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OTTOMAN POPULATION RECORDS AND THE CENSUS OF 1881/82-1893

I. INTRODUCTION

Population movements have always played a dynamic role in the transformation of human society throughout history. Indeed, there is not a single phase of history anywhere in the world which has not been related in some way to low or high rates of birth and mortality, to migration and settlement and to their social, cultural, economic, and political effects. The history of the Middle East supplies excellent examples to support this contention. The Muslim calendar begins with an act of migration, that is the *hejira* of A.D. 622. Migrants going from the countryside to urban centers or fleeing from areas hostile to Islam have always exerted a crucial influence upon the social and political destiny of Muslim countries. The refugees from Spain to North Africa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the forced migration of Muslims from Russia (the Caucasus and Crimea) in the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, the shift of population in India, Pakistan, and Palestine in the 1940s, to cite just a few examples, have been major factors accounting, at least in part, for the social transformation of the Muslim world in general, and of the Middle East in particular.

The sociopolitical and economic history of the Middle East in the nineteenth century was in large measure the consequence of major population movements which produced increased social mobility, changed rates of birth and mortality, intensified rural migration, and generated a variety of related changes. Yet, despite their obvious importance, population movements in the Middle East have not been studied yet within a broad historical and conceptual framework. The few existing studies deal essentially with isolated demographic problems ignoring conveniently their broader historical, political, and regional dimensions. Few scholars nowadays seem to have the time and patience to pore over hundreds of documents for months on end in dusty archives to extract information that can be condensed in a few pages and may remain long unnoticed or unappreciated. It is understandable, therefore, that considerable ingenuity and imagination have been invested in devising 'concepts', 'theories', and 'models' to explain in a few pages the entire history and transformation of a society. In some cases these 'theorists' have made sweeping false assertions while interpreting certain Middle East situations based on preconceived Western concepts or on scattered impres-

sions regardless of limitations imposed by culture, historical experience, and
goals on the range of their applicability. Yet, paradoxical as it may sound, a
major shortcoming of Middle East social studies in general and of population
studies in particular derives from the lack of concepts and theories capable of
expressing the social and historical experience of the Middle East within its own
value system and patterns of change and acculturation. One should add im-
mediately that the development of such concepts and theories depends first on
the accumulation of suitable empirical data. Anyone attempting to study popu-
lation problems in the Middle East, especially with relation to more precise
topics such as the rate of fertility, mortality, or family size in a given period of
history or region, is faced with insufficient data on the size of population, and
knowledge about procedures for registering births and deaths. Indeed, the studies
on the history of population in the Middle East, besides failing to apply methods
and techniques adapted to its own sociocultural conditions, suffer also from lack
of information on the size of its population, census, and population registration
methods. The archives in the area, especially those in Istanbul and Ankara,
contain a large body of materials dealing with the size of the population and its
registration systems. But little, if any, of this material has been sorted out and
used to study specific demographic problems.[1] Therefore, the first task facing the
scholars interested in the social history and the transformation of the Middle
East, southeast Europe, and North Africa is to assemble, systematize, and analyze
the population data available in the Turkish archives and other places and to
study also the procedures used in gathering these data. This is particularly true
for the nineteenth century when population movements influenced more than
ever the social and political transformation of the Ottoman state, that is, of the
Middle East and the Balkans, and knowledge about the size of its population
became a vital administrative necessity for the government.

There is no dearth of writings concerning the population of the Ottoman
Empire in the nineteenth century, but most of these are ethnographic works. It

[1] There are exceptions to this statement. In addition to O. L. Barkan's works mentioned
later, see M. A. Cook, *Population Pressure in Rural Anatolia: 1450–1600* (London, 1971);
Ronald J. Jennings, 'Urban Population in Anatolia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study
of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon, and Erzurum', *International Journal of Middle
East Studies*, 7, 1 (Jan. 1976), 21–57; Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah,
*Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th
Century* (Erlanger 1977). A survey of the bibliography on Ottoman population in the
nineteenth century is in Engin Akarli, 'The Ottoman Population in the Nineteenth
Century', M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin (Madison, 1970). See also Marc Pinson,
'Demographic Warfare: An Aspect of Ottoman and Russian Policy, 1854–1866', Ph.D.
diss. (Harvard, 1970). Source material concerning population figures in the nineteenth
century can be found in special statistics published by the Ottoman government in its
Yearbooks, *Devleti Aliye Salnameleri*, or *Salname* for short, 68 vols., 1847–1918. For
further bibliographical information see Kemal H. Karpat, *The Gecekondu, Rural Migra-
tion and Urbanization* (New York, 1976), and *idem*, 'Ottoman Immigration Policies and
Settlement in Palestine', *Settler Regimes in Africa and the Arab World*, I. Abu-Lughod
and B. Abu-Laban, eds. (Wilmette, Ill., 1974), pp. 57–72. For a general survey of current
population studies, see Georges Sabagh, 'The Demography of the Middle East', *Middle
East Studies Association Bulletin* 4, 2 (15 May, 1970), 1–19.

is true that these are, in a way, indispensable to any study dealing with the population of the Ottoman state in the nineteenth century. The value of most of them, however, is undermined by at least three shortcomings. First, only a few of these studies are based on reliable statistical information stemming from actual counts of population. Second, they often were undertaken by Western observers to advocate the case of certain ethnic or religious groups and, besides demonstrating an appalling lack of information on practically every aspect of Muslim life, they reflected the political biases of the scholars involved or of their informants. Third, most of them dealt with the European part of the Ottoman state and often left Anatolia and the Arab-speaking countries unaccounted for. In fact, after most of the Balkans became independent in 1878, thus achieving the hidden purpose behind the manipulation of some population statistics, the number of studies on the Ottoman population dropped spectacularly.

The best examples illustrating the above points are found in the monumental five-volume bibliographical work by Nicholas V. Michoff.[2] The essence of this work is in the first volume. The rest comprise additional titles omitted in the first. The fifth and last volume deals with Russian works dedicated to population problems in the Ottoman state. Michoff's study was undertaken in part to justify the Bulgarian claims to nationhood and, indirectly, to advance the Bulgarian claims to Macedonia, and to refute the Greek and Serbian efforts to regard the Bulgarians as part of their own groups. Though a permanent historical source and a monument to Michoff's dedication to industrious scholarship, the work has basic weaknesses. The first four volumes include the titles of 3,050 books and articles together with extracts containing statistics and information on Bulgarian history and society. These titles include 1,126 citations from the German, 1,123 from French, 731 from English, 63 from Italian, and the rest from other European languages, but absolutely none from Turkish. The work includes practically no direct quotations from the official Ottoman censuses, except a reference to Salahaddin Bey's figures, although Michoff refers to writings and figures given by Western authors who used Ottoman statistics, such as David Urquhart, A. Ubicini, and A. Boué, and to statisticians and demographers such as E. G. Ravenstein and H. Kutschera. It is interesting to note that Michoff finds the scarcity of official censuses in the Ottoman state a normal occurrence since even Europe itself did not begin to conduct regular and systematic censuses until early in the nineteenth century. Michoff notes that many of the authors he cited estimated the Ottoman population according to their own subjective judgements or false information supplied by natives. As an example, Michoff cites the fact that travelers estimated the total number of Bulgarians in 1800–78 as varying between 500,000 and 8 million people. A similar misrepresentation had been noted earlier by W. Eton who dismissed the claim by the Greeks that they numbered 8 million people at the

2 Nicholas (Nicolas) V. Michoff (Mikhov), *Naseleniento na Turtsiia i Bulgarii, prez XVIII–XIX, La Population de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie au XVIIIᵉ et au XIXᵉ siècles,* 5 vols. (Sofia, 1915, 1924, 1923, 1935, 1968).

end of the eighteenth century.[3] Many of these inflated figures were put out in order to back the claims of these ethnic groups to nationhood. V. Teplov, for instance, who undertook a study of the Balkan population under the auspices of the Russian government, used in addition to the *Salname*s issued by the Ottoman government, information supplied by churches and native informants. On the basis of such materials, he concluded arbitrarily that a Muslim family had 5 members while the non-Muslim family had 6–9.37 members.[4] The fallacy of these estimates is clearly shown in an actual count of family members undertaken by W. L. Stoney in the Philippopoli (Plovdiv) area of Bulgaria in 1877. To answer the request of some Englishmen demanding accurate information on family size in Bulgaria, Stoney, a British consular official, surveyed 50,622 people or 10,110 families, in 55 villages having a predominantly Bulgarian population and arrived at the conclusion that each had an average of 5,007 members.[5]

In view of the questionable statistical bases of these ethnographic studies it is absolutely necessary to go to the basic sources on the Ottoman population in the nineteenth century. The *Salname*s contained official population figures, but these derived from more complete census figures which were seldom made fully public. These Ottoman censuses provide by far the most reliable figures available concerning the population of the Middle East and the Balkans in the nineteenth century. There is no question that they had shortcomings. The first censuses were based on counts of individual *hane*s or families which in a number of cases were households composed of several nuclear families. At times, only the taxable males or those able to perform military service were included in censuses. Some of the early counts, especially of non-Muslims, were taken from information of varying accuracy supplied by communal heads or local officials. Yet, despite all these shortcomings, the official Ottoman censuses still supply useful data because their margin of error was far less than the figures given by observers, travellers, and biased informants, as shown by various comparative tables. There are several arguments that sustain the value of these censuses. As indicated later, they had to be accurate and complete since they provided the only factual basis available to the government for levying taxes and conscripting men into the army. The government itself constantly tried to improve its census results by introducing new methods, seeking the advice of outside experts, and using European models.

The purpose of the present article, part of an extensive research project on Ottoman population movements and their sociopolitical effects, is to study briefly the Ottoman census, the evolution of its methods, and the establishment of a permanent registration system, and to put forth the most reliable results of all this effort: statistical tables of the Ottoman population in 1893. These tables are based on a census which began in 1881/82, and include extensive quantitative

    [3] W. Eton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire* (London, 1799). For another effort to show the Armenian Catholics as more numerous than their actual number, see n. 49.
    [4] V. Teplov, *Materialy Dlya Statistikii Bolgarii, Trakii i Makedonii* (St. Petersburg, 1877).
    [5] Great Britain, *House of Comn.. ms, Accounts and Papers*, vol. 92 (1877), p. 14.

information concerning the population of the Balkans, Anatolia, the Middle
East, and, somewhat less, North Africa. The value of this census becomes self-
evident when its figures are contrasted and compared with the random estimates
and the plain guessing that formed the basis of most studies made on the Ottoman
population in the nineteenth century.

II. PLACE AND FUNCTION OF CENSUSES AND POPULATION REGISTERS IN THE MODERNIZATION OF THE OTTOMAN GOVERNMENT

Population censuses, land surveys, and eventually the permanent population
register system were of vital importance for the Ottoman government in the
nineteenth century. Centralization forced it to assume new administrative
responsibilities which depended on an accurate knowledge of the empire's
human and financial resources. Indeed, the recruitment of a modern army and its
organization into active and reserve units relied on accurate information
concerning the number and age of the male population. The conscription
system introduced by Mahmut II in 1838 for Muslims, and then the general
conscription introduced in 1855 but never applied to Christians, and finally
the division of the male Muslim population into four service groups could have
been carried out only if assisted by a sound registration system.

Muslim males were divided into four age groups, and their military obligations
were defined accordingly. The first was the *muazzaf*, or the active duty group,
whose obligations began at the age of twenty and lasted for four years; the
second was the *ihtiyat*, or active reserve group, under duty for two years; the
third was the *redif*, or inactive reserve group, which was under obligation to
serve for fourteen years; and the fourth was the *mustahfiz*, or territorial or local
militia group, kept for four years.[6] A male Muslim thus was under some sort of
military obligation for twenty-four years. It is quite understandable, therefore,
that the military was the first to show keen interest in population records and to
put major pressure on the sultan and the government to undertake censuses·and
establish a regular population registration system. In fact, army officers took
active roles in the Ottoman censuses and kept their own registers for the Mus-
lims and cooperated closely with civilian population officials throughout the
nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The importance of conducting new population censuses and establishing a
modern register stemmed also from the need to find new sources of revenue·to
finance the modern army and a variety of new administrative functions assumed
by the government. This was particularly true in the case of the non-Muslims
who paid the *jizye* (head tax) which was converted in 1857 into the *bedelat-ı
askeriye* (tax instead of military service). Many non-Muslim communities used
old records to show their numbers as low as possible so as to pay the least pos-

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[6] The service duration of the last two categories was seven and eight years respectively
when the system was first introduced in 1848. See Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel K. Shaw,
History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. II (New York, 1977), p. 100.

sible tax. The government, therefore, became keenly interested in updating its records of the non-Muslim population by using its own personnel rather than relying on the figures given by communal heads.[7] This issue acquired special urgency after a series of old taxes were abolished by Mahmut II and the tax revenues showed a sharp drop.

The knowledge of the size and change in the composition of the population became important also for administrative reasons, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, as roads, railways, bridges, irrigation schemes, and a variety of professional schools were planned in accordance with population density.

The growing importance attached to accurate population censuses and statistics comes clearly out of a report by the Şuray-ı Devlet (Council of State) concerning the census of 1881/82.[8] The Council stated:

It is a duty to mention before everything else that the interest of a government in compilation of systematic population statistics does not stem solely from military considerations. To know the exact number of its own population is a great achievement in matters of order and regularity for a government interested in law, property safeguards, financial stability, and municipal order and security. The European States attach great and continuous care to the collection and distribution of information on the [entire] population. It is imperative, urgent, and essential for us to accomplish this important task [census and registration] in a perfect fashion.[9]

This keen interest of the Ottoman government in the adoption of modern statistical methods was shown also during a reception given for the American ambassador in 1886, when he spoke about a recently concluded census in the United States and was asked for assistance.[10]

[7] These communities often paid less than their number would warrant. The number of non-Muslims once established remained unchanged for long periods for lack of proper registers to follow population changes. For instance, Rev. William Jowett mentions the fact that the population of Mount Athos consisted of about 6,000 people but 'they pay to the Turks as for three thousands' (Richard Clogg, 'Two Accounts of the Academy of Ayvalek [Kydonies] in 1818–1919', *Revue des etudes sud-est européennes*, 10, 4 [1972], 652).

[8] The correspondence referred to in this article took place between the Mabeyni Humayun (Secretariat of the Imperial Palace) and the Sadaret, the Premier's office, or Porte. Reports and regulations on population were issued by the Şuray-ı Devlet, the Council of State, either through its Tanzimat Bureau or its General Council (Şuray-ı Devlet Umumi Heyeti). The references to correspondence are henceforth shortened as M to S or vice versa, that is, from the Palace to the Prime Minister (Mabeyni Humayun'dan Sadarete), followed by the date of communication, the archival reference, such as Başvekālet Arşivi (BA), and the latter's respective section and number. Although most of the documents used in this study have both the *hijri* (H) and *mali* or *rumi* (R) years (about one or two years difference between them) we shall give only the *hijri* data followed by the *miladi*, or solar calendar date (A.D.).

