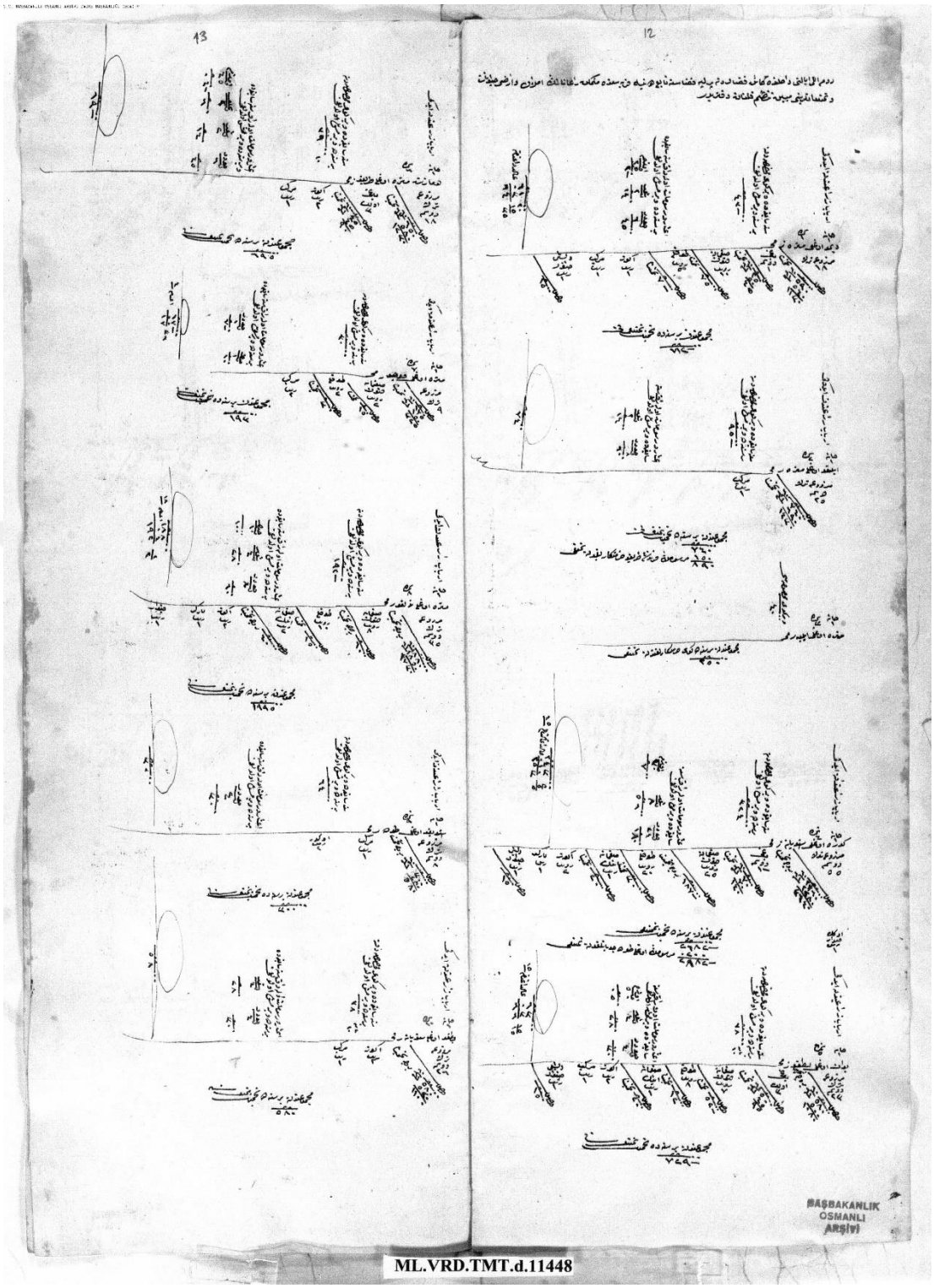
The present dissertation can be seen as an attempt to portray the organization of the agricultural economy and rural structure of the Ottoman Balkans in the long 19th century -the epoch of large-scale agrarian transformations, peasant activism, and the painful transition into a novel mode of existence commonly known by the name of capitalism- from as many angles as possible within the limits of the sources and the time at hand through focusing on a selection of three districts -Manastır, İştip, and Pirlepe. Simultaneously, questions of great curiosity in numerous areas of agrarian history await close and intensive research and investigation within the tempestuous sea of the rural society of the Ottoman Balkans. I can only hope that this dissertation points out some new routes of exploration.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLES OF INCOME SURVEY REGISTERS



BOA ML. VRD. TMT. d. 17545: A sample page from the income survey registers of Manastır ("*Kaza-yı mezbur kurasından Novak karyesinin sahib-i alakasıyla mütemekkin reayanın emlak ve arazi ve hayvanat ve temettuatları*"). This page includes registers of three çiftliks owned by three specific çiftlik-owners ("*sahib-i çiftlik*", *"()nın karyeyi mezburda kain çiftliği*") along with the workers of the çiftliks under question. Other than four households which were not related to any çiftlik-owner and assigned to the category of "village", this settlement ("*Novak karyesi*") solely consisted of çiftlik registers. Overall, Novak includes 17 çiftliks.



