

Registering Life in a Multicultural City
Late Ottoman Nicosia

ITS 47 Supplementum 2
Ottoman Censuses
(1839–1877)

نفس لفقوشه

Edited by
Evangelia Balta

The study provides an overview of the events, persons, and issues involved in the capital of Cyprus during the period 1825–1877. The first volume contains an analysis of the sources, and in the light of the historical events of the second half of the 19th century, it monitors the population of Nicosia and the urban space surrounded by its impressive Venetian fortifications, which served as the boundaries of city life. The second volume, the main body of the work, divided into two parts, incorporates the edition of the Greek and Ottoman censuses of the different ethnic groups living in Nicosia during the years 1825–1877. This archival material offers the means to further explore many topics and opens up perspectives for another new, more comprehensive narrative of the history of the city in the late Ottoman period.

List of Volumes

Volume I

Registering Life in a Multicultural City: Late Ottoman Nicosia

Introduction - Glossary - Bibliography - Index

Supplementa

Volume II.1

Registering Life in a Multicultural City: Late Ottoman Nicosia

Greek and Ottoman Fiscal Registers (1825–1833)

Volume II.2

Registering Life in a Multicultural City: Late Ottoman Nicosia

Ottoman Censuses (1839–1877)

ISBN 978-3-95650-906-3



9 783956 509063

Registering Life in a Multicultural City
Late Ottoman Nicosia

Volume II
Supplementum 2

Ottoman Censuses
(1839-1877)

ISTANBULER TEXTE UND STUDIEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VOM
ORIENT-INSTITUT ISTANBUL

VERANTWORTLICH:
RICHARD WITTMANN
GOTTFRIED PLAGEMANN

BAND 47

VOLUME II
SUPPLEMENTUM 2

Registering Life in a Multicultural City
Late Ottoman Nicosia

Volume II
Supplementum 2

Ottoman Censuses
(1839-1877)

Edited by
Evangelia Balta

BADEN-BADEN 2022

ERGON VERLAG
IN KOMMISSION

Umschlaggestaltung: Jan von Hugo

Umschlagabbildung:

Nefs-i Lefkoşa (Part of the title of the *Taşra Kıbrıs Mutasarrıflığı Defteri* no 43, p. 2)

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek:

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

ISBN 978-3-95650-xxx-x (Print)

ISBN 978-3-95650-xxx-x (ePDF)

ISSN 1863-9461

© 2022 Orient-Institut Istanbul (Max Weber Stiftung)

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung des Werkes außerhalb des Urheberrechtsgesetzes bedarf der Zustimmung des Orient-Instituts Istanbul. Dies gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen jeder Art, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmung sowie für die Einspeicherung in elektronische Systeme. Gedruckt mit Unterstützung des Orient-Instituts Istanbul, gegründet von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, aus Mitteln des Bundesministeriums für Bildung und Forschung.

Ergon – ein Verlag in der Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden

Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier

The book *Registering Life in a Multicultural City: Late Ottoman Nicosia* is a product of the “Ottoman Cyprus” Research Project, which was launched in 2010 as part of the Programme of Ottoman Studies at the Institute of Historical Research (National Hellenic Research Foundation). The priority and main concern of this research project is to publish archival material and original studies which deal with topics from the Ottoman period on the island. The studies published to date are as follows:

- *Histories of Ottoman Larnaca*, (eds) Evangelia Balta – Theoharis Stavrides – Ioannis Theocharides, Istanbul, The Isis Press, 2012.
- *Festschrift in Honor of Ioannis P. Theocharides. Studies on Ottoman Cyprus*, vol. I (eds) Evangelia Balta, Georgios Salakidis, Theoharis Stavrides, The Isis Press, Istanbul, 2014.
- Evangelia Balta – Mustafa Oğuz – Ali Efdal Özkul, *Kouklia in Nineteenth Century Cyprus. On the Ruins of a once Glorious Paphos*, (ed.) Evangelia Balta, The Isis Press, Istanbul, 2015.
- Evangelia Balta, *Ottoman Paphos. Population, Taxation and Wealth (mid-19th Century)*, The Isis Press, Istanbul, 2016.
- *Ottoman Chrysochou (mid-19th Century)*, (ed.) Evangelia Balta, Libra, Istanbul, 2019.