[9] Report of Şuray-ı Devlet, Tanzimat Dairesi, No. 438, 21 Cemaziyulevvel 1248 (21 April 1881), BA, Irade, Şuray-ı Devlet, 3148.

[10] During the reception, Ambassador S. S. Cox, who replaced General Lewis Wallace, the author of *Ben Hur*, mentioned that the United States had compiled new population statistics which were of great use to his country and suggested that such statistics would be useful also to the Ottoman government. He was told that an actual census (the one

III. THE OTTOMAN CENSUSES AND POPULATION ADMINISTRATION IN
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The topic of this study is the census of 1881/82–1893. Since this census and
the population registration system developed at this date represent the culmina-
tion of an evolutionary process, it is necessary to trace their development from
the beginning. Census taking was a well-established Ottoman tradition. The
early Ottoman governments took censuses and conducted property surveys
after each new territory was conquered, and repeated the process regularly at
thirty-year intervals.[11] This tradition was apparently abandoned in the seven-
teenth and eighteenth centuries, although there is some evidence to the con-
trary.[12] Yet it is basic to remember that until the nineteenth century the Ottoman

under discussion in this article) was being conducted. The sultan asked the ambassador
to send him a statistical review found in the American Embassy. Eventually, the ambas-
sador sent with the interpreter of the Embassy two volumes of the review for translation
into Turkish. The sultan told the ambassador that he was very interested in such works
and pointed out that it was his high hope to compile a complete and systematic statistical
record of the entire population in his realm and that he had issued an order to this effect
(M to S, Letter by the sultan's private secretary, Sureyyâ, of 21 Cemaziyulevvel 1303
(Feb. 25, 1886), BA, Irade, Dahiliye, 77419).

All this is confirmed by the American Ambassador, Samuel S. Cox, who, as the Chair-
man of the Census Committee, was instrumental in passing the census legislation in the
U.S. Congress. In his memoirs he writes: ' In some meetings which I had with the Sultan,
and in reply to his curiosity as to the miraculous growth of our own land in population
and resources, I told him that the only way in which he could possibly understand our
advancement would be to take the salient points out of our Census reports, and especially
the Tenth Census (1880), have them suitably translated, and apply them to his own land.
He would thus see what an advertisement a good census would be of the vast resources of
his own empire.'

According to Cox the sultan was presented later with census data and concluded that
'with such data for administrative policies we [Americans] could not be other than
prosperous'. Cox continues: 'The Sultan with intelligent grasp, comprehends their
[census data] utility, and the need of their application to his own country. Then he
reminds me of our conversation about a census for his own country, and said that he had
directed his Grand Vizier, Kiamil Pasha, to organize a commission to begin the work. He
was anxious as to its costs. . . . He asked me if I would aid it by my advice, when the
commission was formed. To which I responded that, consistent with my duties to my
country and health, I would do so, if the President did not object. The law, the instruc-
tions to superintendents, enumerators, and blanks for returns, and the *modus operandi* of
special experts, were fully detailed by the printed papers in the envelopes which were in
the box. These envelopes he sealed with his own hand, and gave them direction at once.
So that probably Turkey may, if peace prevail, have a census of her own' (S. S. Cox,
Diversions of a Diplomat in Turkey [New York, 1887], pp. 37, 44).

[11] The Ottoman censuses of population and surveys of the land in the fifteenth and
sixteenth centuries are known from O. L. Barkan's pioneering works: 'Tarihi Demografi
Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi', *Tarih Mecmuası*, 10 (1953); 'Essai sur les données
statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman au XVᵉ et XVIᵉ
siècles', *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, I, 1 (Aug. 1957), 9–21; and
'Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys', in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle
East*, M. A. Cook, ed. (London, 1970), pp. 163–171. See also Leila Erder, 'The Measure-
ment of Preindustrial Population Changes: The Ottoman Empire from the Fifteenth to
the Seventeenth Century', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 11 (3 Oct. 1975), 284–301.

[12] I believe that further research in the Ottoman archives may yield substantial infor-

government never developed a regular population registration system to record births, deaths, and migrations, as was done in some parish registers in Western Europe and England. The birth, death, and marriage registers supposedly kept by some Ottoman non-Muslim communities, to my knowledge, have never been unearthed.

The first Ottoman government census in the nineteenth century took place in 1831–38 but it covered only certain parts of the empire and was based on a count of households, not individuals.[13] At this time, individuals were given a *mürür tezkeresi* (travel certificate) in order to prevent mass migration and to keep track of substantial increases which were taking place in the population. After the proclamation of the Tanzimat Edict in 1839, a second, but partial, census was conducted in 1844, despite considerable popular opposition, in an effort to provide statistical information on population, land, and revenue as a basis for the forthcoming reforms.[14] This census has not been published in its entirety, but much of it is known in piecemeal form from the works of A. Ubicini and Eugene Boré who, while questioning its total accuracy, were convinced that its figures were essentially correct but made their own adjustments of the final results.[15] It is important to note that Ubicini, Urquhart, Boré, and other European observers who knew the language and were familiar with conditions in the Ottoman Empire and its bureaucracy accepted as reliable the figures given by the Ottoman officials. Actually, the census that was started in 1844 continued well beyond this date as the government tried also to count the nomadic tribes, as indicated by the appointment of census officials in the vilayets of Aydın and Menteşe, in 1851,[16] and by some other efforts to expand further the census taken in Cyprus in 1857.[17]

mation on population figures, even for the later centuries. The existing records on taxation and the distribution of *miri* (state) land to cultivators could yield excellent figures on the Ottoman population in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. For instance, the *yoklamas*, censuses of the timars in 1596, 1606, 1672, 1691, 1694, 1698, and 1715 indicate that the tradition was not abandoned altogether. These surveys show a continuous preoccupation with the size of cultivable lands, at least with those given as fiefs to the *sipahis*, and with their revenue. See V. P. Mutafcieva–Str. Dimitrov, *Sur l'état du systeme des timars des XVII*e*–XVIII*e *siècles* (Sofia, 1968).

[13] Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nda Ilk Nüfus Sayımı, 1831* (Ankara, 1943).

[14] 'Traduction d'un memorandum de la Sublime-Porte, adressé aux missions étrangères à Constantinople, et relatif au recensement général decrété par S. Hautesse', *Le Moniteur Universel*, 248 (4 Sept. 1844).

[15] A. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie* (Paris, 1853). Eugene Boré, *Almanach de l'Empire ottoman pour l'année 1849 et 1850* (Constantinople, 1849–1850).

[16] The census of the nomadic tribes in these two provinces was carried out by army officers belonging to the units stationed in the area (S to M, Letter of 7 Sefer 1268 [2 Dec. 1851], BA, Irade, Dahiliye, 14855). See also F. Kanitz, *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1875); *idem, La Bulgarie danubienne et le Balkan: Etudes de voyages, 1860–1880* (Paris, 1882).

[17] It appears from official correspondence that the census of the Muslim population in Cyprus was concluded by 1861, and that a census of the non-Muslim population was ordered in 1862, with the purpose of reforming the tax system. The census of the non-Muslims in Cyprus was carried out by four teams, each consisting of one Muslim and one

The next Ottoman census, decreed by Mithat Paşa, and carried out between 1866 and 1873, provides an even better insight into the evolution of the Ottoman censuses. It was taken only for the Danube province, which comprised most of Bulgaria of today, and part Iraq, and was not published in its entirety, although the *Salname*s (yearbooks issued by the government for the entire realm beginning in 1846, and sporadically for various vilayets) published most of its contents. The census was taken by using multiple registers which were eventually reduced to a single one. Officials went from house to house to note the number of people in a household, their age, marital status, occupation, and real estate properties.[18] Special lists indicated the number of household heads together with their real estate wealth and the rent derived from it, their occupation, and income. All these findings were summarized in a fourth category of lists which indicated the actual number of the taxable population and its ethnic composition, the number of dwellings, the total income of the population, the total value of real estate, and the tax collected.[19] The information in this census material is so ample and unique as to make it a permanent source of information for studying the social and demographic history of the European possessions of the Ottoman state. Professor N. Todorov, a member of the Bulgarian Academy, who was the first to use, in detail, this census material in conducting his study of the Balkan towns and their social structure, has acknowledged explicitly their value and reliability.[20]

One of the purposes of the census of 1866 was to issue to all Ottoman subjects a *tezkere-i osmaniye*, or Ottoman identity card, and then to use it to register changes in the individual's status. Preparations were made to print and distribute 5 million cards in the Tuna (Danube) vilayet and, in anticipation of a country-wide census, another 15 million for the rest of the realm.[21]

Concomitant with this interest in population matters, the government appointed after 1839: *nüfus nazırı*s (inspector–ministers of population) in the *eyalet*s (provinces), *nüfus memur*s (population officials) in *sanjak*s and *kaza*s, and *mukayyid*s (registrars) to record births and deaths and to periodically compile

Christian official plus a secretary. It was expected that the census of the non-Muslims living in villages and towns would take 4–5 months. The Porte debated at length whether the expenses of the census should be covered from the general treasury or from a levy of a tax of one *kuruş* on each Muslim and non-Muslim or deducted from the annual tax collected from Cyprus (S to M, correspondence of 28 Sefer 1279 [25 Aug. 1862], BA, Irade, Meclis-i Vala, 21366).

[18] This material, under the serial number PC 79/8, is found in the oriental section of the National Library of Bulgaria in Sofia. For further details see Nicola(i) Todorov, 'The Balkan Town in the Second Half of the 19th Century', *Etudes Balkaniques*, 2 (1969), 31–50.

[19] *Ibid.*, n. 3.

[20] N. Todorov, *Balkanskiat Grad XV–XIX-vek* (Balkan Towns in the XV–XIX Centuries) (Sofia, 1972). An English translation of this book is to be published by University of Washington Press, Seattle.

[21] The *tezkere*s for the Tuna/Danube province were to be printed by Boyacıoğlu Agop at a cost of 1,250,000 *kurus*. Actually, the printing of various forms associated with the census and population registration provided good financial stimulus for the burgeoning printing business in the Ottoman Empire. See S to M, communication of 9 Rebiulahir 1282 (1 Sept. 1865) BA, Irade, Meclis-i Vala, 24167.

*cedvel*s (lists) indicating the total number of people in each district. These officials were attached to the Ceride-i Nüfus Nezareti (Ministry of Population Registers) in the capital.[22] Owing to a variety of internal causes, this ministry was abolished soon afterward and the provincial population offices were placed under the Tahiri Emlāk Idaresi (Office of Property Surveys) and then, for a short period, under the Military Affairs Office. During this period, the maintenance of the registers deteriorated until a new interest in population censuses began to emerge in the late 1860s.[23] After the Şuray-ı Devlet (Council of State) was established in 1867, it assumed jurisdiction on all population matters. In 1874, the Council introduced a series of measures for taking a census and establishing a registration system. In 1881/82 it secured the establishment of a General Population Administration (Nüfus-u Umumi Idaresi) attached to the Ministry of Interior, where it remained until the end of the empire. Later in the 1880s, a statistical office attached to the Ministry of Trade and Construction (later reorganized into the Ministry of Trade and Agriculture) was established; it issued population statistics on the basis of information supplied by the Population Administration.

IV. THE FIRST ATTEMPTS AT ESTABLISHING A MODERN POPULATION REGISTRATION SYSTEM, 1874

It is important to stress that after 1870, census taking and the establishment of an accurate, permanent registration system became a matter of priority both for the sultan and for the Office of the Prime Minister, as attested by their frequent orders to the concerned offices. It should be repeated that the *nüfus defter*s, or permanent population registers, were established first in the 1830s to follow up the *tahrir* (census) and were charged with the registration of births, deaths, and migrations. These registers, however, became useless for want of proper care and maintenance and especially because of the influx of millions of migrants into the empire. Between 1862 and 1870, close to two million Muslims fled from the Caucasus into the Ottoman Empire, forced out of their ancestral homes by Russian pressures for conversion to Christianity, service in the army, and settlement in the unhealthy plains of the north Caucasus. Moreover, the urbanization that followed the increase of trade and economic relations with Europe after 1856 produced a shift of population from the rural interior toward the coastal towns. Finally, the establishment of new provinces, through the vilayet law of 1864 and its amendment in 1871, led to the abolition of the positions

[22] The name *ceride* given originally to some of the land and population registers came later to mean 'newspaper'. The name *ceride-i nüfus* (population register) was changed later to *nüfus sicilli* and *nüfus kütüğü* in order to show its role as the source of all population information.

[23] Some information on the history of population administration is found in the reports of the Şuray-ı Devlet, number 438 of 21 Cemaziyulevvel 1298 (21 April 1881) BA, Irade, Şuray-ı Devlet, 3148; S to M, communication of 7 Sefer 1268 (2 Dec. 1851), BA, Irade, Dahiliye, 14855.

assigned to population officials and to the allocation of the funds for their salaries to other purposes. All these events produced further disorder in the deteriorating situation of the population registers and undermined the collection of taxes and conscription of Muslims into the army. Consequently, the Şuray-ı Devlet appointed a special committee to study the possibility of taking a new census and of establishing a new register system. In effect, this committee reported that the synchronization, updating, and correction of the existing population *defter*s would take a very long time; that the influx of the *ecnebi* (bona fide foreigners) and the rapid increase in the number of the *mahmi* (Ottoman-born non-Muslims obtaining passports from European powers to become native protégés serving foreign interests) aggravated further the registration process. Consequently, the committee recommended and the Council of State agreed that the best solution was to conduct a new census and to establish new *defter*s to cover the entire country, except for Hejez and Yemen.[24] In 1874, Şuray-ı Devlet issued an order and three regulations to carry out a new census and to establish a new registration system. The first regulation concerned the census methods, the second dealt with the establishment of a registration system based on three types of *defter*s or registers, and the third dealt with the appointment of population officials. These will be studied briefly in that order.

The census was to be taken by a committee established in each *kaymakamılk* (*kaza* or district). It consisted of one government official, a Muslim, one non-Muslim chosen from among community leaders, a secretary, and his assistant.[25] It was instructed to use the old population registers when possible but to conduct the census mainly by going to each village and *mahalle*, or town district, in its respective area. All male inhabitants, including children living in the locality, had to appear before this committee and the village *ihtiyar meclisi* (council of elders) and register their age, *künye* (nickname), color of eyes and skin complexion, and special physical disabilities 'which will not fade with age'. The census committee were instructed to see even newborn babies 'with their own eyes', study each claim to exemption from military service, and see to it that nobody remained 'hidden' and unregistered.[26] Each family had to be registered as a unit. The roster of the resulting village census was approved by the elders' council and a copy of it was given to the population office at the *kaza* center. The *kaza* official in turn would send a cumulative list of the number of males in his district to the superior administrative unit, which would convey the lists to the ultimate authority at the center, the Defteri Hākāni (Ministry of Property Records). Officials in each *kaza* were obliged to send copies of the registers of Muslim males to the regional army offices and to be the repository of all village

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[24] Report of the Şuray-ı Devlet, number 695 of 29 Zilhice 1290 (17 Feb. 1874), BA, Irade, Meclis-i Mahsus, 2086. All these reports concerning the census of 1874 are found in one folio.