BOA ML. VRD. TMT. d. 11448: A sample page from the income survey registers of Pirlepe ("*Rumeli eyaleti dahilinde kain kazalardan Pirlepe kazasına tabi' Dunje karyesinde mütemekkin reayanın emlak ve arazi ve hayvanatı ve temettuatlarını mübeyyin tanzim kılınan defterdir*"). The village of Dunje consists of villagers only.

APPENDIX B

SAMPLES OF CALCULATIONS ON INCOME SURVEY REGISTERS

In order to show how the raw data in the temettuat registers is processed, step-by-step examples of the calculation processes are provided below.

ID	Settlement Code	Settlement Type
11445.34.N21	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N22	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N23	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N24	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N25	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N26	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N27	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N28	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N29	11445.34a	V

A sample of 9 households is selected from the settlement of Bukovo, located in Manastır. This settlement is a pure village and hence, all of the households are village households. A number of calculations will be displayed below.

Objective 1: Calculate the total amount of different types of land under production for the whole village and display the resulting distribution in a pie chart.

Step 1: The relevant data categories are selected (the data on dönüm for each type of land) and total values are calculated for each category by summing the values registered for each household.

ID	Settlement Code	Settlement Type	Cultivated Field	Rented cultivated field	Vegetable garden	Vineyard	Meadow
			Dönüm	Dönüm	Dönüm	Dönüm	Dönüm
11445.34.N21	11445.34a	V	3	0	0,125	0,5	1
11445.34.N22	11445.34a	V	10	0	0,5	0,5	2
11445.34.N23	11445.34a	V	2	0	0,25	0,5	0
11445.34.N24	11445.34a	V	5,5	0	0,25	1	0
11445.34.N25	11445.34a	V	8	0	0,375	2	3,5
11445.34.N26	11445.34a	V	6	0	0,125	0,5	2
11445.34.N27	11445.34a	V	3,5	0	0,125	0,5	1,5
11445.34.N28	11445.34a	V	4	0	0,125	2	1
11445.34.N29	11445.34a	V	0	1	0	0,5	0,25
TOTAL			**42**	**1**	**1,875**	**8**	**11,25**

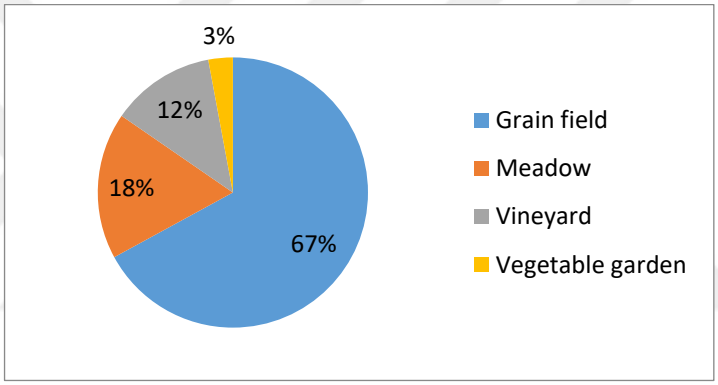
Step 2: The results of the calculations are expressed in a table.

Land types	Dönüm
Cultivated Field	42
Rented cultivated field	1
Vegetable garden	1,875
Vineyard	8
Meadow	11,25

Step 3: In order to find the total amount of fields, vegetable gardens, vineyards and meadows, the values of culivated field and rented cultivated field are summed. The results are expressed in a table.

Land types	Dönüm
Grain field	43
Vegetable garden	1,875
Vineyard	8
Meadow	11,25

Step 4: A table chart that displays the percentage of each type of land in the total amount of land is created on the basis of the table in Step 3.



Objective 2: Calculate the percentage of village households to all of the household types in the settlement (village households versus çiftlik households)

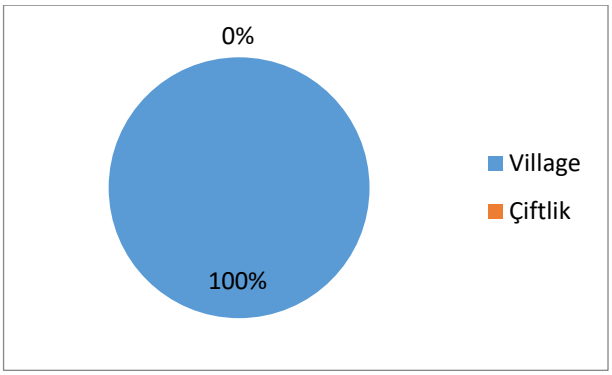
Step 1: Select the relevant data. Here, the focus will be on the third column title "Settlement Type".