Registering Life in a Multicultural City
Late Ottoman Nicosia

Volume II₂

OTTOMAN FISCAL REGISTERS (1839-1877)

Volume II₂ presents aspects of the history of Nicosia from seven censuses (1839, 1842, 1843, 1884, 1845, 1847-8, 1877). These are included in twelve population registers that we have discovered to date in the *Osmanlı Başbakanlık Arşivi* (Istanbul) and the *National Archives of Kyrenia*. They consist partly of a regular population registration system introduced by the Tanzimat Reforms and provide an accurate, more or less, picture of Nicosia’s population, despite the limitations and absences. Valuable demographic resources reveal the different proportions and demographic movements of the ethno-religious groups of the capital of Cyprus. They also provide information on the inhabitants’ tax liability over a long period in the 19th century and shed light on the socio-economic history of late Ottoman Nicosia and its spatial evolution before British rule. Finally, the most significant contribution of the *Nüfus Defterleri* of this late period concerns the presentation of population groups not yet studied by historical research: African slaves and freedmen (*gulam*), servants (*hizmetkâr*), young apprentices (*çırak*), as well as Christian and Muslim Gypsies (*Kıptiyân*). The nature of sources, which speak in numbers and not words, provide an exceptionally rich field for whosoever wishes to delve deeper into the history of Nicosia.

Registering Life in a Multicultural City: Late Ottoman Nicosia

The study provides an overview of the events, persons, and issues involved in the capital of Cyprus during the period 1825-1877. The first volume contains an analysis of the sources, and in the light of the historical events of the second half of the 19th century, it monitors the population of Nicosia and the urban space surrounded by its impressive Venetian fortifications, which served as the boundaries of city life. The second volume, the main body of the work, divided into two parts, incorporates the edition of the Greek and Ottoman censuses of the different ethnic groups living in Nicosia during the years 1825-1877. This archival material offers the means to further explore many topics and opens up perspectives for another new, more comprehensive narrative of the history of the city in the late Ottoman period.



List of Volumes

Volume I

Registering Life in a Multicultural City: Late Ottoman Nicosia
INTRODUCTION - GLOSSARY - BIBLIOGRAPHY - INDEX

Supplementa

Volume II₁

Registering Life in a Multicultural City: Late Ottoman Nicosia
GREEK AND OTTOMAN FISCAL REGISTERS (1825-1833)

Volume II₂

Registering Life in a Multicultural City: Late Ottoman Nicosia
OTTOMAN CENSUSES (1839-1877)

Contents

<i>Contributors</i>	8
<i>Note on Usage</i>	9
<i>Illustrations</i>	10
<i>Sigla - Abbreviations</i>	11
Preface	13
OTTOMAN CENSUSES (1839-1877)	19
8. Kıbrıs Mutasarrıflığı Defteri no 45 (1255/1839)	21
Veli Aydın & Evangelia Balta & Muhammed Ceyhan	
9. Kıbrıs Mutasarrıflığı Defteri no 56 (1258/1842)	205
Evangelia Balta & Selahattin Bayram	
10. Nüfus Defteri no 3774 (H. 1259-60/1843-44)	371
Evangelia Balta	
11. Nüfus Defteri no 3775 (H. 1260/1844-45)	375
Selahattin Bayram	
12. Maliyeden Müdevver Defteri no 15688 (H. 1261/1845)	379
Evangelia Balta & Selahattin Bayram & Muhammed Ceyhan	
13. Nüfus Defteri no 3763 (H. 1264/1847-48)	415
Evangelia Balta	
14. The Last Ottoman Census of Cyprus (H. 1292/1877)	569
Evangelia Balta & Ahmet Zeybek	

Contributors

HACI VELI AYDIN studied in the Department of History at Middle East Technical University and received his Master's and Doctoral Degrees at Ankara University. He is an Associate Professor in Modern Ottoman History in the Department of History at Tekirdağ Namık Kemal University in Tekirdağ and is currently visiting professor in the department of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies at the University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki. His research focuses on Ottoman socio-economic history, Balkan cities during the Ottoman period and Turkish-speaking Greek Orthodox (Karamanlidhes) in Anatolia.
e-mail: aydinveli68@gmail.com