[25] See report of the Şuray-ı Devlet, *Tahriri Nüfusun Suret-i Icraiyesini Mutzammin Talimattir* (Instructions Concerning the Conduct of Population Census), S to M of 1 Rebiyulevvel 1291 (18 April 1874), BA, Irade, Meclis-i Mahsus, 2089.

[26] *Ibid.*, art. 2.

population registers. The census committee was empowered to use force
to bring before the registration officials those who refused to appear,
although it was instructed to act with tolerance and respect toward villagers, and
to refuse anything offered by individuals.[27] The census instructions contained a
series of provisions concerning the registration of those absent from the locality,
of the foreigners, and of 'protected' people, the latter two being registered in
special registers.

In 1874, the Şuray-ı Devlet envisaged the establishment of census systems
based on three types of registers.[28] The *esas defter*, or the basic register, was to
include all males living in a village and in a *mahalle* or town quarter (the vilayet
law of 1871 defined a *mahalle* as a cluster of at least fifty houses), by numbering
consecutively in the first column the number of the individuals and in the second,
the families and their respective members. The register to be kept by the official
in the *kaza* center included columns for registering the individual's age and
changes in his military and personal status. The second register, *icmal* (summary),
contained the total number of people found in the villages and towns within a
kaza, and it was compiled on the basis of information derived from the village
and *mahalle* registers. One column in the summary registers divided the subjects
according to their *millet* (religious and ethnic affiliation) into Muslims, Greeks,
Bulgarians, Armenians, Jews, and others. A third register, *yevmiye vukuat* (daily
events), kept in the *kaza*, registered new births, deaths, and changes in the in-
dividual's military status as reported by *mukayyid* (registrars), the *muhtar* (village
head), and the elders' council. Every six months, the total number of births and
deaths was added or subtracted from the *icmal* register. Models for each one
of the *defter*s were drafted by the Şuray-ı Devlet.

The administrative structure of the census and register system planned in
1874 consisted of a *nüfus nazırı* (population minister–inspector) at the provincial
level, a *mukayyid* (registering official) at the *kaza* level, and two secretaries for
each official.[29] These officials registered all births, deaths, migrations, and changes
in the status of males in their district based on the information supplied by the
imam (religious head), *muhtar*, and the village elders' council who filled this
information in a special *ilmuhaber* (information certificate) supplied by the
government. The population officials were obliged to take trips into the country-

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[27] *Ibid.*, art. 8–10. Boys under the age of three, the sick, and others who had valid
excuses could be registered by proxy.

[28] See report of the Suray-ı Devlet; *Tahrir-i Nüfus İçin Ittihaz Olunacak Üç Türlü
Defterin Suret-ı Istimalini Mübeyyin Tarifnamedir* (Information [Description] Concern-
ing the Use of the Three Registers To Be Created for Conducting the Population Census),
S to M of 1 Rebiyulevvel 1291 (18 Aug. 1874), BA, Irade, Meclis-i Mahsus, 2089.

[29] See report of the Şuray-ı Devlet, *Memaliki Mahsusa-i Şahanede Tahrir-i Nüfus Icra
Kılınan Mahallerde Istihdam Olunacak Nüfus Nazirlari ve Kātipleri ile Mukayyiterlinin
Suret-i Tertip ve Tayinleri ile Vazifeleri Hakkında Talimattir* (Instructions Concerning
the Organizations, Appointment, and Responsibilities of the Population Inspectors,
Secretaries, and Registers To Be Appointed in the Localities of the Realm Where Census
Has Been Conducted), S to M of 1 Rebuyulevvel 1291 (18 April 1874) BA, Irade,
Meclis-i Mahsus, 2089.

side to study the situation on the spot and to report all changes to their superiors and, eventually, to the Defter-i Hākāni Nezareti (the new name acquired by the old Defterhane in 1871) in the capital. A copy of the registers kept in areas inhabited by Muslims was to be sent to the proper military authorities. Those failing to report births, deaths, and changes in personal status were subjected to various penalties.

All these instructions were submitted by Premier Hüseyin Avni Paşa to the sultan who approved them and issued a special order for their execution.[30] Preparations were made, but the census and registration system devised in 1874 could not be carried out. There were several reasons. Revolts in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1875, the abdication and suicide of Sultan Abdulaziz, the proclamation of a constitution, and accession to the throne of Sultan Abdulhamit II in 1876, and, especially, the disastrous war with Russia in 1877/78 and the resulting loss of territory substantially upset Ottoman internal order. In addition, the influx of large numbers of Muslim refugees from the Balkans in 1877/78 and thereafter, and the need to settle them, created new demographic problems not foreseen in 1874. Delay therefore resulted until they could be worked out.

V. THE CENSUS AND REGISTRATION SYSTEM OF 1881/82

As soon as the political situation stabilized, the sultan issued an order for carrying out a new census. The sultan complained through his secretary that the country did not possess registers indicating the exact number of male subjects and therefore could not estimate the exact number of soldiers available for active and reserve duties, nor could it carry out a planned reorganization of the army. Consequently, in 1881, the Palace charged the War Ministry with the duty of counting Muslim males, whereas officials in the Ministry of Interior counted the non-Muslims.[31] As usual, the issue was referred to the Şuray-ı Devlet. This modern-minded office, eager to adopt advanced techniques of organization, debated the issue and came out with a series of recommendations which were based in large measure on the 1874 regulations.

These recommendations and the resulting regulations became, in effect, the basis for the census and registration system used after 1881.[32] They were broader in scope and different in essence from the sultan's directives. The Şuray-ı Devlet acknowledged that the census of 1874 could not be carried out because of internal reasons, although the knowledge gained in devising it was very useful in planning the new one. It agreed with the military authorities that the division of the Muslim population into age groups was a matter of vital practical importance. It stressed also the necessity of providing each Ottoman citizen with a *tezkere*,

[30] See correspondence S to M of 8, 9 Rebiyulahir 1291 (May 25, 26, 1874), BA, Irade, Meclis-i Mahsus, 2089.

[31] M to S, order of 15 Recep 1297 (June 23, 1880), BA, Irade, Dahiliye, 65276.

[32] S to M, Şuray-ı Devlet, Tanzimat Dairesi, Communication Number 438 of 21 Cemaziyulevvel 1298 (21 April 1881), BA, Irade, Şuray-ı Devlet, 3148.

all births and deaths and provide general statistical information on the entire population. Consequently, all the previous provisions concerning the census and and registration system were combined into one single regulation, Sicilli Nüfus Nizamnamesi (Regulation for Population Registers).[36] These Regulations were debated and approved by the General Committee of the Şuray-ı Devlet, and promulgated by the sultan in 1881.[37]

Officers of the Ottoman Empire's Directorate of Statistics

	Years			General Director of Statistics	Assistant to the General Director
Hijri	Rumi or Mali	A.D.			
1310	1308	1892	Nuri Bey		
1311	1309	1893	Fethi Bey[a]		
1312	1310	1894	,, ,,		
1313	1311	1895	Fethi Franko Bey		
1314	1312	1896	,, ,, ,,		
1315	1313	1897	Migirdiç Sinabyan Efendi[b]		
1316	1314	1898	,, ,, ,,	Mehmet Behiç Bey	
1317	1315	1899	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	
1318	1316	1900	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	
1319	1317	1901	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	
1320	1318	1902	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	
1321	1319	1903	Rober Efendi[c]	,, ,, ,,	
1322	1320	1904	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	
1323	1321	1905	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	
1324	1322	1906	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	
1325	1323	1907	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	
1326	1324	1908	Mehmet Behiç Bey[d]		
1327	1325	1909	,, ,, ,,		
1328	1326	1910[e]	,, ,, ,,		
1329	1327	1911	,, ,, ,,		
1330	1328	1912	,, ,, ,,		
1331	1329	1913	,, ,, ,,		
1332	1330	1914	,, ,, ,,		
1333	1331	1915			
1334	1332	1916			

[a] Fethi Bey apparently was Jewish.

[b] Migirdiç Efendi, an Armenian, was Assistant Director of Trade in 1892–96, and after 1902 became Assistant Minister of Trade.

[c] Rober (Robert) Efendi was apparently an American employed as Director General of Statistics because of his expertise.

[d] Mehmet Behiç produced several works on statistics. He evidenced talent, and while Assistant to the General Director Director of Statistics became an equally good statistician.

[e] In 1910 the Trade Ministry was detached from the Construction Ministry and combined with the Agriculture Ministry, and the Statistical General Directorate was placed under its jurisdiction.

[36] See *Sicill-i Nüfus Nizamnamesi* of 8 Şaban 1298 (5 July 1881), BA, Irade, Şuray-ı Devlet, 3148. All reports and correspondence concerning the census of 1881/82 are in one folio.

[37] See Şuray-ı Devlet, Umumi Heyeti Mazbatası, of 8 Şaban 1298 (5 July 1881), BA, Irade, Şuray-ı Devlet, 3148. Of the twenty people who participated in the debate only two voted against the proposal. All the three non-Muslims, Yanko, Constantin, and Nuryan, voted for it.

The Regulations consisted of fifty articles, divided into nine sections. The first thirty-eight articles, comprising eight sections, were devoted to the organization of the register system while the last twelve, assembled under the heading *ahkām-ı muvvakate* (provisional regulation), dealt with the census itself. Following its own reasoning, the Council considered the census as an ad hoc project while its by-product, the register system, was a permanent one. We shall study the census first.

The census consisted essentially of registration in the *sicil*, or register. It was carried out by committees established in each *kaza*. Each committee had one member from the *kaza* administration council, another from the municipal council, the population official, and a *redif* (reserve military officer). In the *kaza*s that had different religious groups, one additional member was selected from the most numerous non-Muslim group. A population secretary and his assistant accompanied the committee (art. 39–40). The registration included the respondent's name and nickname, his or her father's name, and the address, age, religion, occupation and profession, electoral status, physical disabilities, and civil status. The non-Muslims supplied the same information, but were registered in a different register so as to facilitate the tax levy. The information was supplied directly by the person involved, but exceptions were recognized in legitimate cases when a third person accompanied by two witnesses over the age of twenty-one provided it for an absent party. (This provision apparently was intended to excuse women from appearing before the census committee since for the first time women were also counted and registered.) At the end of the census of a village or *mahalle* (town district), the accuracy, completeness, and authenticity of the census results were certified by the *imam*, *muhtar*, and the community councils.[38] The *kaza* population official was obliged to compile, within three months after the end of the census, a list of all inhabitants in his district and send it to the province capital, which sent it ultimately to the Nüfus-u Umumiye Idaresi (General Administration of Population).

Compliance with the census registration was insured by a rather compelling measure. Each registered individual was issued an official *nüfus tezkeresi* (population bulletin or identity card) which contained all the relevant information about the bearer in the register. This card came to be known later as *nüfus cüzdanı* (population book). Each individual had to show it to the authorities before buying, selling, or inheriting property, before being accepted in an occupation or profession, for obtaining travel documents, or for conducting other official business. Those without such cards, besides unable to conduct official business, were punished by stiff fines and jail terms ranging from twenty-four

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[38] During the debates in the Şuray-ı Devlet, the General Committee suggested that since some non-Muslim community leaders could not speak Turkish and consequently faced difficulty in filing the birth certificates, the population officers sent to these areas should be selected from those who spoke the native languages. In other words, instead of compelling the citizens to learn Turkish, the language of the administration, the Ottoman government sought at this date to teach its own officials the regional languages, a custom long in practice.

hours to one month if they failed to present an acceptable excuse before the court (art. 5). Those failing to register in order to avoid military service were to be immediately conscripted.

The Population Administration consisted of a central administration with a Director General and a Secretariat attached to the Dahiliye (Interior) Ministry. Each *kaza* had a population official, while the special districts had a *nüfus nazırı*, both of whom were assisted by a population secretary and his assistant. Births, deaths, migration, and marriages occurring in the villages and *mahalle*s after the census were recorded by the local officials (the *muhtars*) in one of four types of standard *ilmuhaber* (information certificate) in accordance with the instructions issued by the population official in the *kaza* (art. 11, 12). The latter in turn was obliged to forward the annual *icmal* (summary) of the village and *mahalle* population reports, after due inspection and approval by the *kaza* administrative council, to the superior offices not later than April 1. Eventually, the reports from all the vilayets reached the General Administration of Population in the Ministry of Interior: 'The copies of the registrations [births, deaths] reaching the Ministry of Interior would provide the General Administration of Population with [statistical data] necessary to compile the annual general statistics [of the population] and would be preserved intact. A list of people reaching military age together with the [description] of their identity will be compiled and forwarded to the Military Administration' (art. 14).

The Regulations issued by the Şuray-ı Devlet contained other detailed instructions concerning the registration of births (art. 15–22), marriages (art. 23–26), deaths (art. 27–29), and migration (art. 30–31). They also contained a special section (art. 32–39) establishing procedures for the control and supervision of population registers, assuring a constant upward flow of information from villages to the superior population authorities, for registering those who might have failed to do so during the original census, and for correcting the registers' shortcomings, if any. The Regulations dealt with the financing of the register system by charging small sums for registering births and issuing travel certificates. All these proposals were accepted by the sultan who ordered their implementation as soon as possible.[39] It is important to stress the fact that the registration system, the *nüfus tezkeresi* (identity card), and the administrative organization established in 1881/82 were implemented, with certain expansions and modifications, throughout the remainder of the Ottoman Empire and have survived in a variety of forms in Turkey and other places in the Middle East right to the present day. A law issued in 1318 (1900/1) broadened considerably the registration provisions of the Regulations of 1881/82. Another law and the accompanying regulations issued in 1320 (1902/3) superseded the law of 1318 and brought further clarification concerning census taking and registration. Another census based on this law was apparently started in 1321 (1903/4).

[39] See exchange of letters between the Prime Minister's office and the Palace, and the latter's Irade (Orders) of 7 Şevval 1298 (1 Sept. 1881) and 8 Şevval 1898 (2 Sept. 1881), BA, Irade, Şuray-ı Devlet, 3148.

VI. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POPULATION CENSUS AND REGISTRATION IN 1881/82

The time needed for preparations did not permit the census and registration committees established at *kaza* level to begin their work until sometime in 1882. The census itself, that is, the registration of all the inhabitants in villages and *mahalles*, and the issuance of the *nüfus tezkeresi*, took far longer than expected because of the physical difficulties involved, such as lack of transportation and bad weather. The first results from the more accessible areas came in 1884/85. Some of these preliminary statistical results were published in a variety of places, including the *Salnames*, but have been used by just a few writers, and only recently.[40] Many other *vilayets* do not appear to have completed their

TABLE 1   *Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*

Year	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
H 1260 (1844)	102,532	111,160	213,692 (males only)
H 1273 (1857)	112,162	124,162	236,092 (males only)
H 1298 (1882)[a]	118,535	101,410	381,376 (219,945 males; 161,431 females)
H 1302 (1885)	384,410	488,655	873,565[b]
H 1314 (1896)	520,194	510,040	1,030,234
R 1330 (1914)	520,434	389,553	909,987

[a] Incomplete census.

