

Registering Life in a Multicultural City
Late Ottoman Nicosia

The Sources and Their Interpretation

Evangelia Balta

نفس لفقوشه

Registering Life in a Multicultural City
Late Ottoman Nicosia

Volume I

The Sources and Their Interpretation

ISTANBULER TEXTE UND STUDIEN

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by Ferruccio Busoni

Richard Wagner

Lento assai

pp

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Registering Life in a Multicultural City: Late Ottoman Nicosia

The study provides an overview of the events, persons, and issues involved in the capital of Cyprus during the period 1825-1877. It was divided into two volumes due to its size. The First Volume contains an analysis of the sources, in the light of the historical events of the nineteenth century. It monitors the population of Nicosia and the urban space surrounded by its impressive Venetian fortifications, which served as the boundaries of city life, and includes the Glossary, the Bibliography and the Index of the whole work. The Second Volume, the main body of the work, is divided into two parts (Volume II Suppl. 1 and Suppl. 2). It incorporates the edition of the Greek and Ottoman censuses of the different ethnic groups living in Nicosia during the years 1825-1877. This archival material offers the means to further explore many topics and opens up perspectives for another new, more comprehensive narrative of the history of the city in the late Ottoman period.



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THE SOURCES AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

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Sigla – Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used in this volume. For other references, by author's name and date of publication, the Bibliography of works cited should be consulted.

<i>958 Numaralı</i>	<i>958 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tımar Yoklama Defteri (9 Cemâziye'l-evvel 1241/ 20 Aralık 1825)</i> , (eds) Dündar Recep, Aydın Mesut, Fırat Üniversitesi, Orta Doğu Araştırmaları Merkezi, Yayınları no: 25, Tarih Şubesi Yayınları no: 21, Elazığ 2014
AIAK	Αρχεῖον Ἱεράς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κύπρου [Archive of the Holy Archdiocese of Cyprus], Nicosia
A.MKT.MHT.	Sadaret Mektubi Mühimme Kalemi Evrakı
BNP (Supp. Turc)	Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) – Supplement Turc
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul (Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office)
<i>Census of Cyprus (1884)</i>	<i>Report on the Census of Cyprus, 1881</i> , with Appenix by Frederick W. Barry, M.D., Sc.D. (Late) Superintendent of Census and Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus, Printed by Eyre and Spottiswoode, London.
D.CMH.d.	Bab-ı Defteri Cizye Muhasebesi Defterleri
Defter	National Archives of Kyrenia Defterleri
İMVL	İrade-i Meclis-i Vala
İŞD	İrade-i Şura-yı Devlet
KK.d.	Kamil Kepeci
KŞŞ	Lefkoşa (Kıbrıs) Şer'iyeye Sicili Defterleri
M.	<i>Mücerred, mürâhik</i>
MAD d.	Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler
ML.VRD.CMH.d.	Maliye Varidat Muhasebesi Cizye Defterleri
ML.VRD.TMT.d.	Maliye Varidat Muhasebesi Temettuat Defterleri
MVL.	Meclis-i Vala Evrakı
NFS.d.	Nüfus Defterleri

<i>Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs</i>	<i>Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs (Nüfusu – Arazi Dağılımı – Türk Vakıfları)</i> , (ed.) Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Ankara 2000
Register VI	AIK, Register VI (1825)
Register V	AIK, Register V (post-1825)
Temettuat Defteri	see ML.VRD.TMT.d.
TKG.KK.TMR.YOK.d.	Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Tımar Yoklama Defteri
TŞR.KB.d.	Taşra Tasnifi Kıbrıs Mutasarrıflığı Defterler
Vol. II ₁	<i>Registering Life in a Multicultural City. Late Ottoman Nicosia. ITS 47 Supplementum 1: Greek and Ottoman Fiscal Registers (1825-1833)</i> , (ed.) Evangelia Balta, Orient-Institut Istanbul-Istanbul Texte und Texte und Studien 47 Supplementum 1, Ergon Verlag in Kommission, Baden-Baden 2022
Vol. II ₂	<i>Registering Life in a Multicultural City. Late Ottoman Nicosia. ITS 47 Supplementum 2: Ottoman Censuses (1839-1877)</i> , (ed.) Evangelia Balta, Orient-Institut Istanbul-Istanbul Texte und Texte und Studien 47 Supplementum 2, Ergon Verlag in Kommission, Baden-Baden 2022

Note to the Reader

Since the present study is not only intended for specialists on the Ottoman Empire, we have applied the simplest way of reproducing the place names and personal names given in Ottoman Turkish. The rendering of the names and terms reflects modern Turkish usage including the following features:

C, c	j as in <i>John</i>
Ç, ç	ch as in <i>church</i>
Ğ, ğ	silent, lengthens preceding vowel
J, j	j as in the French <i>jaune</i>
I, ı	as <i>i</i> in <i>cousin</i>
Ş, ş	sh as in <i>shut</i>

Their translation of Greek and Cypriot dialect words as well as of Turkish words and terms, that appear in the texts of the Ottoman censuses is given in the Glossary. However, certain phrases and small texts are translated in the footnotes that accompany the edited text of the registers. If not otherwise mentioned, the author is responsible for all translations. “Bibliography” and the “Index” covers the 3 vols work.