EVANGELIA BALTA Research Director at the Institute of Historical Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens. Her research work includes studies and books on the economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire. Since 1979 a central area of her interest has been the history and culture of the Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians of Anatolia. An honorary member of the Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu), she was awarded the "Order of Merit" medal (Liyakat Nişanı) by the President of the Turkish Republic (2014).

www.evangelialbalta.com

e-mail: evangelialbalta@gmail.com evabalta@eie.gr

SELAHATTİN BAYRAM Associate Professor at Istanbul University. His main area of interest is the social, economic and cultural history of the Ottoman Empire. He has published the books *Osmanlı Döneminde Selanik limani, 1869-1912*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 2017 and *Selanik Tereke Sicillerinde İlimiye Sınıfı: Sosyo-ekonomik Bir Tahlil (1790-1852)*, Libra, İstanbul, 2019. A collaborator since 2019 in the Project "Ottoman Cyprus", part of the Ottoman Studies Programme (National Hellenic Research Foundation), he also contributed to the publication of *Ottoman Chrysochou* (mid-19th century), ed. Evangelia Balta, Libra, Istanbul 2019.

e-mail: sbayram63@yahoo.de

MUHAMMED CEYHAN Associate Professor at Yalova University. He received his bachelor's degree and completed his graduate program in the Department of History at Gazi University. He gained his Ph.D. degree in 2016 from the Department of History (Early Modern History) at the Institution of Social Sciences at Ankara University by presenting his study entitled "*Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gayrimüslimlerin Mülk ve Vakıf Edinimi (18. Yüzyıl)*". He published the books: *Bir Ada İki Millet-Midilli Tarihinden Bir Kesit (H. 1249-1253 Tarihli Ser'iyye Sicil Defteri Işığında)*, Libra, İstanbul: 2020; *Hacı Bektâş-ı Velî Dergâhına Yüz Sürenler* (with Murat Alandağlı), Pir Sultan Abdal 2 July Education and Culture Foundation, Ankara: 2019; *Osmanlı Paleografyası ve Osmanlı Diplomatikas* (with Prof. Yılmaz Kurt), Akçağ Publishing, Ankara: 2018 (Fourth Printing); *Osmanlı Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi I-II* (editor with Hatice Oruç), Akçağ Publishing, Ankara: 2016.

e-mail: muhammedceyhan@gmail.com

AHMET ZEYBEK was born in Nicosia, Cyprus in 1993. He studied Psychology at the University of Dundee in Scotland. The results of his undergraduate dissertation were published in the *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* (36 / 5 (2017): 396-418). After graduation he completed a master's degree in history at SOAS, University of London specializing in Ottoman history. At the Intensive Summer School of Ottoman and Turkish Studies (Cunda), he contributed to a project on the fables of Aesop published by Evangelia Balta (Istanbul, Libra 2019). Currently, he is studying for a PhD at Bilkent University. His main research interests revolve around Ottoman socio-economic history and he is passionate about the history of his homeland Cyprus during the Ottoman era.

e-mail: ahmetzeybek93@hotmail.com

Note on Usage

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

- C, c *j* as in *John*
- Ç, ç *ch* as in *church*
- Ğ, ğ aspirate, roughly as in *y*: *İbğeri* (the Greek name *Pieris*); lengthens preceding vowel
- J, j like *j* as in the French *jaune*
- I, ı as *i* in *cousin*
- Ş, ş *sh* as in *shut*

In the notes the Greek words, as well as the words in the Cypriot dialect, are transliterated as they are pronounced, for example the letter “*b*” (beta) was transliterated by “*v*”. The explanation of these words, along with the explanation of the Turkish terms contained in the sources, is given in a note the first time they are encountered. So they can be found more easily though, it was deemed advisable to list them in alphabetical order in the Glossary (Volume I).

Volume I contains the bibliography mentioned in the notes, where to save space, the Harvard referencing system was used. Volume I also includes the Index which covers the entire work.