ID	Settlement Code	Settlement Type
11445.34.N21	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N22	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N23	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N24	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N25	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N26	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N27	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N28	11445.34a	V
11445.34.N29	11445.34a	V

Step 2: The total numbers of village households and çiftlik households are calculated. In this sample, there are 9 village households and 0 çiftlik households. These results are expressed in a table.

Type of settlement	Number of households
Village	9
Çiftlik	0

Step 3: A table chart that displays the percentage of each type of household in the total number of households is created on the basis of the table in Step 3.



Objective 3: Display the distribution of grain fields under the direct “ownership” of the cultivators among the resident households.

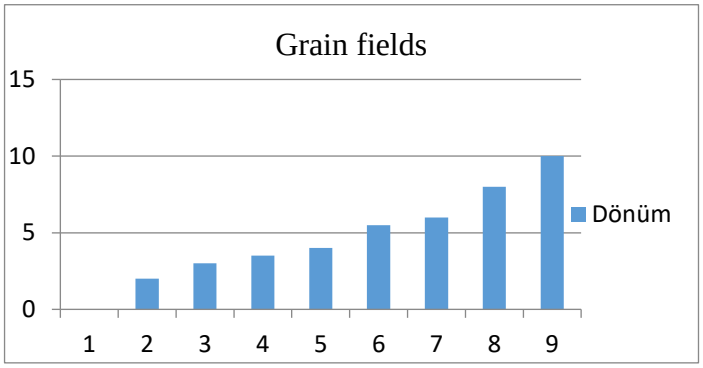
Step 1: The relevant data is selected.

ID	Settlement Code	Settlement Type	Cultivated Field
			Dönüm
11445.34.N21	11445.34a	V	3
11445.34.N22	11445.34a	V	10
11445.34.N23	11445.34a	V	2
11445.34.N24	11445.34a	V	5,5
11445.34.N25	11445.34a	V	8
11445.34.N26	11445.34a	V	6
11445.34.N27	11445.34a	V	3,5
11445.34.N28	11445.34a	V	4
11445.34.N29	11445.34a	V	0

Step 2: The values of the data under question –cultivated field- is ordered from the smallest to the biggest value (in ascending order).

ID	Settlement Code	Settlement Type	Cultivated Field
			Dönüm
11445.34.N29	11445.34a	V	0
11445.34.N23	11445.34a	V	2
11445.34.N21	11445.34a	V	3
11445.34.N27	11445.34a	V	3,5
11445.34.N28	11445.34a	V	4
11445.34.N24	11445.34a	V	5,5
11445.34.N26	11445.34a	V	6
11445.34.N25	11445.34a	V	8
11445.34.N22	11445.34a	V	10

Step 3: A bar chart is created using the data in the fourth column (grain fields / dönüm).



In this sample, the number of landless households is 1. After the exclusion of the landless household, the range is between 2 and 10 and the mean (average) is 5.25.

Objective 4: Display the distribution of grain fields under the direct “ownership” in ranges of dönüm.

Step 1: The relevant data is selected.

ID	Settlement Code	Settlement Type	Cultivated Field
			Dönüm
11445.34.N21	11445.34a	V	3
11445.34.N22	11445.34a	V	10
11445.34.N23	11445.34a	V	2
11445.34.N24	11445.34a	V	5,5
11445.34.N25	11445.34a	V	8
11445.34.N26	11445.34a	V	6
11445.34.N27	11445.34a	V	3,5
11445.34.N28	11445.34a	V	4
11445.34.N29	11445.34a	V	0

Step 2: The values of the data under question –cultivated field- is ordered from the smallest to the biggest value (in ascending order).

ID	Settlement Code	Settlement Type	Cultivated Field
			Dönüm
11445.34.N29	11445.34a	V	0
11445.34.N23	11445.34a	V	2
11445.34.N21	11445.34a	V	3
11445.34.N27	11445.34a	V	3,5
11445.34.N28	11445.34a	V	4
11445.34.N24	11445.34a	V	5,5
11445.34.N26	11445.34a	V	6
11445.34.N25	11445.34a	V	8
11445.34.N22	11445.34a	V	10

Step 3: A table is prepared in order to display (1) Selected ranges of land, (2) Total amount of land in each category of range, (3) Percentage of each category of range in total amount of land in the whole settlement, (4) Number of households in each category of range, (5) Percentage of the households in the total number of households in the settlement.