Acknowledgments

The three-volume work about Nicosia is a collective project. Research began in 2018, and the first person invited to participate was Selahattin Bayram. Then, since the constantly accumulating archival material could not be handled by two colleagues alone, Muhammed Ceyhan and Hacı Veli Aydın were also called in to help. The last person to join the group of collaborators on the project was the postgraduate student Ahmet Zeybek, whose Ph.D. thesis topic is the social history of Ottoman Cyprus. He was assigned the research of the registers from the final Ottoman census in Cyprus (1877). I am profoundly grateful to my colleagues who accepted my invitation and contributed their efforts to complete the project to the extent that each of them could manage within the bounds of their personal research and teaching obligations. Their cooperation during the difficult times of the inexorable COVID pandemic that afflicted humanity in 2020 becomes even more valuable, heart-warming camaraderie. Above all, it demonstrates the awareness of the need for academic collaboration. I must point out that I edited the sections of the registers (Vol. II, Suppl. 1 and 2) submitted by my colleagues and annotated them, so I am responsible for any errors or omissions.

The three-volume work on nineteenth-century Nicosia owes a great deal to many people who helped during the four years it took to finish. My gratitude for the assistance received in publishing the registers was expressed at the end of the introductory notes accompanying Vol. II, Suppl. 1 and 2. When I wrote the chapters in this volume, Kostis Kokkinoftas and Konstantinos Lambrou were always willing to answer my questions and queries, ready to provide me with Greek-Cypriot literature inaccessible for me during the pandemic. I am also deeply indebted to the staff of the “Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi” (Istanbul) for all the facilities provided to me so the research and writing of this work during the time of the pandemic could go ahead smoothly. I especially want to thank Şefik Bilal Çavuşoğlu, Şevki Baykuş, Ender Boztürk and Cemal Toksoy for their generous help and unwavering support, providing me with constant access to the books and articles in the ISAM Library that I needed. I am much indebted to Haydar Çoruh, Güven Dinç, and Fehmi Yılmaz, who helped me find sources, and studies that enriched my manuscript. I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to Eleni Molfessi, Carol Haros, Dimitris Pachtitis, Nikolaos Livanos, and Gerasimos Merianos for their undivided support and valuable assistance in this volume too.

Lastly, I always owe a huge debt of gratitude to my friend, the late great historian Mehmet Genç. Locked down (from March to July 2020) in the same city, Istanbul, we were forced to communicate by telephone. During our long conversations that alternated between the stages of his illness and the coronavirus that shocked the planet by interrupting the normality of our lives, the discussion found refuge and consolation in our research and readings. Mehmet was always the one and, in recent years, the only one to whom I turned to check what I had written on issues concerning taxation in the

Ottoman Empire. Time had taken away from us Nejat Göyünç, Halil Sahillioğlu, and Halil İnalçık, historians who were familiar with and had worked with Ottoman sources. I could discuss with them and review your opinions and texts. So during the five-month lockdown, we discussed many issues about our *métier* in our telephone conversations that inevitably replaced our meetings. And, of course, matters concerning the research that I was engaged in at that time, the population records of Nicosia in the nineteenth century. How often have we mentioned our mutual friend, *Üstad* Kemal Karpat, a pioneer in the field?

Talking with Mehmet always helped me. There may not have been immediate answers to questions every time, but discussing with him always helped me put my thoughts to see the horizon before me. But the principal and, in my opinion, the most significant element was that the whole process of discussing with him opened new vistas in my research. Further questions arose that had to be explored to stabilize the ground on which the product of the survey would stand. The wise Mehmet read various pages of the three volumes of the study with that avid interest and an unquenchable thirst for knowledge that he maintained until his final days, examining sources that he had never held, constantly learning. The three volumes on the history of the population of Nicosia are dedicated to his memory, a small mark of respect, and immense love for Turkey's great historian, who for thirty-four years honoured me with his friendship and interest in my work.