Illustrations

1.	“Church of St. Sophia” from Agnes Smith, <i>Through Cyprus ... 1887</i>	20
2.	<i>TŞR.KB.d.</i> n° 45 (p. 17b-18a)	22
3.	“The Walled City of Nicosia” from G. Jefferey’s <i>A Description of the Historic Monuments ... 1918</i>	204
4.	<i>TŞR.KB.d.</i> n° 56 (p. 1b-2a)	206
5.	“West Front of St. Sophia” from C. Enlart’s <i>L’art Gothique... en Cypre...1899</i>	370
6.	<i>NFS.d.</i> n° 3774 (p. 4-5)	372
7.	<i>NFS.d.</i> n° 3775 (p. 2-3)	376
8.	“Yegni Djami” from L. Salvador’s <i>Levkosia ... 1881</i>	378
9.	<i>MAD.d.</i> n° 15668 (p. 143b/8-144a/9)	380
10.	<i>NFS.d.</i> n° 3763 (p. 1b-2a)	416
11.	“Bedesten”, from J. Hackett, <i>A History of the Orthodox Church ... 1901</i>	568
12.	<i>DEFTER</i> n° 36	570
13.	<i>DEFTER</i> n° 54	576
14.	<i>DEFTER</i> n° 46 (p. 3)	582

Sigla - Abbreviations

[]	Addendum by editor
[...]	Illegible
(?)	Uncertain spelling
958 Numaralı	958 Numaralı Kıbrıs Tımar Yoklama Defteri (9 Cemâziye'l-evvel 1241/ 20 Aralık 1825), (eds) Dündar Recep, Aydın Mesut, Fırat Üniversitesi, Orta Doğu Araştırmaları Merkezi, Yayınları no: 25, Tarih Şubesi Yayınları no: 21, Elazığ 2014
A	<i>A'la</i>
b.	<i>bin</i>
BNP (Supp. Turc)	Bibliothèque Nationale Paris (Supplement Turc)
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul
fî B	fî Receb
fî C	fî Cemâziyelâhir
fî Câ	fî Cemâziyelevvel
fî L	fî Şevval
fî M	fî Muharrem
fî Ş	fî Şaban
fî N	fî Ramazan
fî R	fî Rebiülâhir
fî Râ	fî Rebi'ülevvel
fî Z	fî Zilhicce
fî Za	fî Zilkade
H.	<i>Hicrî</i>
M	<i>Mücerred, mürâhik</i>
m.	<i>mezkûr</i>
ML.VRD.TMT.d.	<i>Maliye Varidat Muhasebesi Temettuat Defteri</i>
N	<i>Ednâ</i>
NFS.d.	<i>Nüfus Defteri</i>
Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs	<i>Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs (Nüfusu – Arazi Dağılımı – Türk Vakıfları)</i> , (ed.) Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Ankara 2000
Register VI	Archives of the Archiepiscopal Diocese of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, Nicosia codified under <i>Register VI</i> (1825)
Register V	Archives of the Archiepiscopal Diocese of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, Nicosia codified under <i>Register V</i> (posterior to 1825)
T	<i>Evsat</i>
TKG.KK.TMR.YOK.d.	<i>Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Tımar Yoklama Defteri</i>
TŞR.KB.d.	<i>Taşra Tasnifi Kıbrıs Mutasarrıflığı Defterler</i>
v.	<i>veled-i</i>
Απέθ.	<i>απέθανε</i> (= died)
Εζω	(= off)
Ετι	(= in addition)
Καλ.	<i>καλόγηρος</i> (= monk)
X''	<i>Χατζής</i> (= Aci, Hacı)
Χάρις	<i>χαρίστηκε</i> (= debt relief)

For other references, by author's name and the date of publication, the Bibliography of works cited should be consulted (Volume I).

Preface

Volume II₂ of the *Registering Life in a Multicultural City: Late Ottoman Nicosia* includes seven Ottoman censuses conducted from 1839 to 1877. They cover the years from the Tanzimat up to the eve of the island's surrender to the British.¹ During this period frequent censuses were conducted throughout the Ottoman Empire, starting in 1831. Cem Behar very effectively describes the era as the century of censuses.²

The population counts (*Nüfus Defterleri*) included in Volume II₂ put forward a series of population data revealing different proportions and demographic movements of ethno-religious groups. At the same time, these sources provide information on the inhabitants' tax liability over a long period in the nineteenth century and shed light on the socio-economic history of late Ottoman Nicosia. In addition, the variations in the figures of the taxable categories of the Christian Nicosians in the successive censuses, indirectly, yet clearly, indicate that these population censuses were subject to political negotiations between local and central authorities.