Ranges of ownership	Total amount of land (in dönüm)	Percentage in total amount of land	Number of households	Percentage in total number of households
0	0	0%	1	11%
2-4	12,5	30%	4	44%
5,5 - 8	19,5	46%	3	33%
10	10	24%	1	11%
	42	100%	**9**	100%

Here, the results display that,

1 household, constituting 11% of all households, hold no grain fields.

4 households, constituting 44% of all households, hold grain fields between 2 and 4 dönüms, totalling 12.5 dönüm (30% of all land).

3 households, constituting 33% of all households, hold grain fields between 5.5 and 8 dönüm, totalling 19.5 dönüms (46% of all land).

1 household, constituting 11% of all households, hold grain fields of 10 dönüms (24% of all land).

APPENDIX C

THE *ÇİFTLİKS* OF THE NAZIRZADE FAMILY IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES (İŞTİP)

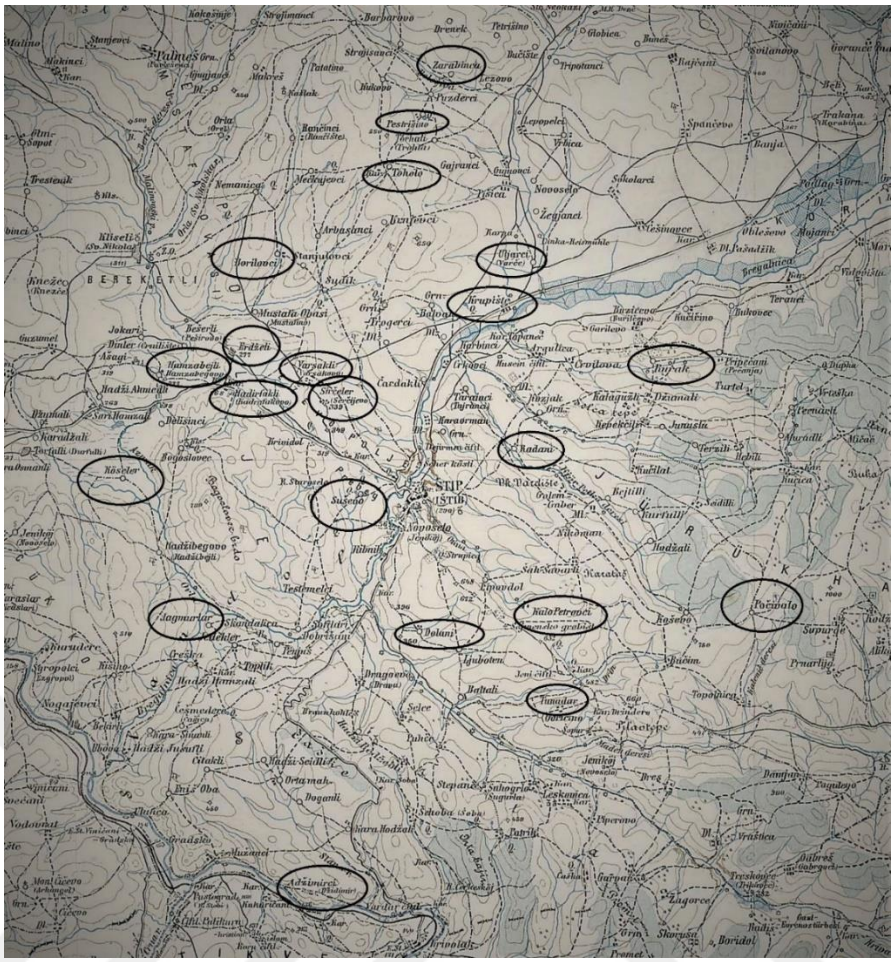
A compilation of detailed information on the çiftliks of the Nazırzade family in the 18th and the 19th centuries, including ownership, location, labor, and internal composition of the çiftliks, is provided in the series of tables and maps below.

The following tables and maps display the çiftliks of the Nazırzade family as registered in the years of 1777, 1778, 1795, 1800, 1823 and 1844-845. The maps following the tables show the location of these çiftliks.[541]

The first list of the çiftliks from 1777 has been retrieved from the *muhallefat defteri* compiled upon the death of Nazırzade Mehmed Ağa.[542]

Çiftliks of Nazırade Mehmed Ağa, 1777
Adzimirci/Dzimir
Tunadar
Kalopetrovci
Poçivalo
Radani
Rurak
Yağmurlar
Borilovci
Erdzeli-yi bala
Hadrafakovo
Hamzabeyli
Varsaklı
Serçeler
Köseler
Uljarci
Mirahor
Zarabinca
Bistrica
Krupişte
Tohol
Dolani
Erdzeli-yi zir
Susevo

[541] 3rd Military Mapping Survey of Austria-Hungary (A Monarchia III. katonai felmérése).
[542] BOA D. BŞM. MHF. d. 12808, 1191.