[b] The figures indicating the population of Istanbul in 1893 are identical with the figures given earlier by the Ministry of Interior in 1885. The minister informed the premier's office that the population of Istanbul consisted of 384,910 Muslims, 359,412 non-Muslims, and 129,243 foreigners, or a total of 873,565 people. The Ministry reported that soldiers and a number of unregistered people were not included in the statistics. It seems that the compiler of the general statistics for 1893 used the old figure obtained in 1885, but updated the figures three years later. See prime minister's letter to the Palace, 28 Ramazan 1302 (11 July 1885), and the interior minister's communication number 393 of 26 Ramazan 1302 (9 July 1885), BA, Irade, Dahiliye, 73538. It is interesting to note also that the census statistics for Istanbul in 1844 and 1857 indicated that a total of 75,748 and 94,119 people, respectively, residing in Istanbul were *bekār* (single outsiders) or males who had come from the countryside to the city for commercial purposes. Approximately 43,000 outsiders in 1844, and 55,000 outsiders in 1857, were non-Muslims, indicating that the non-Muslim population was moving into urban areas to become involved in the expanding commercial activities. This trend was reversed toward the end of the century owing to an influx of Muslims from abroad and to the rise of a Muslim middle class. The latter tried to engage in the commercial activities monopolized by non-Muslims, and in the process the brewing nationality conflict acquired a new economic and political dimension. The Istanbul census for 1896 indicated the presence of 30,680 migrants (*muhacir*) in the city, of whom only 144 were Jews and all the rest Muslims. The head of the population census committee, Esseyit Mustafa Tevfik, reported that the increase of the Muslim population was due to migration, while the non-Muslims flocked into the city for commercial purposes. The census indicated also the presence of 5,560 students in the medrese.

[40] For a general reference, see Vedat Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İktisadi Şartları Hakkında Bir Tetkik* (n.p., 1970), pp. 49–65. Eldem used some of the figures published in the official publication cited in n. 48. He does mention the fact that the

census or to have established their register systems until 1886/87. For instance, even the city of Istanbul, which conducted five censuses in the century and was given priority, barely completed its census by 1885.[41] Thus, the population of Istanbul in the nineteenth century (the city included the *dersaadet* [old city], the *bilad-ı selase* [the "three boroughs," originally Eyup, Galata, and Uskudar], and Beyoglu, which was added in 1894/95), is shown in Table 1.

One of the chief difficulties faced by the census committees in 1881/82, and especially by the population officials, was the double task of conducting the census in villages and of keeping up to date the registers of districts whose censuses were already completed. This difficulty was compounded by the fact that the population officials had to report every year the total number of people in their respective districts. Consequently, the census progressed rather slowly. In order to expedite the work, new census teams, called *kol*, were later formed in the vilayets.[42] As the work in some vilayets appeared to near completion, the government decided late in 1885 to send specially qualified teams of inspectors to control the census results, to compile general population statistics, and to take whatever measures seemed necessary to insure a continuous and accurate registration of all population changes.[43] The vilayets chosen for inspection were Hüdavendigār (Bursa), Edirne, Trabzon, Cezayiribahrisefit (Aegean Islands), Adana, Sivas, and Karesi (Balikesir). Some time afterward, Trabzon informed the government that it had completed its census and, therefore, it was placed in the category of the first-class vilayets.[44] The Palace showed constant interest in the matter and issued deadlines for its completion and the drafting of empire-wide population statistics.[45] It is safe to assume that the censuses of most of the Otto-

Ottoman government took a census in 1882–84 but does not elaborate further. Vital Cuinet also seems to have relied on the same source. See *Syrie, Liban et Palestine: geographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée* (Paris, 1896). For some information on the population of Palestine, see also Moshe Ma'oz, ed., *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period* (Jerusalem, 1975).

[41] A report by the head of the census committee (*nüfus tahrir komisyonu*) giving some estimates for 1882, indicated that this was the fifth census of the city but could not find the lists for the first two censuses. It appears from the existing information that the government empowered the Ihtisab, later Zaptiye (Interior) ministry, in 1265 (1848) to maintain population lists to be completed every year according to the deaths and births occurring in the country. The measure was abandoned and then revived after the Crimean war when population was given the first *nüfüs tezkeresi* (identity card). See reports in Istanbul Universitesi Kitaplığı, Türkçe Yazmalar, Number 8949. Other sources are in BA, Irade, Dahiliye, 24, 402. My detailed study of Istanbul's transformation in the nineteenth century, presented originally at a conference organized by AISEE and UNESCO in 1973, will appear elsewhere.

[42] The orders for establishing new census teams were issues on 3 Nov. 1884, approximately three years after the census began.

[43] Letter from Premier's office, 20 Zilkade 1302 (31 Aug. 1885), BA, Irade, Dahiliye 76006.

[44] Palace (Yildiz) letter of 9 Rebiyulahir 1304 (5 Jan. 1886) BA, Irade, Dahiliye, 80019.

[45] For instance, in 1886, the vilayet of Halep (Aleppo) demanded at least nine more months to finish its census. Indications are that it completed its census much later than that. See correspondence S to M of 19 Cemaziulevvel 1303 and 25 Cemaziulahir 1303 (23 Feb. 1886, and 31 March 1886), BA, Irade, Dahiliye, 77419.

man territories in the Balkans, Anatolia, and Syria (inclusive of Jordan, most of Lebanon, and Palestine) were almost completed by 1888/89. There still remained a few people not registered even in the areas where the census was declared to be completed. In a few inaccessible areas, populations, particularly the nomadic tribes, were not counted at all, but were estimated on the basis of information supplied by tribal leaders and local officials.

The Ottoman census and registration that began in 1881/82 represented a continuous endeavour. Consequently, it is extremely difficult at this stage of our ongoing research to state precisely when they ended, if they ended at all. One can, however, state that the population records issued in 1893 represent the most complete and reliable Ottoman population figures compiled in the nineteenth century.

On 5 Sefer 1311 (17 August 1893) Premier Cevat Paşa submitted them in a bound manuscript to the sultan who had consistently pressed for their completion and accuracy.[46] Different from a variety of earlier general population statistics, these gave precise and detailed information on the population of all areas and noted the districts and regions where the census was not completed, while providing estimates for the people in these areas—mostly women and tribesmen—not subjected to individual census and registration.[47] The figures in these statistics were considered definitive and reliable and, therefore, were used as a basis for official statistics concerning the Ottoman population and for subsequent administrative measures.

The final question to be asked concerns the margin of error, which means unregistered people (mostly women), in the statistical tables presented below. It is impossible to provide a definitive answer to this question. My own view on this matter, stemming in part from the insight one gains by working with such materials, is that the margin of error in established communities located in the relatively developed areas with reasonably good communication was low, possibly between 2 and 5 percent. The practical need for every individual to possess a *nüfus tezkeresi* used in all dealings with the government forced practically everyone to register. The margin of error in remote areas probably increased to 6–10 percent.[48] Even here, the need for personnel in the army, and taxes, forced

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[46] The letter states that the *defter* (register) submitted to the sultan was prepared by the Population Administration following the sultan's orders and that it included the number of the Muslim and non-Muslim population (*cemaat-i muhtelife*), and of the foreigners. Bab-ı Ali, Daireyi Sadaret, Amedi Divan-ı Humayun, 333, BA, Yıldız, Perakende, 11S 311, Number 215.

[47] See *Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniyenin 1313 Senesine Mahsus Istatistik-i Umumiyesi* (General Statistics of the Ottoman State for the Year 1313 [1895]), Ministry of Trade and Construction, Istanbul 1316 (1898). This latter publication was compiled by the Statistical office on the basis of information supplied by the Population Administration.

[48] The validity of the census results obtained in 1893 can be tested against some other reliable estimates. Fortunately, we have a number of estimates on the population of various important vilayets in Anatolia and Rumili. For instance, the British Consulate put together eight different population estimates for the population of Sivas. One of the estimates was issued by the Armenian Patriarch whose figures were grossly wrong both for Muslims and non-Muslims. The remaining seven estimates made by the Armenian

the government to be as thorough as possible. It is my considered opinion that these statistics represent a reliable source for the study of Ottoman population at the end of the nineteenth century.

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bishop in Sivas, by foreigners and Ottoman officials acquainted with the local situation, show the population of Sivas in 1881 as varying between 708,550 and 895,682 people; the Muslim–Christian ratio as varying between 3.4–5.01, exclusive of 50,000 Circassians. The differences between these informed estimates does not differ greatly from

Statistics of Population of Sivas Vilayet compiled by the British

Source of statistics	Christians	Christian–Muslim ratio	Muslims	Total
Supplied by the Armenian Patriarch to Her Majesty's Ambassador	62,000	1–1.3	80,000	142,000
Supplied by the Armenian Bishop of Sivas to Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, Jan. 1880	201,245	1–3.4	694,437	895,682
Supplied by the Armenian Bishop of Sivas to Lieutenant Chermside, Aug. 1880	201,245	1–3.4	694,431	895,676
Supplied by Abédine Pasha to Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, Jan 1880; statistics obtained by doubling the males	143,174	1–4.0	584,604	727,778
Supplied by unknown to Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, Jan. 1880; statistics obtained by doubling the males	136,432	1–4.2	578,166	714,598
Supplied by Government to Lieutenant Chermside, Aug. 1880; statistics obtained by doubling the males	143,176	1–5.1	729,872	873,048
Sivas Almanac for 1878; statistics obtained by doubling the males	181,586	1–3.9	711,264	892,850
According to Baker Pasha; statistics obtained by doubling the males	140,732	1–4.0	567,818	708,550

SOURCE: Great Britain, House of Commons, *Accounts and Papers*, vol. 100 (1881), No. 6, p. 99. Patriarch Hassoun's inflated estimates of the number of Armenian Catholics appears in the same source.

the figures obtained in 1893. The latter including new births since 1880 placed the total population of Sivas at 926,671 people of whom 766,558 were Muslims and 160,113 Christians. It is noteworthy that the Armenian Catholic Patriarch Hassoun IX in a letter to the British showed the Armenian Catholics of Sivas as numbering 10,000. The Ottoman census of 1893 showed the number of Catholic Armenians in Sivas province as 3,052 people, almost evenly divided between men and women. Other vilayets show more or less the same pattern.

Ottoman General Census of 1893 by Vilâyet (Province), Sanjak (District), and Kaza (County)

(F, female, M, male; *census completed)

Administrative unit	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M	Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites F	Monophysites M	Non-Muslim gypsies F	Non-Muslim gypsies M	Foreign citizens F	Foreign citizens M	Total F	Total M	Grand total
AYDIN PROVINCE																									
Izmir Sanjak																									
Izmir Central Kaza	34556	44722	24028	29058	3151	3659	116	20	372	365	7175	7734	63	65	464	586					26295	25225	96114	111434	207548
Bergama	25574	28230	4076	5574	399	410		142			252	243									24	52	31041	34651	65692
Seferhisar	2779	2842	632	660		6																	3413	3508	6921
Foçateyn ,, (Foça)	1703	2059	5023	5573	13	34	1	45			53	44									1374	1399	8167	9154	17331
Urla	3973	4143	5919	6135	7	9					142	140											10427	10041	20468
Menemen	6869	7661	2209	2213	49	57					128	101											9285	10082	19367
Çeşme	1770	1907	12981	13845							54	69									30	50	14838	15864	30702
Kuşadası	4296	4526	3179	2942	45	42		17													33	43	7520	7527	15047
Tire	15183	15118	1075	1190	5	7	19	31			514	515											16796	16861	33657
Ödemiş	26833	26984	1773	1937	512	581																	29118	29562	58680
Bayındır	8840	9052	1439	1690	87	90		1			18	13	14	11									10398	10857	21255
Total Izmir Sanjak	132386	147244	62934	70877	4270	4895	136	256	372	365	8336	8859	77	76	464	586					27756	26769	236731	259927	496658
Saruhan Sanjak																									
Manisa Kaza	33557	34629	7130	8268	1102	1125					652	693									122	813	42563	45328	88091
Kasaba ,, (Turgutlu)	10320	11074	1343	1511	230	250					340	391											12233	13326	35459
Salihli	11313	12396	959	385																			11593	12781	24374
Gördes	15446	15394	310	314	1	5																	15726	15708	31444
Demirci	16415	17256	17	72																		3	16433	17246	33779
Kula	12612	13355	1556	1588																			14168	14943	29111
Eşme	8586	9341																					8586	9341	17927
Akhisar	11607	12493	289	2287	168	181					85	95									66	83	14249	14966	29215
Kırkağaç	8396	8316	1306	1296	390	380					34	40											10192	10135	20327
Alaşehir	12414	13324	1285	1275	7	11					12	15											13698	14625	23823
Soma	8872	8814	613	606																	188	899	9485	9420	18905
Total Saruhan Sanjak	149518	156312	16209	17602	1898	1952					1123	1234									188	899	168936	178019	346955
Aydın Sanjak																									
Aydın Central Kaza	30390	31815	2385	3058	124	132			80	58	941	954											34129	36017	70146
Nazilli	30141	29815	959	1069	149	152					100	95											31349	31131	62480
Bozdoğan	13808	13887	16	50	5	3					6	5											13835	13945	27780
Söke	6919	7195	4019	4156	25	34																	10963	11385	22348
Çine	12809	12443	159	131																			12968	12574	25542
Total Aydın Sanjak	94076	95155	7738	8464	303	321			80	58	1047	1054											103244	105052	208296
Denizli Sanjak																									
Denizli Central Kaza	16902	16512	856	902	250	251		1													8	15	18016	17681	35697
Tavas ,,	26430	26466	1	28																			26431	26494	52925
Çal ,,	21335	20823	18	139																			21353	20963	42316
Buldan ,,	12660	12855		4				1															12660	12859	25518
Saray ,,	8680	9235	271	343																			8951	9568	18519
Garibdurmağaç ,, (Acıpayam)																									
Total, see next Sanjak	18459	19058																					18459	19058	37517
Menteşe Sanjak																									
Muğla Kaza	21135	21277	545	607							2	1									53	50	21682	21885	43567
Milâs ,,	13522	13466	833	1012							168	188									3	3	14576	14716	29292
Bodrum ,,	5732	5819	1112	1133							45	37											6892	6992	13884
Marmaris ,,	6221	6114	304	330								18											6525	6462	12987
Köyceğiz ,,	10466	10585	135	113			2	34				15											10603	10745	21348
Meğri ,, (Fethiye)	10174	10696	1938	2110							10	16											12112	12822	24944
Total Denizli and Menteşe Sanjaks	171716	172896	6013	6721	250	251	2	34			225	275									64	68	178270	182245	358815
TOTAL AYDIN PROVINCE	547696	571647	92894	103664	6721	7419	138	290	452	443	10731	11442	77	76	464	586					28008	27736	687181	733243	1,410424