There are many different types of limitations in the research based on the *Nüfus Defterleri*. The most notable deficiency is that they do not enumerate the female population of households until 1881.³ Yet, they are the only sources available for research on the Ottoman population, and they undoubtedly provide a variety of information on households. The *Nüfus Defterleri* we located provide data on the composition of the population of Nicosia during 1839-1877, the number of families, the names of their male members, the professions practiced by the heads of households. These sources also allow us to visualize the rural, regional, and international migration to the island's capital and data on outflow.⁴

An important parameter that demonstrates the significance of the *Nüfus Defterleri* of this late period is that they reveal the presence of groups in the city that have not been studied by historians.

¹ Britain occupied Cyprus as “compensation” for promising support to the Ottomans against the extension of Russian control over northeastern Anatolia in 1877, see Anscombe (2014: 112-113). But in reality Russia asserted patronage over practically all of Ottoman Europe and a significant part of eastern Anatolia (near Iran) and along the Russian-Ottoman frontier. It is also worthy of mentioning that in the last conflict with Mehmed Ali Paşa, the Ottomans had also received British support and signed the Ottoman-British commercial treaty of 1838, which introduced free trade.

² Behar (1996).

³ In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the censuses of the Ottoman Empire were designed for purposes other than taxation and conscription. They comprise, more or less, real demographic sources.

⁴ The processing of information and figures presented in the population registries is included in the relevant chapters of Volume I of *Registering Life in a Multicultural City: Late Ottoman Nicosia*. The same volume also includes a detailed description of registers published in Volumes II₁ and II₂ with annotations on their particular peculiarities.

Some of the larger bodies of people include the African slaves and freedmen (*gulam*) in the service of the Muslims of the city, the servants (*hizmetkâr*), and the young apprentices (*çırak*) who came from various parts of the island to work alongside artisans in Nicosia. Another group is the Christian and Muslim Gypsies (*Kıptiyân*), recorded in the population registers of the island's capital.

Lastly, since the Christians and Muslims were registered according to neighborhoods, processing Nicosia's population data simultaneously sheds light on its spatial history and evolution from various viewpoints. However, it should be pointed out that the census records do not provide any information about the geographical boundaries of the *mahalles*.

As mentioned at the beginning, Volume II₂ presents aspects of the history of Nicosia from seven censuses (1839, 1842, 1843-44, 1844-1845, 1847-48, 1877), which are included in twelve population registers, that we have discovered to date. Over the last two decades, the *Osmanlı Başbakanlık Arşivi* in Istanbul has been cataloguing and digitizing *Nüfus Defterleri* fonds. However, as it is an ongoing process, more records, Cypriot ones possibly included, could yet become available to researchers.

*

In what follows, we present a short description of the census registers included in this volume. The numbering sequence is continued from Volume II₁ of *Registering Life in a Multicultural City: Late Ottoman Nicosia*.

8. *TŞR.KB.d. 45*. In the census of 1839, the Christians and Muslims of Nicosia were inscribed in the same register. In the earlier record of 1831, each religious group was entered in separate registers (the *TŞR.KB.d. 43* for non-Muslims and *TŞR.KB.d. 40* for Muslims). The *TŞR.KB.d. 45* was also conducted as the previous at a household level. Christian and Muslim males were registered by name, father's name, and their place in the family (e.g., Mehmet, son of ..., or nephew of, cousin of, grandson of, etc.), his age or date of birth, any disability or illness (blind, epileptic, etc.) and their trade. A short description of their physical appearance is also given: height (*uzun boylu, orta boylu*), colour of moustache or beard (*kır sakallı, sarı bıyıklı*). For young men with a newly grown moustache, the expression *ter bıyıklı* is used, while for young beardless men, the corresponding phrase is *şabb-ı emred*. In this census, servants and apprentices in the employment of a household are also recorded along with the family members.