MAP. Çiftliks of Nazırzade Mehmed Ağa, 1777

The defter under question also contains information on the working of these çiftliks. In general, a total of 28 çiftliks, most of which were located in İştip, are registered in this *defter*. In addition to çiftliks, the property of the Nazırzade family, including vineyards, mansions, mills, and rented out stores are also indicated.

The çiftliks in the defter were complex structures consisting of lodgings for the sharecroppers ("*ortakçı odaları*"), warehouses, barns, stables, and sometimes fountains, gardens, accommodation areas for gardeners, and a mansion ("*köşk*") for the residence of the çiftlik-owners. Cultivable fields were often complemented by vineyards and meadows.

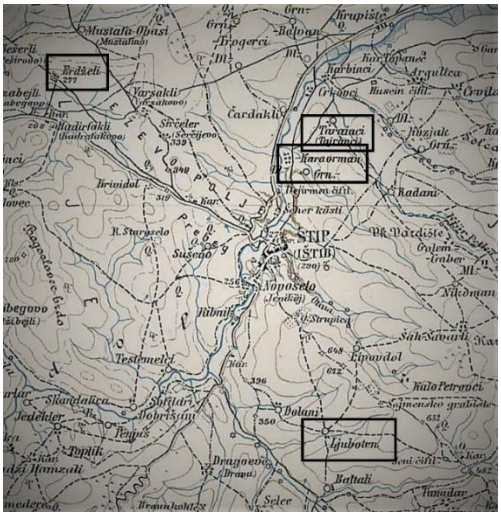
Some of the çiftliks of the Nazırzade family were based on wage-labour while most çiftliks relied on sharecropping arrangements. In general, most of the draught animals were noted to have been brought in by the sharecroppers ("*öküzleri kendu malları olmak üzere ortakçı çifti*") while the draught animals used by wage-workers were owned by the çiftlik-owner ("*öküzleri müteveffanın olmak üzere teroğlanı tabir olunur hizmetkar çifti*"). Some of the wage-workers were registered as "*beylikçi hizmetkar*". The defter also contained the debts owned by the çiftlik-workers to Nazırzade Mehmed Ağa.

After the completion of agricultural production, a portion of the registered grains was given to steward ("*kethüda*") and the wage-workers to be used as food and mostly consisted of barley ("*şair")* and rye ("*çavdar*") while some wheat ("*hınta*") was occasionally given to the steward. Then, a portion of the remaining grains were handed over to the steward and the wage-workers to be used as animal feed and mostly consisted of oats ("*alef*"). Lastly, a portion of the grains were put aside to be used as seeds ("*tohum*") and handed over to the steward. There was also coordination among different çiftliks, such as the transfer of seeds from a çiftlik with high level of production to a çiftlik with a lower level of production.

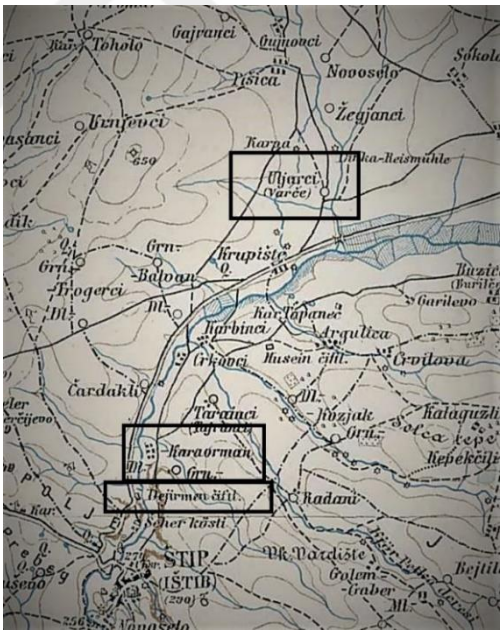
The following lists display the names of the çiftliks owned by sons of Nazırzade Mehmed Ağa -Mahmud, Ahmed and Ali- as registered in the years of 1778, 1795, 1800 and 1823.[543] The maps accompanying the lists indicate the locations of these çiftliks.

[543] The names of these çiftliks have been compiled from: Pehlivan, P. (2022), İştip'de Ayanlık: Nazırzade Ailesi, MA Thesis, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi, 109-119.