Administrative unit	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M	Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites F	Monophysites M	Non-Muslim gypsies F	Non-Muslim gypsies M	Foreign citizens F	Foreign citizens M	Total F	Total M	Grand total
EDIRNE PROVINCE																									
Edirne Sanjak																									
Edirne Central Sanjak	57162	60046	37449	40381	1917	1924	14708	16213	136	173	4370	4548	18	24		4							115760	123313	239073
Gelibolu Kaza	12239	13166	28250	30003	534	556	805	869	35	35	790	814									25	88	44633	46596	89220
Dedeağaç „	13295	15327	12093	11734	33	254	5835	6614			11	24											31212	33088	65300
Kırklılise „ (Kırklareli)	17111	19216	26208	27455	45	63	16320	17679	44	40	425	475	27	30							99	92	60279	63050	125320
Tekirdağı „ (Tekfurdağı)	21397	23335	18361	20532	5493	5601	1765	2010	274	287	780	876	92	88									48072	52629	100701
Gümülcine „	90364	91698	6492	7362	175	147	9828	9599			232	372									90	150	107181	109328	216509
TOTAL EDIRNE PROVINCE	211478	222888	128853	138367	8097	8545	49261	52984	489	535	6668	7109	137	142		4					214	330	405137	430994	836041
ERZURUM PROVINCE																									
Erzurum Sanjak																									
Erzurum Central Kaza	13473	13636	244	242	4577	5153			375	416			164	165					8	7	97	121	18941	19743	38684
Ova „	21862	23847	3	8	8765	9613			200	203													30830	33671	64501
Tercan „	8686	11179	51	72	2507	3755																	10624	15006	25630
Bayburt „	20030	24797	280	375	4557	5098																	24867	28270	53137
Ispir „	14563	15588		1	1100	1199			42	37												11	15703	16836	32541
Keskin „	9579	14369	17	20	343	369			1641	1859												10	11560	14627	26187
Tortum „	21448	25324			546	621			171	183			95	136									22165	26028	48193
Pasinler „	15665	16691			2863	3915			116	179			322	412									18748	23931	42681
Kiği „	11322	16373	9	12	4160	6312							152	208									15873	23172	39045
Hınıs „	6858	8636	60	75	3657	4758							733	921									10067	13602	24260
Total Erzurum Sanjak	142866	169340	664	805	33064	40793			2545	2877	3	3	733	921					8	7	97	142	179980	214888	394868
Bayezit Sanjak																									
Bayezit Central Kaza	3707	5146			945	968																	4742	6114	10856
Diyadin „	4870	5326			133	210																3	5002	5439	10441
Tutak „ (Antap)	3137	4496			105	108																	3242	4604	7846
Karakilise „ (Karaköse)	2294	3995			969	1211							21	31							13	37	3276	5153	8429
Eleşkirt „	6799	7730			1650	1957			565	743			21	31							13	40	9035	10460	19495
Total Bayezit Sanjak	20807	26902			3801	4454			565	743													25397	31770	57067
Erzincan Sanjak																									
Erzincan Central Kaza	19879	21644	91	115	6123	6561							39	49									26134	28560	54593
Refahiye „	10609	10631	557	544	376	393																	10944	11568	22510
Kemah „	6468	7393	281	299	1483	1671							80	66									8312	9459	17772
Kuruçay „ (İliç)	4874	5945	929	958	1231	1186							119	145									6195	6331	12336
Total Erzincan Sanjak	41230	44713	1593	1763	9215	9811																	51493	55627	107120
TOTAL ERZURUM PROVINCE	204993	240955			46080	55058			3110	3620	3	3	873	1097					8	7	110	182	256770	302285	559055

Administrative unit	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M	Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites F	Monophysites M	Non-Muslim gypsies F	Non-Muslim gypsies M	Foreign citizens F	Foreign citizens M	Total F	Total M	Grand total
ADANA PROVINCE																									
Adana Sanjak																									
Adana Central Kaza	26709	31340	712	893	4336	5376			306	342			394	332			39	76					32496	38239	70665
Tarsus	19223	20839	281	365	470	704			139	156			94	88									20207	22192	43199
Mersin	9707	10030	595	697	121	309			131	166													10464	11202	21666
Karaisalı	10090	11505			20	19																	10110	11534	21634
Total Adana Sanjak	65539	73714	1498	1955	4947	6308			576	704			398	420									72987	83177	156164
Kozan Sanjak																									
Sis Kaza (Kozan)	8670	9659			6645	7381			27	29			42	45									15393	17114	32507
Kadirli	6665	7444			351	369																	7016	7813	14839
Sayımbeyli " (Haçin)	6141	6885	544	600	4007	5397			73	72			331	351									11452	12605	24057
Feke	4497	5399			821	1015			100	101			59	84									5921	6998	12919
Total Kozan Sanjak	25982	29387	544	600	12724	14062							432	480									39782	44530	84312
İçel Sanjak																									
Silifke Kaza	12038	11770	378	523	45	68			5	13													12486	13374	24860
Mut	5979	5993	7	34																			5986	6017	12003
Ermenek "	12309	11723		3	21	35																	12330	11761	24091
Gulnar "	8128	8173	114	136	9	9				4													8251	8334	16575
Anamur "	10674	11883	145	185					5	17													10819	12068	22887
Total İçel Sanjak	49148	49544	644	871	75	112																	49872	59544	100416
Cebelibereket Sanjak (Osmaniye)																									
Bayrus Kaza	1432	1588			147	210																	1579	1798	3377
Hassa "	2925	4157	14	11	136	154																	3200	4075	7075
İslahiye "	3819	4556			118	175			69	81			58	72									3937	4711	8648
Bulanık " (Bahçe)	4451	4406			911	1122							140	144									5393	5762	11064
Osmaniye "	3624	4129	55	70	39	61																	3673	4190	7863
Payas "	6266	6941	69	81	1655	1843			69	81			198	216									7976	8854	16830
Total Cebelibereket Sanjak	22335	25847			3006	3565																	25667	30490	55957
TOTAL ADANA PROVINCE	162984	178392	2755	3597	20752	24047			750	903			1628	1116			39	76					188368	208041	396349
İSKODRA PROVINCE																									
İşkodra Sanjak																									
Akçahisar Kaza	6132	6264							923	873													7955	7137	14192
Draç Sanjak																									
Draç Central Kaza	1383	1634	712	802					114	87											19	29	2228	2552	4780
Tiran "	15749	15777	386	501					23	27											3	5	16161	16310	32471
Kuvaya "	8372	8523	1295	1456					379	371											3	3	9670	9982	19652
Siyak "	7532	7434	375	386					516	485													8286	7991	16277
Total Draç Sanjak	33036	33168	2768	3145					1439	1318											25	37	36345	36835	73180
TOTAL İSKODRA PROVINCE	39168	39432	2768	3145																	25	37	43400	43972	87382

Administrative unit	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M	Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites F	Monophysites M	Non-Muslim gypsies F	Non-Muslim gypsies M	Foreign citizens F	Foreign citizens M	Total F	Total M	Grand total
*** ANKARA PROVINCE**																									
Ankara Sanjak																									
Ankara Central Kaza	8686	8532	843	794	376	349			2846	2733	225	188	7	6									12983	12602	25595
Zir	7310	7014																					8237	8237	16774
(Sındıbuak)	10854	10933		2	1118	1006				9		2	109	127									10854	10955	21809
Ayaş	8337	7934			2	0																	8127	7934	16351
Beypazarı	7516	7354			403	424																	7919	7778	15607
Nalhhan																									18320
Mıhalıçcık (Eskışehr: Kuyucak)	9340	9180			1848	1803																	9340	9180	29983
Sivrihisar	14048	12284	11	12	2	3																	14896	14087	25356
Haymana	11945	13383																					11958	13308	22872
Balâ	11316	11556																					11316	11556	17754
Çubuk	9336	8518			227	253																	9336	8518	35338
Kalecik	17226	17350																					17433	17895	
Kızılcahamam (Yabanabat)	22643	22302																					22643	22302	44945
Total Ankara Sanjak	138445	136539	854	868	3976	3936			2846	2742	225	190	116	133				3					146462	144351	290813
Kayseri Sanjak																									
Kayseri Central Kaza	44140	43023	9196	9210	12178	12772			380	335			664	651									64558	65991	130540
Develi	10746	11032	886	935	5341	5605							120	118									16993	17690	34683
Incesu	6575	6841	2356	2312		23																	8931	9176	18107
Total Kayseri Sanjak	59461	60896	12438	12457	17419	18400			380	335			784	769									90482	93857	183339
Yozgat Sanjak																									
Yozgat Central Kaza	22239	22898	564	592	4134	4335							111	96									27048	27891	54936
Çorum	23830	24551	45	101	200	207							16	17									24091	24966	49057
Sungurlu	30156	33789	333	357	1367	1476							66	63									31922	35685	67607
Boğazlıyan	16091	17359	218	270	4076	4770							18	25									20403	22434	42837
Maden (Akdağmadeni)	13713	13971	2677	2391	767	935							211	201									17157	17287	34444
Total Yozgat Sanjak	106029	112548	3837	3711	10544	11793							211	201									120621	128253	248874
Kırşehir Sanjak																									
Kırşehir Central Kaza	25692	27007	15	23	318	390																	26025	28320	54345
Keskin	19465	20014	362	410	161	161							14	12									20002	20597	40599
Çiçekdağı (Mecidiye)	5955	5745																					5955	5745	10800
Avanos	8337	9613	433	433	241	151							14	12									8908	9764	18362
Total Kırşehir Sanjak	58569	63179	377	433	720	702							14	12									59686	64436	124186
TOTAL ANKARA PROVINCE	362504	373462	17506	17409	32659	34831			3226	3977	225	190	1125	1115				3					417245	439887	847132
*IZMIT SPECIAL DISTRICT																									
Izmit Central Kaza	9285	9963	1606	1880	7826	8011	5	8	63	70	78	84	333	382							51	54	19317	20453	39789
Adapazarı	18991	21337	1397	1310	5433	5370					3	3	152	162							27	40	25912	28012	53924
Kandıra	21011	19675	990	1008	626	633																	22627	21406	44033
Geyve	11528	10665	2223	2591	1818	1955							36	43								1	16603	15996	32601
Karamürsel	4960	5772	5136	5387	1607	1943																18	11793	13619	25412
TOTAL IZMIT SPECIAL DISTRICT	65775	67342	11352	13166	18309	18911	5	8	63	70	81	88	521	587							78	113	96184	99485	195669
BAĞDAT PROVINCE* (BAGHDAD)																									
Bağdat Central Kaza		103625								875		11943			49		371	2			11420			128648	139437
Hille		26916										510												27428	27428
Kerbela		18811										230									2850			40891	40691
TOTAL BAĞDAT PROVINCE	756	149252				349				875	33	12683		17		49		373				33370	789	196967	197756
BASRA PROVINCE*																									
Basra Central Kaza	5729	5729			32	32				75		276		126									6114	6114	6114
Ammare	3658	3658			3	3				33		145		0									3063	3063	3063
Kurna	767	767				35								135									776	776	776
TOTAL BASRA PROVINCE	756	10154			349	35				108		431		135									789	10853	10853

Administrative unit	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M	Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites F	Monophysites M	Non-Muslim gypsies F	Non-Muslim gypsies M	Foreign citizens F	Foreign citizens M	Total F	Total M	Grand total
BEYRUT PROVINCE*																									
Beyrut Sanjak																									
Beyrut Central Kaza	19969	11693	6473	6821	32	54			7037	7468	582	615	153	189	145	97							25391	26937	52328
Soyda " (Sidon)	16570	17215	66	82					2352	2714	277	297	64	82	21	16							19310	20456	39766
Sur "	11061	10646	142	160					1938	2072			50	57		1							13191	12946	26137
Mercum "	6607	6381	1826	1902					892	899			426	441									9751	9533	19274
Total Beyrut Sanjak	43307	45845	8507	8965	32	54			12219	13153	859	912	693	769	166	114							67683	69812	137495
Akkâ Sanjak (Acre)																									
Akkâ Central Kaza	9686	10328	1369	1545					1510	1703	62	61	60	70	104	112							12791	13819	26610
Hayfa "	6592	7343	220	232					616	749	212	291	5	10	59	65							7704	8690	16394
Safst "	6306	6576	97	121					481	633	94	99											6978	7449	14407
Nastra "	3463	3385	1406	1453					442	497			139	149	663	695							6113	6179	12292
Tabarya "	2505	2656	22	32					80	78	408	391			3	4							3018	3161	6179
Total Akkâ Sanjak	28532	30288	3114	3383					3129	3660	776	842	204	229	829	876							36604	39278	75882
Lazikiye Sanjak																									
Lazikiye Central Kaza	17634	19754	870	982					266	270													18770	21006	39776
Cebele "	10351	8297																					10351	8297	18648
Merkap "	14851	13761	1179	1215					463	572													16493	15548	32041
Sakyun "	12006	13864	487	645					2	2													12495	14511	27006
Total Lazikiye Sanjak	54842	55676	2536	2842					731	844													58109	59362	117471
Trablusşam Sanjak																									
Trablus Central Kaza	15749	16781	3520	4237					1467	2058	31	32	15	23	5	8							20787	23139	43926
Akâr "	6198	6340	3309	4610					2031	2854				3									11538	13807	25345
Safita "	13593	13783	884	1179					78	124													14555	15086	29641
Hurnülekrat "	7686	7978	3356	3517					152	251			26	26	5	8							11194	11746	22940
Total Trablusşam Sanjak	43326	44882	11069	13543					3728	5287	31	32	15	26	5	8							58074	63778	121852
Belka Sanjak																									
Nablus Kaza	13804	16682	285	367					13	22	41	42	112	134	98	130							14353	17677	32030
Benisaap "	14963	16308	6	6																			14969	16314	31283
Cernan "	9837	11443										3											9837	11446	21283
Cernin "	13600	16570	155	158								3	13	14	79	77							13856	16862	30918
Total Belka Sanjak	52213	61303	446	571					13	22	41	48	125	148	177	207							53015	62299	115514
TOTAL BEYRUT PROVINCE	224040	237994	25672	29304	32	54			19820	23966	1797	1834	1037	1172	1177	1205							273488	294530	568014
BİTLİS PROVINCE*																									
Bitlis Central Sanjak	18817	26650			12051	18394			10	16	766	729	239	322			96	165					31213	44547	75760
Siirt "	22181	26914			5457	6514			1058	1388	114	126	202	333			755	965					29653	36014	65667*
Muş "	19789	21358			25698	28078			1103	1373		3	195	307					70	89			46855	53795	99560*
Genç "	12536	18300			3375	2791						17											14911	31100	36011
TOTAL BİTLİS PROVINCE	73323	93731			45581	55777			2171	2777	880	875	636	862			851	1130	70	89			122634	154366	276998
***BİGA SPECIAL DISTRICT**																									
Çanakkale Kaza	4993	4225	2533	2407	432	533							19	27							125	167	7097	8687	16054
Ezine "	13826	14693	2094	2334	195	274															8	22	16249	17445	33054
Ayvacık "	7668	8634	612	1059																			8288	9718	18006
Biga "	16735	19807	1447	1713	144	136																	18326	21656	39982
Lâpseki "	4707	5980	335	570	8	20	180	222															5330	5999	11139
TOTAL BİGA SPECIAL DISTRICT	47929	53439	7020	8081	779	962	180	222					19	27							133	189	56040	62795	118835