In *TŞR.KB.d. 45*, the 2,167 Muslims distributed throughout seventeen districts take precedence (pp. 2a-151b). After them, the 2,163 Christians (pp. 159b-256b), resident in nine neighborhoods, are declared along with the relevant poll tax category. Of these, 948 (children, elderly and disabled persons) were exempted from paying poll tax as they were deemed unfit for work. And in the census of 1839, as in the earlier nineteenth century, the Christian population is not divided into categories. However, there are Jacobites (Syriac Orthodox) and Catholics (Maronites) among Nicosia's predominantly Greek Orthodox population.⁵ On the following pages (pp. 259b-264a), 134 Armenians (*taife-i Ermeniyân*) are recorded, accompanied by their tax category. The register concludes (pp. 267b-272b) with the census of 30 Muslim

⁵ Linguistic variations combined to create an understanding of the difference and therefore the separation between the different Christian sects.

and 99 Christian Gypsies, who were administratively included in the population of the island's capital. For the first time since the Tanzimat reforms, they were recorded as a distinct group from the other segments of the Cypriot people. They can also be found in subsequent censuses of the island.

In *TŞR.KB.d.* 45, a number of blank pages have been inserted between the records of the *mahalles*, obviously to list the soon-to-arrive newcomers that would settle in the city's neighborhoods and add newborn males. Yet, as is apparent, the registers were not updated since these pages contain no notes made subsequent to the census. The editor has used asterisks in the transcription of the register to highlight the identification of certain persons who also enumerated in the previous census of 1831 (*TŞR.KB.d.* nos 40 and 43). In addition, in the notes accompanying the register edition, the editor provides the necessary clarifications regarding terms and place names.⁶

9. *TŞR.KB.d.* 56. The only date mentioned in the register is found on its last page (gurre-i Zâ 1258/4-14 Dec. 1842), providing an indication of when the census was concluded. We thus presume that the census was compiled during 1842. This final page also bears the signatures of the Council of Elders, the employees at the *Defterhane*, Archbishop Ioannikios, and the Kaimakam of Cyprus, by which they approved the accuracy of the figures.

The method and structure of the 1842 census are identical to the previous census, i.e., that of 1839. Moreover, the *TŞR.KB.d.* 56 was updated yearly. At the end of each *mahalle*, there are newly compiled lists of births and deaths, as well as names of people who moved in and out, providing authorities with continuous oversight of the population of Nicosia. In the 1842 census, a decrease in the city's Muslims and, conversely, an increase in Christians is evident. From 1839 the non-Muslims prevail demographically. The growth of their number should be attributed to the return of the Rums, who had left the island during the turbulent period from 1821 to 1833. It is also worth noting that the census-taker does not mention the numbers of men serving in the city guard. However, the slight difference in the figures concerning the Muslims in the 1839 and 1842 population surveys (2,167 and 2,123 males, respectively) indicates that the 1842 census included men in military service.

Following a cross-check by the editor of Nicosians who appear in both censuses, the numbers of those appearing for the first time in the population list of 1842 are highlighted in bold. This allows the reader to quickly recognize and follow the demographic increase.

10. The *Nüfus Defteri* no. 3774 consists of three leaves. It is the rough draft of an *icmal defter* compiled in 1259-60 (1843-44).⁷ The census of the kaza of Tuzla (Larnaca) begins at the bottom of page 2, but it does not continue on the following pages. Therefore we must surmise that this draft is a fragment of an *icmal defter* that probably included the census of all the kazas on the island. Pages 2-5 contain the

⁶ In Volume I of the study, the Glossary includes all the terms in the Greek and Ottoman registers published in Volumes II₁ and II₂.

⁷ Two dates are recorded: 16 or 19 Rebi'ülevvel 1259 (16 or 19 April 1843) and gurre-i Şevval 1260 (13-23 October 1844).

population data for Nicosia and the neighboring kazas of Dağ (Oreini), Değirmenlik (Kythrea), and Omorfa (Morfou). In the following pages we present only the data concerning the city of Nicosia, namely the total numbers of the Muslim (*ehl-i İslam*) and non-Muslim populations (*ehl-i Re'âyâ*). The Muslims recorded in three age categories (*tuvânâ, sibyan, müsin*), and, along with the *topci* and Muslim Gypsies, numbered 2,054 males. The non-Muslim population, namely Rums (2,049 males) and Armenians (94), classified according to their level of income in three categories (*a'lâ, evsât, ednâ*), and the Christian Gypsies (106), amounted to 2,249 males.