Çiftliks of Nazırzade Mahmud Ağa, son of Nazırzade Mehmed Ağa, 1778
(Orta) Karaorman
Tairanji
Erdzeli
Ljubotin

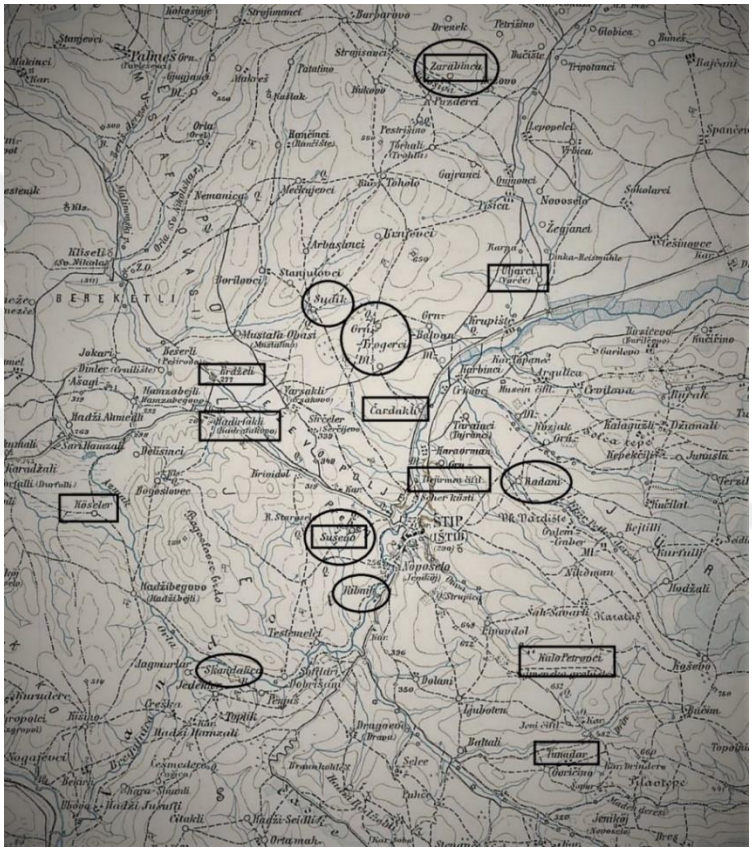


Çiftlik of Nazırzade Ahmed Ağa, son of Mehmed Ağa, 1795
(Çardak) Karaorman
Uljarci
Dejirmen



Çiftlik of Nazırzade Ali Ağa, son of Mehmed Ağa, 1800 (joint ownership with brothers)
Çardaklı
Dejirmen
Erdzeli
Hadrafakovo
Kalapetrovci
Köseler
Mirahor
Susevo (1)
Susevo (2)
Tunadar
Uljarci
Zarabinci

Çiftlik of Nazırzade Ali Ağa, son of Mehmed Ağa, 1823
Skandalica
Ribnik
Trogerci-yi zir
Zarabinci
Radani
Sudik?
Susevo



MAP. Çiftliks of Nazırzade Ali Ağa[544], 1800 and 1823 (1800: square; 1823: circle)

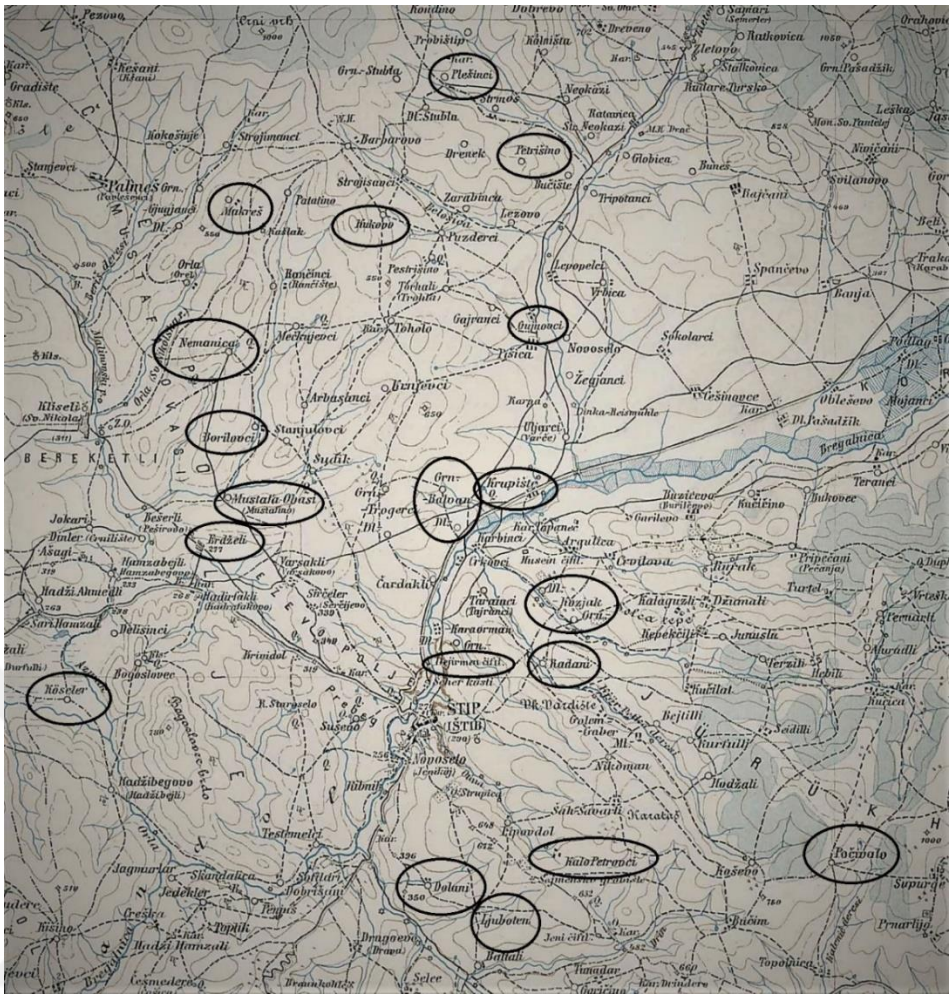
The following list has been compiled from the income survey registers of 1844-45 as discussed in Chapter 4 in detail. Here, various members of the Nazırzade family own a total of 43 çiftliks amounting to 22478.5 *dönüms* of grain fields, making up almost