Athens, June 30, 2022

Preface

The literature on Nicosia reveals the huge historiographical gaps in the city's history during Ottoman times. One of the weakest spots is the field of social history, as demonstrated by the general absence of residents in many of the city's written histories. The same may be true of earlier periods, about which I am not qualified to speak. However, as far as the Ottoman period is concerned, it is clear that extensive research remains to be carried out not only on the population of the capital of Cyprus but also on the island as a whole. The Ottoman state conducted population counts at irregular intervals after the first fiscal registration in 1572, following the conquest of Cyprus. In the absence of studies on these fiscal sources of the island over an extensive period, we cannot form an idea of the size of the island's population, even of the number of taxpayers since these counts served taxation. The existing literature recycles numbers provided by European diplomats, archeologists and other foreign travelers who visited the island at different times. However, none of these observers counted the population, and none cited Ottoman or other official statistics.

Late Ottoman Nicosia, on which this study focuses, was a city that, even before the Ottomans, was inhabited by many ethno-religious groups about whom little documentary evidence is available. Ottoman Nicosia was its people so we have to know them, first and foremost the structure of its multi-ethnic population, their distribution throughout the landscape of the city, their economic activities, their demographic movements. How can one write a city's history without Nicosians, be they Christian (Orthodox, Armenian, Maronite, Catholic) or Muslim, local artisans, servants and tradesmen, or members of the Ottoman administration and army?

The present study attempts to bring together as many Greek and Ottoman fiscal registers and censuses as possible; to process them, explore what they have to offer and to merge them with the literature. It is crucial to define the composition of the local population, both in terms of numbers and structure and its social makeup during the eventful nineteenth century as this was the century that largely determined the course of the history of the Ottoman Empire and brought various geopolitical changes in the Ottoman provinces of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The wars with Russia from the late eighteenth century onwards that continued into the nineteenth century, together with the uprisings of the Ottoman provinces and the revolts of the *reyaya* in the Balkans, resulted in a change in borders, substantial territorial losses and an escalation of the economic decline in the empire. This change in the old background was further amplified by the strong presence of the European Great Powers in the Mediterranean and their intervention in Ottoman domestic politics from the end of the Napoleonic Wars. In addition, the persistent natural disasters, drought, epidemics and locust attacks that destroyed production determined the fate of the population in the Eastern Mediterranean, resulting in profound demographic changes, poverty and inability to pay taxes. The Ottoman state undertook radical initiatives to centralize the control

of the army and increase revenues to the treasury. In order to regain central power, it had first of all to proceed with the systematic counting of its subjects and its revenues throughout the empire. A system of regular censuses was established in 1831, continuing until 1914. And the censuses of Nicosia over a fifty-year period are an excellent way to monitor the establishment and development of the census system of the Ottoman Empire. The registers, which contain a number of successive censuses, describe the process adopted by the Ottoman government over a long period of time so as to ensure control over its subjects and the smooth running of the state mechanism. This case study fulfills its main contribution in this direction, which is to offer Cypriot historiography part of the huge amount of unknown archival material produced under Ottoman rule of the island. The population notebooks of Nicosia over fifty years, from 1825 to 1877, which are published with annotations in Vols II₁ and II₂ of the work, bring to light data which allow its basic history as an urban area to be written, as well as the history of the growth of different urban neighborhoods, and finally the history of the ethno-religious communities that lived there. The documentation published cannot be considered complete. Many other sources remain to be discovered and they will undoubtedly be identified in the near future. The continuation and expansion of the research will certainly add many more sources, both Ottoman and Greek. The existing archival material, however, offers an impression of both the scope and the quality of the sources. At the same time, an initial body of evidence has been created, which is open to new contributions, additions, improvements and corrections. The three volumes on nineteenth-century Nicosia must be understood as an initial, systematic effort to open up new perspectives and further investigation. Concurrently, the processing of the sources illuminates hitherto unknown and neglected aspects of the history of the island's capital. It appears to be more necessary than ever that if we are to write the history of Nicosia, or any other city with a mixed population, it must be done in a way that represents and explains in full depth the multiple agents of history that came together in this mixed city.

The study is divided into two volumes. Volume I initially focuses on presenting the significance of the Ottoman censuses as evidence of the history of Nicosia and Cyprus. Archival material and palaeographic and historical issues concerning its publication are pointed out to introduce the reader to the topic and the peculiarities of the documentation. It is the prerequisite for following the research results that emerged from processing the fiscal and population registers incorporated in the two parts of the second Volume (Suppl. 1 and 2).

I want to believe that the three volumes of *Registering Life in a Multicultural City: Late Ottoman Nicosia* may trigger and inspire new research into Cypriot history based on archival material so new foundations may be laid for the history of the island during the period of Ottoman rule, a period that largely determined the current political situation. The publication of a history book using sources that follow the world of a city, animate and inanimate, always invites us to reflect on its relationship with the present. Or to put it another way: a history book has meaning when it brings thoughts of the present into the mind of its reader.