11. The *Nüfus Defteri* no. 3775, a concise 4-page register, appears to have been compiled in 1260 (1844-45). It lists all the demographic changes that had taken place in the Muslim and Christian populations of the 17 kazas of Cyprus since the previous year of 1259 (1843-44);⁸ that is, it records the deceased and the immigrants, as well as the newcomers to each kaza, both Muslim and non-Muslim.⁹ Among the Muslim population of Nicosia, 76 deceased persons and migrants were recorded, along with four newcomers, and, correspondingly, 88 deaths and 13 new settlers were listed among the Christians.

12. *MAD.d.* no.15688 is a fragment of a register dated 1261 (1845).¹⁰ The surviving pages are in poor condition, as can be seen from the photographed copy provided by the BOA. From the initial page numbering of the register on the surviving pages, it is apparent that the Muslim districts came first, as can also be seen in other censuses of Nicosia. This version of the fragment also shows the page numbering given by the cataloguer when it entered the BOA. The surviving fragments contain:

pp. 139a/1-144a/9	<i>Ayo Sava mahallesi</i> (99 hane, 220 males).
pp. ... /10- ... /11	<i>İslam Kiptiyan</i> (25 Muslim Gypsies).
pp. ... /12- ... /16	<i>Reaya Kiptiyan</i> (102 Christian Gypsies).
pp. .../17-... /19	Part of a Muslim district (probably the <i>Debbağhâne mahallesi</i>), which included a total of 70 males. On the surviving pages, the census of its residents begins from the 19th person.
pp. 44a/21-50a/33	<i>Ebu Kavuk mahallesi</i> (134 hane, 288 males).

The census of the district of Agios Savvas, which concluded the census of the Christian districts, is followed by the sum of the Christian males in Nicosia in 1845. The 2,237 males are distributed among the following categories: 1,301 taxpayers (32 *a'lâ*, 206 *evsat*, and 1,057 *edna*) and 936 persons who did not pay the poll tax. These sums are followed by the usual text written by the census-taker on concluding the register. It was validated by the signatures of eleven Ottoman officials, the archbishop, the dragoman, and one member of the Council of Cyprus.

13. *Nüfus Defteri* no. 3763 is a voluminous register that includes the non-Muslim population of Nicosia during the census conducted in 1264 (1847-48). Unfortunately,

⁸ From the population count of Cyprus carried out in H. 1259 (1843-44) we presented the *NFS.d.* no 3751 and *NFS.d.* no 3752 concerning the kaza of Chrysochou, see Balta (2019).

⁹ For the demographic movements that took place in the Muslim and Christian population of the 17 kazas on the island, see Table 23 in Balta (2019: 1).

¹⁰ On page 144a/9 the date 23 C [12]61 (=29 June 1845) is noted.

we could not locate the corresponding account of the Muslim population among the catalogued registers of the BOA. The census data in *Nüfus Defteri* 3763 was recorded per household. The source covers the eight quarters which remained the same as in the earlier nineteenth century (Baş Mahallesi or Tripiotis, Agios Savvas, Phaneromeni, Agios Antonios, Agios Ioannis, Kafesli, Agios Kassianos, and Agios Loukas). Armenians, Catholics, and the clergy of the Orthodox Archdiocese (*mahalle-i Mitropolid*) were indexed separately. The resident males, adults, and juveniles were listed along with their age and occupations. If the household included servants or apprentices, they were entered at the end of the entry, after the family members. They were recorded with the name of their native villages, which allows the data to be studied for labor migration.¹¹ The *NFS.d.* no 3763 is the first population count in which the figures of the families and the males, i.e., the adults in the three categories of the head tax and those exempt, were recorded separately. Therefore, the source presenting the numbers of males and households has explicit information on the coefficient of the male family members. And, based on it, one can safely make some assumptions about the size of the female population and form an idea of the non-Muslim population of Nicosia.