[544] See: Durdu, "191 Numaralı Şer'iyye Siciline Göre İştip Kazasında İdari, Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Yapı (1823-1825), 274. The çiftliks of Ali Ağa in 1823 includes lodgings for çiftlik workers ("*aylakçı odaları*", "*ter oğlan odaları*", "*çiftçi odaları*") in addition to facilities such as barns and wharehouses: Ibid, 276. Ali Ağa was also the wealthiest figure in the "*tereke*" registers of İştip in 1823-1825: Ibid, 283, 294.

one quarter of çiftlik lands in the district. Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey leads the way having not only tremendous amounts of land in general, but also possessing the largest çiftlik of all.[545]

Çiftliks of Nazırzade family, 1844-1845	Name of çiftlik-owner	Çiftlik type	Grain fields (in dönüm)
Balovan-ı zir	Nazırzade Ahmed Ağa	Combination	608.5
Balovan-ı zir	Nazırzade Süleyman	Combination	608.5
Borilovci	Nazırzade Ruşen Bey	Combination	1230
Dejirmen	Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey	Wage-labour	550
Dolani	Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey	Combination	2500
Erdzeli	Nazırzade Ruşen Bey	Combination	650
Erdzeli	Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey	Combination	860
Gujnovci	Nazırzade Ahmed Ağa	Sharecropping	320
Kalopetrovci	Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey	Money rent	579
Köseler	Nazırzade Hasan Bey	Combination	610
Kozjak-ı bala	Nazırzade Süleyman	Combination	540
Krupişte	Nazırzade Osman Bey	Combination	675
Krupişte	Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey	Combination	685
Kukovo	Nazırzade Süleyman	Combination	1200
Ljuboten	Nazırzade Ruşen Bey	Sharecropping	150
Makres	Nazırzade Süleyman	Money rent	290
Mirahor	Nazırzade Şakir Bey	Wage-labour	350
Mirahor	Nazırzade Ahmed Bey	Wage-labour	350
Mustafa Obası	Nazırzade Ruşen Bey	Sharecropping	250
Nemanica	Nazırzade Süleyman	Sharecropping	500
Petrishino	Nazırzade Şakir Bey	Sharecropping	250
Petrishino	Nazırzade Ahmed Bey	Combination	250
Plesinci	Nazırzade Ruşen Bey	Combination	600
Poçivalo	Nazırzade Ruşen Bey	Money rent	60
Radani	Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey	Combination	190