Administrative Unit	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M	Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites F	Monophysites M	Non-Muslim gypsies F	Non-Muslim gypsies M	Foreign citizens F	Foreign citizens M	Total F	Total M	Grand total
CEZAYIR-I BAHR-I SEFIT PROVINCE (AEGEAN ISLANDS)																									
Rodos Sanjak (Rhodes)																									
Rodos Kaza	3024	3443	9537	11174	2		1				1316	1374									344	394	14224	16385	30609
Sombeki "	15	21	2601	3185																			2706	3206	5912
Meyis "	110	115	2083	2552							3	3									2	3	2198	2673	4871
Kirpe "		22	3125	3209																	25	35	3350	3344	6494
Kasut "			803	805																	778	781	1581	1608	3189
Total Rodos Sanjak	3149	3601	18139	20925	2		1				1319	1377									1149	1213	23959	27116	51075
Sakız Sanjak																									
Sakız Central Kaza	793	916	16527	18579	9	5					80	99			14	18					1507	1486	18920	21103	40032
Istanköy "	1202	1237	5116	5343							32	35									91	79	6530	6615	13065
Kalimnos "	18	46	4666	4816																	54	59	4775	4941	9716
Leros "	6	12	3674	2940							2	4											3734	3020	6714
Kalyot "	4	17	3998	4197							2	2											4004	4218	8222
Ipsara "	5	4	501	418							116	140											508	424	933
Total Sakız Sanjak	2027	2233	34482	36302	9	5									14	18					1652	1624	38300	40321	78621
Midilli Sanjak																									
Midilli Central Kaza	2261	2533	17864	17231	8	24															40	165	20173	19053	40126
Mulve "	3022	4570	13120	13737	12	12																	16334	18319	34673
Pilmar "	301	358	9218	9506																	62	103	9519	9864	19383
Yunda "	39	50	2059	2358	20	36															102	268	2160	2511	4671
Total Midilli Sanjak	5623	7511	44461	42832	20	36																	48206	50647	98853
Limni Sanjak																									
Limni Central Kaza	944	1048	9539	10101																	47	71	10530	11220	21750
Imroz "	46	53	4603	4754	3	3															41	62	4649	4807	9456
Bozcaada "	629	618	1163	1316	3	3															88	133	1856	1999	3835
Total Limni Sanjak	1619	1719	15305	16171																			17015	18026	35941
TOTAL CEZAYIR-I BAHR-I SEFIT PROVINCE	12418	15063	110587	116230	34	44	1				1435	1517			14	18					2991	3238	127480	136110	263590
CATALCA SPECIAL DISTRICT																									
Catalca Central Kaza	3903	3510	4997	5438	436	439	604	756											1	4			8605	9708	18313
Silivri "	1690	2131	4536	4915	11	13	1368	1436											219	208			8683	9650	18333
Büyükçekmece "	2071	2596	7322	8540			657	765															10261	11915	22176
TOTAL CATALCA SPECIAL DISTRICT	6854	8237	16955	18893	447	452	2629	2957											220	212			27549	31473	58822
HALEP PROVINCE (ALEPPO)																									
Halep Central Sanjak	228413	216148	3562	3988	10100	11595			7722	7758	4697	4659	3371	2541	84	109	1255	1361					258204	258609	516273
Maraş "	54267	61413			9508	11511			1903	2085	107	91	1701	1781			489	629					67675	76990	144665
Urfa "	56827	57531	2		4146	5637			244	224	177	182	321	367	189	109							62204	64372	126776
TOTAL HALEP PROVINCE	339507	345092	3562	3990	23754	28653			9869	10067	4981	4932	4393	4689	273	218	1744	1990					388083	399631	787714

Administrative unit	Muslims		Greeks		Armenians		Bulgarians		Catholics		Jews		Protestants		Latins		Monophysites		Non-Muslim gypsies		Foreign citizens		Total		Grand total
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
HÜDAVENDIGAR PROVINCE (BURSA)																									
Bursa Sancak																									
Bursa Kaza	44641	45022	10702	10984	3332	2594			357	293	1281	1303	145	151	5	7					533	718	60896	66694	121590
Mudanya „	3348	2543	5631	6161																			7979	8704	16683
Gemlik „	7493	7037	3120	3455	7810	8813					38	49	37	34							97	116	18467	20355	38822
Orhaneli „ (Adranos)	10290	10939																					19290	19139	38429
Mihaliç „ (Kırmastı)	9431	10681	3436	3830	377	377							25	23							2	4	13399	14964	28265
Kırmastı „ (M. Kemalpaşa)	19128	21000	514	540	404	409																	20046	21949	41995
Total Burša Sancak	104231	106322	23403	24570	11823	13193			357	293	1319	1352	207	208	5	7					632	838	139977	145805	285782
Ertuğrul Sancak																									
Bilecik Kaza	44211	22932	3942	3602	3313	3124			378	372			78	77									31822	30107	61929
Söğüt „	19167	19308	767	775	1779	2183			15	26													21728	22292	44020
İnegöl „	10451	18892			2688	2816			47	47			89	85									22275	21840	44115
Yenişehir „	13930	14304	878	862	760	833							4	5							4	4	15592	16008	31600
Total Ertuğrul Sancak	79779	75436	5387	5439	8440	8956			440	445			171	167							4	4	91417	90347	181664
Kütahya Sancak																									
Kütahya Central Kaza	58853	56532	2245	2157	1443	1365			432	341											14	8	62073	60395	133368
Uşak „	37070	34335		707	340	320																	38149	35570	73719
Gediz „	16931	15966	15	60																			16931	15966	32898
Simav „	16606	15930	308	512	2	7			2	2													16235	15999	32634
Eskişehir „	27470	28608	3393	3436	568	604			81	108	12	40									5	76	28444	29951	58305
Total Kütahya Sancak	156931	151571			2353	2296			515	451	12	40									19	84	162131	157881	331004
Afyonkarahisari Sancak (Karahısarı Sahip)																									
Afyon Central Kaza	38405	38274			2615	2699																	41020	40973	81993
Emirdağ „ (Azizıye)	11542	12032	3	6	23	35		1															11568	12064	23632
Bolvadin „	15779	16212																					15779	16212	31991
Sandıklı „	36592	36713	25	60	36	42																	36653	36824	73477
Total Afyonkarahisari Sancak	102318	103221	28	75	2674	2776		1															105020	106073	211093
Karesi Sancak																									
Balıkesir Kaza	53972	56353	958	1002	956	844	265	988	443	406	154	146									14	22	56165	59209	115374
Sındırgı „	11650	11604	400	437	8	10																	12050	12041	24091
Erdek „	1485	11585	14462	14703	2282	2175															194	260	16393	16704	26704
Bandırma „	14519	15473	2762	2735																	59	68	20065	20847	40912
Gönen „	11997	11026	855	837	5	6		5			3	6											12860	12782	23644
Edremit „	12851	14148	3591	2937	4	8					1	4									95	99	15542	17194	32736
Burhaniye „ (Kemer)	8183	8962	1035	1398	1	8															4		9223	10372	19595
Ayvalık „	40	50	9798	10335																	703	751	10541	11136	21677
Bigadiç „	11778	11378	52	99																			11830	11477	23307
Total Karesi Sancak	126475	131479	33913	34473	3336	3051	265	993	443	406	158	156	378	375							1069	1304	164579	171762	316341
TOTAL HÜDAVENDIGAR PROVINCE	564734	568029	65324	67793	28546	29272	265	1019	1755	1595	1489	1548	378	375	5	7					1720	2130	664116	671768	1335884

Administrative unit	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M	Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites F	Monophysites M	Non-Muslim gypsies F	Non-Muslim gypsies M	Foreign citizens F	Foreign citizens M	Total F	Total M	Grand total
*DIYARBEKIR PROVINCE																									
Diyarbekir Sanjak																									
Diyarbekir Central Kaza	22280	20388	80	112	5772	6311			1194	1366	132	153	473	510			1969	2077	25	28			31935	30945	62870
Siverek	13514	14957			726	675			50	21	70	39	112	101			261	187					14733	15980	30713
Lice	8785	10284			2171	2476							143	148			348	444					11447	13332	24799
Derik	4534	5362	78	84	148	175			74	88			66	78			48	51					4863	5654	10517
Silvan	5186	6186	158	196	3049	3511			69	83			24	21			239	285					8645	10173	18818
Total Diyarbekir Sanjak	54289	57086	158	196	11866	13148			1387	1558	202	192	821	858			2865	3044	25	28			71613	76104	147717
Mardin Sanjak																									
Mardin Central Kaza	11266	11292							1994	2233			218	214			1646	1913					15124	15652	30776
Midyat	9742	11784			24	29			93	118			146	200			1614	2043					11619	14174	25793
Cizre	3168	3867							790	791	85	64	24	36			103	94					4170	3850	8022
Avyne	10112	11788							51	70	154	107	63	79			260	318					10486	12355	22741
Nusaybin	2849	2289			24	29					239	171					1279	1210					4282	3566	7888
Total Mardin Sanjak	37137	40020			24	29			2928	3212	569	482	451	529			4902	5578					45681	49530	95220
Maden Sanjak (Ergani)																									
Maden Central Kaza	18976	20053	372	440	1739	2350		7	165	134			27	23					39	33			21308	22938	44246
Çermik	11050	13363			2330	2614			200	211	128	119	477	430					18	20			14185	16737	30922
Palu	17035	20588	372	440	6104	6729		7			128	119	164	201					57	53			23331	27538	50859
Total Maden Sanjak	47061	54004	372	440	10163	11593		7	365	343			668	654									58814	67213	126027
TOTAL DIYARBEKIR PROVINCE	138487	151104	530	636	22053	24770		7	4680	5113	569	482	1940	2041			7767	8622	82	81			176108	192856	368964
Zor Sanjak																									
Deyr Kaza	7801	7464			28	55			125	175		2	1	1									7955	7697	15652
Aşare	5334	5170																					5334	5170	10504
Resülhayn	4152	3942																					4152	3942	8094
Total Zor Sanjak	17287	16576			28	55			125	175		2	1	1									17441	16809	34250
SÜRIYE PROVINCE (SYRIA)																									
Şam Sanjak (Damascus)																									
Şam Central Kaza	53935	44686	1991	2260	96	103			2249	2535	3688	3177	32	29	43	47		6					61434	52843	114277
Duma	21185	20927	93	107					75	115													21353	21149	42502
Hasbiya	2665	3078	1406	1573					422	468	5	7	152	162									4650	5288	9938
Raşya	1535	1993	760	883					269	331			9	13									2582	3210	5792
Vadilâcem	17210	17977	784	1033					153	187													18047	18207	36254
Baalbek	6241	6765	480	733					1693	2353													8423	9751	18174
Beka	5900	6633	1664	1347					2298	2044			5	2									9366	10926	20292
Nebak	13828	15763	768	960					1480	1957			21	29									18698	18717	36815
Total Şam Sanjak	124498	116921	7304	8905	96	103			8659	10786	3093	3184	220	235	43	47		6					143953	140181	284134
Hama Sanjak																									
Hama Central Kaza	22362	26873	2692	3431					205	246			13	11	2	2							25274	24365	49639
Selimiye	158	172																					158	172	330
Humus	21337	20154	2672	3787					3302	2926			102	121									26413	26988	53401
Hamidiye	6541	5913	386	368					22	20			115	133									6943	6301	13244
Total Hama Sanjak	50398	47114	5744	7586					3529	3192			335	367	2	2							58988	57826	116614
TOTAL SÜRIYE PROVINCE	174896	164035	13108	16291	96	103			11168	13972	3093	3184	335	367	45	49		6					202741	208007	400748

Administrative unit	Muslims		Greeks		Armenians		Bulgarians		Catholics		Jews		Protestants		Latins		Monophysites		Non-Muslim gypsies		Foreign citizens		Total		Grand total
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
ŞELÂNIK PROVINCE (SALONICA)																									
Selânik Sanjak																									
Selânik Central Kaza	14303	15186	17815	19170	61	88	279	838	230	241	17169	17354									376	434	50233	53311	103544
Avrethisarı "	11427	12193	1252	1421			6958	7626	22	30	79	88											19659	21270	40920
Toyran "	9627	9796	64	327		1	2708	2807	179	197	281	292									2	5	13359	13811	27170
Usturumca "	7855	7905	6619	7107			1423	1542															16178	16846	33024
Kılprülü "	8778	9315	203	217			15608	17235															24580	26767	51356
Yenice "	10825	11748	8363	9792			668	700		6	29	73										1	19889	22320	42209
Vodine "	7227	7735	6669	7539			1861	2082	4														15757	17356	33113
Tikveş "	9671	10238	68	192			10033	11286			7	20											19770	21741	41520
Kesendire "	1856	2482	14361	16006	4	3															64	5	16288	18531	34836
Lankaza "	14428	15106	9271	10267			808	843			4	3									37	60	24448	26459	50707
Gevgili "	8300	8754	6745	7813			2756	3028	694	708													18504	20300	38807
Freferye "	3389	3936	7312	7871			960	1214			183	210									11	28	11775	13259	25934
Aynaroz "		57		4195				2251														137		6640	6640
Karrın "	1220	1972	9751	10914			4	199			7	25											10982	13110	24092
Total Selânik Sanjak	108815	116423	89113	103331	65	92	44066	51741	1129	1182	17759	18665									490	710	261437	291544	552981
Serez Sanjak																									
Serez Central Kaza	14035	16275	14951	16107		5	9318	10156			514	481									393	344	40041	43458	83499
Cumaibalâ "	3015	3109	7	109			7998	8105			13	18											11033	11341	22374
Zıhna "	3327	3901	10405	11368			1864	2587			15	12									27	39	15638	17937	33575
Navrekop "	27267	29218	562	591			14341	15722			20	33											42190	45584	87754
Demirhisarı "	7638	8648	6484	6985			4874	5817															18996	20850	39846
Petriç "	4713	4910	32	39			7915	8702				6									3	3	12663	13660	26323
Menlik "	3691	4018	1368	1331			5127	5817													1	5	10187	11171	21358
Razlık "	4973	4822					7334	7740					143	140									12450	12702	25152
Total Serez Sanjak	69559	74301	33809	36650		5	58791	64646			562	550	143	140							344	391	163198	176683	339881
Drama Sanjak																									
Drama Central Kaza	24420	25051	5659	6632	10	4	1607	1651			30	28									6	18	31422	33384	64806
Kavala "	6239	6936	650	1100		25					112	100									32	37	7043	8108	15241
Sarışaban "	8183	8277	58	235	10	29		182													38	55	8241	8694	16935
Total Drama Sanjak	38842	40264	6367	7967			1607	1833			142	128											46706	50276	96982
TOTAL SELÂNIK PROVINCE	216916	230988	129289	147948	75	126	104464	118220	1129	1182	18463	18743	143	140							862	1156	471341	518503	989844