14. *Ottoman Census of H. 1292 (1877)*. The date noted on the registers is 22 Şubat 1292 /6 March 1877. This is the final census conducted by the Ottomans before the island was ceded to the British in 1878. Only 65 registers from this population survey have survived, and they are housed in the National Archives in Kyrenia. Four of them concern the population of Nicosia; nos 53-54 note the Greek and Armenian populations, and nos 36 and 47 the Muslim residents. The eight Christian districts of Nicosia¹² are included in the preserved population counts. Still, at the same time, we see that Christians appear to also have lived in the traditionally Muslim neighborhoods of the city. They can be found, in limited numbers of course, in the districts of Ebu Kavuk, Karamanîzade, Tahta'l-Kale, Debbağhâne, Tophâne, Növbethâne, Ömeriye, Haydar Paşa and Cami-i Cedid Mahallesi. They may also have lived in other Muslim neighborhoods of the city that were included in registers that have not survived. A total of 2,580 Christian males were counted. Probably their number could be more significant. But, unfortunately, as many of the registers of this last Ottoman census are missing, we do not know if other Orthodox, Catholic or Armenian Christians were residents in the nine Muslim quarters of the city.

In contrast, only eight of the seventeen neighborhoods known to be Muslim from older nineteenth-century censuses appear to have Muslim residents in *Defters* nos 36 and 47.¹³ Few Muslims seem to have lived in the quarters of Agios Loukas and Agios Kassianos. The registers that contain the remaining nine traditionally Muslim districts have been lost; a large part of the city's Muslim population is missing. The British census of 1881 presents the total number of male and female residents without

¹¹ The numbers of the people who fled to Nicosia from the rural regions of the island and the migrants from the other provinces of the Ottoman Empire can be attested from 1839 onwards.

¹² Trypiotis or Baş Mahallesi, Phaneromeni, Agios Savvas, Agios Loukas, Chrysaliniotissa or Kafesli, Agios Giannis, Agios Antonios, Agios Kassianos.

¹³ Ebu Kavuk, Karamanîzade, Tahta'l-Kale, Arab Ahmet Paşa, Mahmud Paşa, İbrahim Paşa, 'Abdî Cavuş, Korkud Efendi, Tophane.

separating them according to religion.¹⁴ Therefore no estimate can be made as to the size of the city's Muslim population in the final Ottoman years.

Despite the Ottoman practice to divide religious communities along sectarian lines, Muslims, Orthodox Greeks, Armenians, and Catholics shared the same neighborhood. In this last Ottoman census, we find groups of non-Muslims living in Muslim quarters and vice-versa.¹⁵

The Ottoman population registers presented in Volumes II₁ and II₂ offer an extraordinary view of all elements of Nicosian society: elites, ordinary people, rich and poor strata, notables and slaves, townspeople and villagers, Muslims and non-Muslims, Cypriots and foreigners. With the figures, they tell the story of social space and reconstruct the ethno-religious identity of the Cypriot capital, which remains a city of communities. In Volume I of the study *Registering Life in a Multicultural City: Late Ottoman Nicosia* I confine myself to presenting a picture of the polyphonic history of the city.

* * *

Volume II₂ was supported in a number of ways by several persons: A. Çağrı Başkurt, Şevki Baykuş, Sefik Bilal Çavuşoğlu, Kaan Doğan, Nikolaos Livanos, Eleni Molfessi, and Maria Stefossi. I would like to express my heartfelt thanks for all they have done. Special thanks go to Fehmi Yılmaz, whose assistance in reading and checking some problematic points in the Ottoman sources was crucial.

¹⁴ *Census of Cyprus 1881. Report on the Census of Cyprus, 1881*, with Appendix, by Frederick W. Barry..., London, Printed by Eyre and Spottswode, 1884.

¹⁵ Louis Fishman (2018: 514), who focuses on late Ottoman Jerusalem, argues that one of the direct outcomes of the Tanzimat era was the blurring of rigid divisions between the different ethnic and religious groups, allowing Ottoman urban citizens to cross the invisible borders that existed between the different communities.

Volume II₂

OTTOMAN CENSUSES
(1839-1877)