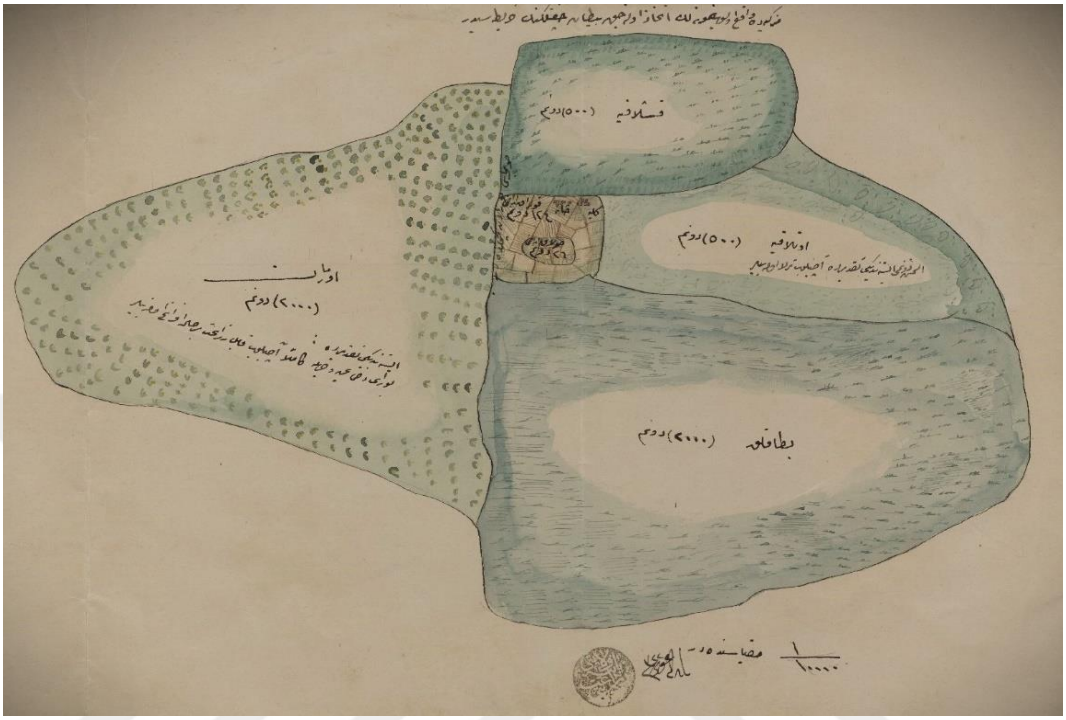
[545] The biggest landowner of İştip of the 1840s -Abdülkadir Bey- is the son of previously mentioned Ali Ağa, born from the latter's first wife Şemsiye Hanım: Pehlivan, P. (2022), İştip'de Ayanlık: Nazırzade Ailesi, MA Thesis, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi, 115.



Members of the Nazırzade family	Çiftlik size (grain fields / dönüm)	Number of çiftlik units
Nazırzade Abdülkadir Bey	7294	9
Nazırzade Süleyman	5103	11
Nazırzade Ruşen Bey	2940	6
Nazırzade Şakir Bey	1788.5	5
Nazırzade Osman Bey	1575	2
Nazırzade Ahmed Ağa	928.5	2
Nazırzade Hasan Bey	710	2
Nazırzade Ahmed Bey	600	2
Nazırzade Ahmed	564.5	1
Nazırzade Abdülhalil Ağa	490	2
Nazırzade Osman Bey karındaşı Abdülkadir Bey ve diğer karındaşı Hasan Bey ve diğeri Şakir Bey ve diğeri Ahmed Bey	485	1

APPENDIX D

EXAMPLES OF *ÇİFTLİK* LAYOUT



BOA PLK.p. 2840 (1322): "*Mujake'de vaki' numunelik ittihaz olunacak [Bitak] çiftliğinin haritasıdır*." This map from Avlonya displays a central area of fields, divided into a number of parcels with strips, tightly surrounded by forests, swamps, and pastures, before the extension of the cultivable area into the surrounding landscape for the turning of the çiftlik of [Bitak] into a model farm.



BOA PLK. p. 376 (1316) (detail): Members of the same family often possessed shares in an inherited *çiftlik*, which was in turn conjoined by the lands of other personae. The plan above indicates cultivable lands, vineyards and gardens, as well as mansions ("*köşk*") for the residence of the çiftlik owners (Üsküdar / İstanbul).

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BOA, A.) MKT. NZD. 74/88, 202/24, 220/79

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BOA, AE.SABH.I. 194/13017

BOA, AE. SMHD.II. 72/5307

BOA, AE.SSLM.III 178/10639, 204/12152, 405/23336

BOA, BEO 135/10086, 151/11280, 393/29403, 458/34338, 518/38829, 1244/93242, 1514/113476, 3599/269906

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BOA HAT. 48/2308, 902/39643

BOA, HR.MKT. 329/3

BOA, HR.SFR (04) 701/97, 701/101, 701/114, 701/116

BOA, HR.SYS. 2934/56

BOA, HSDHADB. 5/1

BOA. İ. MVL. 10/158, 34/586, 35/634, 50/958, 53/1015, 125/52, 211/6907, 230/7968

BOA, İ. 50/958, 230/7968

BOA, ML.VRD.TMT. d. 11422, 11423, 11424, 11425, 11444, 11445, 11447, 11448, 11449, 11450, 17545

BOA, MV. 139/10

BOA, MVL 555/91, 136/84, 466/3, 157/99, 976/51, 89/49

BOA PLK. p. 376/2840

BOA, ŞD. 32/41, 2038/7, 2065/3

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