Administrative unit	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M	Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites F	Monophysites M	Non-Muslim gypsies F	Non-Muslim gypsies M	Foreign citizens F	Foreign citizens M	Total F	Total M	Grand total
SIVAS PROVINCE																									
Sivas Sanjak																									
Sivas Central Kaza	31034	33762	200	252	9990	10456			808	874			44	55									43066	45399	88465
Hafik	16448	16061			5526	5360																	21974	21430	43404
Sarkisla (Tenus)	14666	16533			5660	6388																	20335	22541	42876
Yildizeli	15527	17070	11	14	421	468																	16059	17552	33611
Zara (Koçgiri)	16711	18849	1207	1350	1940	2149																	19985	22378	42363
Divriği	12158	13020			3853	4133							37	30									16011	17153	33164
Darende	7923	8678			1113	1165							27	26									9063	9867	18930
Gürün	5971	5980		3	3006	3152			178	169			240	256									9095	9560	18655
Emirdağ (Aziziye)	27389	34135	394	313	1493	1548							20	27									29206	33341	63547
Total Sivas Sanjak	148537	161126	1921	1932	33011	34726			986	1043			368	394							5	20	184794	199221	384015
Amasya Sanjak																									
Amasya Central Kaza	18335	18835	678	736	3030	3134			10	13			64	66							5	20	22122	22804	44926
Vezirköprü (Köprü)	13384	16142	928	932	487	597							119	95									14818	17076	32404
Merzifon	9171	9613	74	89	2358	2780			140	139			258	301									12171	13034	25193
Gümüşhacıköy	9938	10309	1045	1104	1286	1314							70	80									12339	12807	25146
Mecitözü		15347	80		63	69							51	54									16686	15742	31028
Osmancık	8594	8697			26	10																	8620	9010	17639
Ladik	5477	5879	1000	994	85	94																	6562	9067	13529
Havza	6723	6907	1863	1766	39	55																	8643	8728	17355
Total Amasya Sanjak	87514	92232	5668	5696	7544	7981			150	152			562	596							5	20	101443	106677	208120
Karahisar-ı Şarki Sanjak (Şebinkarahisar)																									
Karahisar-ı Şarki Central Kaza	9500	9921	3814	4608	3491	3627																	16805	18346	35051
Meaudiye (Melet; Hamidiye)	13224	14908	1470	1658	86	132																	13789	16783	30577
Suşehri	8686	9443	578	801	4440	5271																	13104	15495	28599
Koyulhisar	7791	8576	279	314	24	25																	8604	8915	17000
Alucra	10765	11391	202	206																			10967	11597	22564
Total Karahisar-ı Şarki Sanjak	48366	54390	6353	7677	8041	9955					104	105									5	20	62759	71041	133800
Tokat Sanjak																									
Tokat Central Kaza	30818	34536	1079	1688	4477	4921			370	351			16	21					129	141			36813	41173	77986
Zile	23011	25447	26	26	964	1054	15												46	65			24001	26534	50535
Erbaa	17339	18346	1843	1855	790	851	3																20008	21117	41125
Niksar	7571	8863	946	1681	626	1002													175	206			9343	10946	20289
Total Tokat Sanjak	78729	87182	3894	4047	6857	7828			370	351			16	21					175	206	29	20	90165	99760	189925
Foreigners within the province																					25	40	4365	6446	10811
TOTAL SIVAS PROVINCE	366901	399857	18009	19804	56018	60327	21		1506	1546	104	105	963	1031	9	18			200	233	25	40	443526	483145	926671
SUBURBS ADMINISTERED BY ISTANBUL MUNICIPALITY																									
Küçükçekmece Kaza	1833	3507	4760	6176	595	891			25	36					12	19					51	135	7196	10770	17973
Çebae	7633	8186	1947	2178	2	6	15		1	2													9582	10376	19958
Kartal	2073	3022	3093	3827	491	468	3		49	91		1									32	49	5600	7369	13009
Beykoz	1663	1955	604	739																		6	2318	2775	5093
Şile	4904	5350	3166	3281		3			66	67	30	35	5	2	9	18					736	668	8130	8640	16770
Adalar (Islands)	78	186	2493	3066	196	337					30	36											3615	4322	7937
TOTAL ISTANBUL SUBURBS	18846	22209	18009	19804	1104	1795	21		141	196			5	2	21	37					820	858	36441	44261	80702

Administrative unit	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M	Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites F	Monophysites M	Non-Muslim gypsies F	Non-Muslim gypsies M	Foreign citizens F	Foreign citizens M	Total F	Total M	Grand total
TRABZON PROVINCE																									
Trabzon Sanjak																									
Trabzon Central Kaza	37091	42038	13027	14561	4440	5106			588	621			41	51									55187	62377	117564
Ordu	39596	40173	4702	5696	3586	3966							146	142									48030	49979	98009
Giresun	27877	28907	5118	6351	610	629																	33605	35787	69392
Tirebolu	16612	17607	2659	3213	233	281																	19513	21101	40614
Görele	14484	14880	331	377	99	82																	15014	15348	30362
Vakfikebir	9080	9305			29	27																	9109	9333	18441
Akçaabat	10062	10744	1838	1997	1367	1591																	22367	23330	45597
Sürmene	15503	20926	2339	2624	71	107																	17413	23657	41070
Of	30163	20697	351	446																			30514	30143	60657
Total Trabzon Sanjak	209978	223286	30365	35165	10434	11789			588	621			187	193									250653	271054	521706
Canik Sanjak (Samsun)																									
Canik Central Kaza	15502	17917	15397	17628	454	709			41	23			25	23									31319	36305	67624
Çarşamba	22584	24913	1497	1617	4670	5195						5	193	224									29044	31859	60903
Ünye	21348	21966	1781	1914	1662	1973																	24791	25847	50638
Fatsa	13739	14156	756	946	354	448																	14861	15557	30358
Terme	9685	9953	205	223	763	878																	10653	11054	21707
Bafra	19200	19736	11668	11766	466	546																	30734	32048	62782
Total Canik Sanjak	101558	108635	39554	34094	8360	9659			41	23		5	218	247							2	7	140743	152670	293412
Lâzistan Sanjak																									
Rize Kaza	31595	41154	308	333	20	22																	31993	41487	73390
Pazar(atina)	17246	16192		52	2	5																	17256	16214	33480
Hopa	15046	14305		385	22	27																	15048	14362	29410
Total Lâzistan Sanjak	63887	71651	308	385																			64217	72063	136280
Gümüşhane Sanjak																									
Gümüşhane Central Kaza	10200	11756	2666	2703	514	638																	13880	15187	28567
Torul	9001	10457	8000	8679	58	55																	17001	19136	36137
Kelkit	11059	12191	163	141	100	121																	11280	12387	23667
Şiran	7115	7406	834	892	672	814																	8049	8419	16468
Total Gümüşhane Sanjak	37375	41810	11663	12505																			49710	55129	104839
TOTAL TRABZON PROVINCE	411898	445382	78890	82149	19497	22289			629	644		5	405	440							2	7	595131	550916	1056237

Administrative unit	Muslims		Greeks		Armenians		Bulgarians		Catholics		Jews		Protestants		Latins		Monophysites		Non-Muslim gypsies		Foreign citizens		Total		Grand total
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
*KASTAMONU PROVINCE																									
Kastamonu Sanjak																									
Kastamonu Central Kaza	28107	26288	813	782	261	300																	29181	27370	56551
Inebolu "	20698	20004	730	738	9	8																	30446	29770	60196
Safranbolu "	24070	23127	1658	1668																			25728	26795	52523
Tosya "	16288	16731	256	225																			16544	16986	33530
Taşköprü "	19864	20075	300	296																			19864	20371	40235
Daday "	20734	19714	6	4	86	96																	20826	19814	40640
Araç "	15898	17253																					15898	17253	33131
Cide "	19431	19538																					19437	19538	38975
Total Kastamonu Sanjak	173756	173730	3772	3763	356	404																	177884	177897	355781
Bolu Sanjak																									
Bolu Central Kaza	21633	21034	200		397	428																	22029	21492	43521
Bartın "	24484	23535		17	95	100				13													24579	23815	48394
Ereğli " (K. Deniz) "	15926	17981		180																			16286	18353	34642
Gerede "	20174	19130	363	372		7				23													20201	19457	39458
Göynük "	8377	7762	27	97																			8379	7771	16150
Düzce "	14497	16015	2	9	13	52		2															14532	16128	30660
Mudurnu " (Mud)	13341	13148	22	58	162	192																	13341	13148	26489
Hamidiye "	21380	28231			667	779																	21551	28423	49974
Total Bolu Sanjak	139620	148836	614	733				2		36													140901	150397	291288
Sinop Sanjak																									
Sinop Central Kaza	19510	20735	2048	2015	123	150													30	36			21720	22936	44656
Boyabat "	20132	23540	22	62															864	935			21018	23546	44564
Ayancık "	13960	14629	575	638																			14535	15207	29802
Total Sinop Sanjak	53611	57913	2645	2715	123	150													894	971			57273	61749	119022
Çankırı Sanjak																									
Çankırı Central Kaza	41190	42017	368	390	155	143																	41713	43450	85163
Çerkeş "	26957	27530																					26957	27539	54486
İskilip "	20724	23517																					20724	23517	43341
Total Çankırı Sanjak	88871	93063	368	390	155	143																	89394	93496	182890
TOTAL KASTAMONU PROVINCE	455858	473442	7399	7661	1301	1476		2		36									894	971		1	465452	483539	948981

Administrative unit	Muslims		Greeks		Armenians		Bulgarians		Catholics		Jews		Protestants		Latins		Monophysites		Non-Muslim gypsies		Foreign citizens		Total		Grand total
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
KOSOVA PROVINCE¹																									
Üsküp Sanjak (Skopje)																									
Üsküp Central Kaza	19469	20787	3219	3436			10829	11668			308	416				38							33825	39345	70170
İştip	11437	12729	11	24			8131	9444			260	250											19828	22423	42251
Karatova	2193	2130					9366	10249															11573	12412	23985
Radvişte	4698	5821					3541	3823															8282	9668	17980
Komanova	5935	6333	12	75			13591	15887					43	54	1	7							19539	22302	41841
Planka	1013	1065	171	217			8904	9292															10088	10574	20662
Kaçana	10684	11355	34	49			15897	17223															26615	28827	55444
Total Üsküp Sanjak	55429	60429	3447	3801			70262	77586			568	666	43	54	1	45							129750	143581	273331
Pristine Sanjak																									
Pristine Central Kaza	24634	27980					7271	7997			152	153			764	869							32821	36999	69820
Vilçıtrın	6759	14193					811	2116															7570	16309	23879
Metroviçe	1033	3401					512	3398															1545	6799	8344
Gilan	14288	18450					9645	9660							716	900							24649	29010	53659
Prepuva	7770	8168					12179	13868															19949	22036	41985
Total Pristine Sanjak	54484	72192					30418	37039			152	153			1480	1769							86534	111153	197687
Yenipazar Sanjak																									
Sence Kaza	5485	7548					3697	4063			5	7											9187	11618	20805
Yenipazar	9145	9958					7386	7796			78	72											16609	17826	34435
Akova	6168	7272					2217	2416			2	3											8385	9688	18073
Yenıvaroş	680	658					3449	3594															4131	4355	8386
Aşağıkolaşin		2472						554			85	82												3026	3026
Total Yenipazar Sanjak	21478	27968					16749	18423			85	82											38312	46413	84725
Tuzlıca Sanjak																									
Tuzlıca Central Kaza	6155	7780	2592	4545																			8747	12334	21081
Prepol	3997	3514	4850	5168																			7497	8683	16629
Total Tuzlıca Sanjak	9352	11393	7442	9713																			16694	21016	37710
Ipek Sanjak																									
Ipek Central Kaza		8114						4348								374								12836	1836
Yakova		9721						561								949								10931	10931
Tergoviște		4666						781																5387	5387
Berane		620						1640								10								2260	2260
Gosine		2459						356																2823	2823
Total Ipek Sanjak		25320						7386								1333								34059	34059
Prizrın Sanjak																									
Prizrın Central Kaza		35492						7100								960								43554	43554
Lume		7011																						7011	7011
Kalkandelen		29212	4990	4990			9830	16930								960								44032	44032
Total Prizrın Sanjak		71715																						94595	94595
TOTAL KOSOVA PROVINCE	140643	268670	10889	18504			117429	157364			805	901	43	54	1481	4107							271290	449797	721087

Administrative unit	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Catholics F	Catholics M	Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites F	Monophysites M	Non-Muslim gypsies F	Non-Muslim gypsies M	Foreign citizens F	Foreign citizens M	Total F	Total M	Grand total
KONYA PROVINCE																									
Konya Sanjak																									
Konya Central Kaza	46348	46468	2150	1866			760	866	9	28			22	19									49267	49168	98435
Akşehir	21138	22197	873	839			1582	1553															23034	24517	48151
Ilgin	10043	11128	12	43																			10955	11171	22126
Seydişehir	8596	9304	46	47																			8642	9351	17993
Bozkir	18100	19100	44	50																			18413	19150	37563
Hadim	5637	6626																					5637	6626	11663
Beyşehri	17702	17621	96	57																			17798	17978	35476
Karaman	18323	18504	60	64			287	316															18570	18884	37454
Ereğli (Lârende)	11682	13248	87	80			221	220	6	2													11960	13050	24040
Karapinar	8214	8624																					8214	8624	16838
Koçhisar	8770	11857		9				3															8770	11869	20639
Total Konya Sanjak	175543	184487	3367	3055			2850	2897	15	30			22	19									181896	188488	370384
Hamitabat Sanjak (Isparta)																									
Isparta Kaza	21898	21683	2265	2259			300	319															24443	24361	48704
Uluborlu	7636	6597	429	392																			8065	6989	15054
Yalvaç	12919	12720																					12919	12720	25639
Karaağaç	10203	9974																					10203	9974	20177
Eğridir	9803	9884	678	657																			10481	10541	21022
Total Hamitabat Sanjak	62439	60858	3372	3308			300	319															66111	64485	130596
Teke Sanjak (Antalya)																									
Antalya Kaza	37494	35468	2072	1987			26	23			104	112											39696	37590	77286
Alanya (Alaye)	17690	19261	439	515																			18138	19776	37914
Akseki	13323	13710	104	7			118	128															13545	13845	27390
Elmali	11972	11974	2	105																			11974	12079	24053
Kaş	8718	8766		5																			8718	8771	17489
Total Teke Sanjak	89206	89179	2617	2619			144	151			104	112											92071	92061	184133
Burdur Sanjak																									
Burdur Central Kaza	18766	18447	874	880			409	401															20049	19728	39717
Tefenni	8363	9424																					8363	9424	17787
Total Burdur Sanjak	27129	27871	874	880			409	401															28412	29152	57564
Niğde Sanjak																									
Niğde Kaza	17140	19710	7305	8360			370	473	19	17													24843	28593	53436
Nevşehir	14093	16306	4353	4565			192	285															18666	21156	39822
Ürgüp	9956	9924	1636	1498			9	7					9	12									11601	11449	23030
Aksaray	17279	20128	1118	1319			200	278					25	30									18622	21755	40377
Gülşehri (Arapsun)	5380	5649	2019	1916			10	10															7409	7575	14984
Bor	9665	9351	459	530			247	261					10	12									10391	10144	20535
Ulukışla (Hamidiye)	3551	4300	631	700																			4182	5000	9182
Total Niğde Sanjak	77073	85348	17591	18868			1028	1314	19	17			44	54									95755	105611	201366
TOTAL KONYA PROVINCE	431489	445743	27821	28740			4731	5082	34	47	104	112	66	73									464345	479797	944042
KUDÜS SPECIAL DISTRICT																									
Kudüs Central Kaza	26117	28047	5750	6272			343	504	18	33	3535	3370	38	296	2978	3174			35	49	475	631	39114	41945	81059
Yafa	21281	21894	1846	2071			40	52	172	199	167	227	46	63	312	393					143	148	24319	27530	51849
Gazze	27951	21556	379	389							291	320	6	5	14	19							28650	31979	60339
Halilürrahman	18852	21795	1	14									200		3	56					618	779	19390	22143	41533
TOTAL KUDÜS SPECIAL DISTRICT	94401	103312	7956	8746			383	556	190	232	3993	4117	290	364	3307	3642			35	49			111073	123697	234770
ELÂZIZ PROVINCE (Elazığ)																									
Elâzız Central Kaza	64244	79517	163	184			23940	27156	373	391			1826	2381	185	196							90726	100835	191561[a]
Malatya	55361	68977	4	5			4447	4605	491	660			248	298	98	70							60629	74615	135344
Hozat	10489	11688	90	92			4843	5792					120	98									15544	17072	33216
Maziği (Dersim)	7979	10933					976	1437				2											8955	12370	21335
TOTAL ELÂZIZ PROVINCE	138073	162115	262	281			34188	38990	864	1051		2	2194	2777	283	266							175864	205482	381346

Administrative unit	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M	Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites F	Monophysites M	Non-Muslim gypsies F	Non-Muslim gypsies M	Foreign citizens F	Foreign citizens M	Total F	Total M	Grand total
MUSUL PROVINCE¹																									
Musul Central Kaza		27881		1						2809		692												31502	31502
Dehūk		4834								1743		496												7072	7072
Akra		6183								170		283												6636	6636
Zaku		1655								228		543												2426	2426
Zibar		2610								76		57												2743	2743
Sincar		3443												74										3443	3443
Kerkūk		22008				45				345		441												22694	22694
Salahiye		9559		2								157												9716	9716
Erbil		10677								340		620												11637	11637
Ranye		5389										45												5434	5434
Köysancak		8880										134												9019	9019
Ravandiz		11147								205		359												11506	11506
Süleymaniye		14556								54		218												14828	14828
Güllanber		6313										59												6372	6372
Merge		6320										35												6355	6355
Şehirpazar		5330																						5330	5330
Bazyan		4408								2		121		58										4436	4436
Umadiye		13601								1213				102										14963	14963
TOTAL MUSUL PROVINCE		164593		3		45				7082		4286												176111	176111
MANASTIR PROVINCE²																									
Manastir Sanjak																									
Manastir Central Kaza	15535	14982	19503	21574	12	14	29816	31678			2095	2179	16	18							15	16	66692	70461	137453
Pirlipe	6960	7301	598	650			20236	23527													8	8	28841	27486	56327
Ohri	7754	8606	1595	1544			16266	17040															25495	27190	52685
Filorina	6409	6454	12950	14212			1544	1810					3										20903	22476	43379
Kırçova	6570	6703	3	61			10216	10663						1									16801	17428	34229
Total Manastir Sanjak	43240	44046	34559	38041	12	14	78078	84718			2095	2179	19	19							23	24	158033	169041	327073
Görice Sanjak																									
Görice Central Kaza	15129	17630	14666	15809			1045	1089			407	367											30840	34328	65368
Kesriye	5943	7170	5014	6411			15912	19676															27276	33624	60900
Isnarye	10089	11017	1450	1578																			11539	12595	24134
Kolonye	4466	5045	2841	2973																			7397	8018	15335
Total Görice Sanjak	35627	40862	33971	36771			16957	20765			407	367											76962	88765	165747
Serfice Sanjak																									
Serfice Central Kaza	1707	2249	6043	6849																			7480	9008	16938
Alasonya	1040	1148	11676	12055		1																	12721	14134	26855
Kozana	7511	7556	5988	6645		2																	13499	14153	27053
Cuma	13056	13191	1344	1551			2424	2950															17424	19692	37116
Naslıç	3354	3767	11379	11995								15									5	15	14731	15773	30593
Grebene	2066	2470	12086	15019								9	19	19							5	15	15946	17489	34535
Total Serfice Sanjak	29422	34331	49410	55014		3	2424	2950				24	19	19							5	15	81261	90338	171599
TOTAL MANASTIR PROVINCE	108293	117230	107940	119836	12	17	97459	108433			2502	2570	19	19							28	39	316255	348144	664399
VAN PROVINCE³																									
Van Sanjak																									
Van Central Kaza	8224	9772			14053	19001																	22376	28743	51149
Erciş	3836	3899			1418	2493																	5254	6192	11446
Adilcevaz	2963	3266			1661	2379																	4624	5645	10269
Kariçkan	2618	3575			1748	2618																	4366	6193	10559
Gevaş	1864	3564			2023	2779																	3887	5343	9430
Mekrı	1576	1972			2152	2682																	3728	4054	7782
Muradiye .. (Bargiri)	1803	1696			610	764																	2424	2460	4884
Çatak .. (Şınak)	2188	2664			1715	2078																	3903	4742	8645
Total Van Sanjak	25174	29408			23388	33994																	50562	63402	113964
Hakkāri Sanjak																									
Mamuretülhamidiye	2281	2549			626	440																	2907	2989	5896
Total Hakkāri Sanjak	2281	2549			626	440																	2907	2989	5896
TOTAL VAN PROVINCE	27455	31957			26014	34434																	53469	66391	119860

Administrative unit	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M	Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites F	Monophysites M	Non-Muslim gypsies F	Non-Muslim gypsies M	Foreign citizens F	Foreign citizens M	Total F	Total M	Grand total
*YANYA PROVINCE (JANINA)																									
Yanya Sanjak																									
Yanya Central Kaza	2124	2635	37564	39564							1531	1803									93	114	41442	44116	85558
Aydonat "	1681	2310	4843	5748																	5	5	6529	8063	14592
Filat "	4582	5338	6898	7354							18	20											11478	12732	24210
Meçva "	2219	2538	2336	2723								3									8	32	2344	2755	5099
Leskovik "	614	815	6585	6976								3											8864	9507	18311
Konice "	413	540	7173	7965								12											7787	8783	16570
Pogon "	8747	9714	10160	9943							4	3											10577	10495	21072
Permedi "			5931	5380							3	1											13781	15095	28876
Total Yanya Sanjak	20380	23900	80700	85653							1556	1842									106	151	102742	111546	241288
Ergiri Sanjak																									
Ergiri Central Kaza	5767	6024	9458	9139																			15225	15464	30689
Delvine "	2810	3075	6571	7154																	150	230	9531	10460	19991
Tepedelen "	9211	10456	3113	3135								1											12324	13591	25915
Kurveleş "	5295	5241	3533	2635																			7838	7876	15704
Total Ergiri Sanjak	23083	24796	21675	23363								1									150	231	44908	47391	92299
Berat Sanjak																									
Berat Central Kaza	34933	38119	16895	18791							2	3											50930	56013	107843
Gosnce "	3597	3954	85	178							12	19											3683	4132	7815
Avlonya "	11376	13614	1016	3595					35	48													13339	10276	29615
Lusne "	5450	5950	156	163							14	22											5606	6113	11719
Total Berat Sanjak	54456	61637	19053	21727					35	48													73558	83434	156992
Preveze Sanjak																									
Preveze Central Kaza	754	887	4433	5422							60	132									45	154	5692	6595	11687
Loros "	383	785	7179	7862							12	34											7374	8681	16255
Margiliç "	6533	7841	4956	5481							72	4									45	116	11534	13422	44956
Total Preveze Sanjak	7670	9493	16368	18765							72	170									90	270	24200	28698	53898
TOTAL YANYA PROVINCE	105589	119826	137796	148908	61720	83870	400	3977	35	48	1642	2035									346	652	245408	271069	516477
ISTANBUL CITY AND GREATER ISTANBUL	183571	201339	60937	91804	61720	83870	400	3977	3333	3209	21967	22394	331	488	554	528					28918	101205	364751	508814	873565

ᵃ Census completed except for the Celali tribe.
ᵇ Census completed only for Dıraç Sanjak, dependent Kazas, and centrally dependent Akçahisar Kaza.
ᶜ Females are excluded from the census, and the census of the males is not yet completed.
ᵈ Census completed except for Lazkiye Sanjak.
ᵉ Census has not yet been completed
ᶠ Census has been completed except for the Sporato islands.
ᵍ Except tribal population.

* Tribes not included.
† Census completed except for Havran Sanjak which was excluded from the census, as were a few tribes.
‡ Census completed except for Prezrin, Ipek, and Yenipazar Sanjaks.
§ Dersin Sanjak excluded.
‖ Tribes not included.
¶ Census completed except for Debre and Ilbasan Sanjaks
# Census completed except for Hakkâri Sanjak.

Total population of Ottoman State, 1893, by Province

Provinces and Special Districts	Muslims F	Muslims M	Greeks F	Greeks M	Armenians F	Armenians M	Bulgarians F	Bulgarians M	Catholics F	Catholics M	Jews F	Jews M	Protestants F	Protestants M	Latins F	Latins M	Monophysites F	Monophysites M	Non-Muslim gypsies F	Non-Muslim gypsies M	Foreign citizens F	Foreign citizens M	Total F	Total M	Grand total
Aydin Province	547696	571627	92804	103664	6721	7419	338	290	452	423	10731	11422	77	76	464	586					28008	27736	687181	723243	1410424
Edirne "	211478	222888	128853	138367	8097	8545	49261	52984	489	535	6608	7109	137	142		4					214	330	405137	430904	836041
Erzurum "	204993	249555	1593	1763	46080	51058			3110	3620			873	1097							110	182	256770	302285	559055
Adana "	162984	178392	2755	3597	20752	24047			750	993			1028	1116			39	76	8	7	25	37	188308	208041	396349
Işkodra "	39168	39433	2768	3145					1439	1358													43400	43972	87372
Ankara "	362504	373262	17506	17409	32659	34831			3326	3077	225	190	1125	1115				373				37	417245	429887	847132
Izmit Special District	65775	67342	11352	12366	18309	18911	5	8	63	70	81	88	521	587		49					78	113	96184	99485	195669
Bağdat Province	736	149352				349				873		12682		17								33270	796	196907	197736
Basra "		10154				35				108		421		135										10853	10853
Beyrut "	224040	237904	25672	29304	33	35			16820	22066	1707	1834	1037	1172	1177	1205							273485	294529	568014
Bitlis "	73323	93731			45581	55777			2171	2777			636	863									122631	154306	276998
Biga Special District	47029	52439	7020	8081	779	962	80	222			886	875	19	27			851	1130	70	89	133	189	56040	62795	118835
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefit Province	12418	15063	110587	116230	34	44	1		1435	1517					14	18					2991	3238	127480	136110	263598
Çatalca Special District	6854	8237	10955	18893	447	452	2629	2957	444	522													27549	31273	58822
Halep Province	330597	345092	3562	3990	23754	28653	265	1019	9869	10067	4981	4932	4393	4689	273	218	1744	1990	220	212			388683	399631	787714
Hüdavendigâr "	504734	568029	63224	67793	28546	29372		7	1755	1595	1489	1548	378	375	5	7					1720	2130	664116	671768	1335884
Diyarbekir "	138487	151104	530	636	22053	24770			4680	5113	569	482	1940	2041			7767	8622	82	81			176108	192856	368964
Zor Sanjak	17287	16576			28	55			125	175		2		1				6					17441	16809	34450
Süriye Province	174896	164035	13108	16291	96	103			11168	13972	3093	3184	335	367	45	49							203741	198007	400748
Selânik "	216016	230688	129289	147948	75	126	104464	118220	1129	1182	18463	18743	143	140								1156	471341	518593	989844
Sivas "	366701	399857	18009	19804	56018	66527			1506	1546	104	105	963	1031					200	235	25	40	443326	453145	926671
Istanbul Suburbs	18246	22209	16074	16216	1104	1705		21	141	196	38	36	5	2	21	37					820	858	36441	44261	80702
Trabzon Province	411808	445382	72890	82149	19497	22289		2	639	644	805	901	495	440							2	7	595321	530916	1056437
Kastamonu "	453858	473442	7399	7601	1301	1476				36	104	73	66	54	1481	4107			894	971		1	465452	483539	948081
Kosova "	146643	268867	10889	18504			110439	157364					43	54									271390	449797	721087
Konya "	431480	445743	27821	28740	4731	5082			34	47	805	901	290	364	3207	3642							464245	479797	944042
Kudüs Special District	94401	105212	7956	8746	383	556			190	332	3993	4117			283	266			35	49	618	779	111073	123607	334770
Elaziz Province	138073	161115	262	281	34188	38090			864	1051		2	2194	2777									175864	205482	381346
Musul "		164593		3		45				7082		4286		102										176111	176111
Manastir "	108295	117230	107940	119826	12	17	97459	108433		1	2592	2570	19	19							28	39	316255	343144	664399
Van "	27455	31957			26014	34434			35	48	1642	2035											53409	66391	110860
Yanya "	105586	110826	137796	148508							1889										346	653	245408	271069	514477
Total	5709493	6492734	1037940	1142746	397291	454584	371831	441527	63645	79699	59922	79733	16628	18821	6970	10088	10401	13197	1599	1644	35980	79760	7710374	8804623	16514997
Istanbul City and Greater Istanbul	183571	201339	60037	91804	65720	83780	400	3977	3233	3209	21967	22394	331	488	554	528	10401	12197	1599	1644	28028	101205	364751	508814	873565
Grand total	5893064	6694073	1097841	1234550	463011	518454	372231	445504	66898	82908	81889	102217	16959	19309	7534	10716	10401	12197	1599	1644	64018	171965	8075125	9313437	17388562