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population movements during the last years of the Ottoman Empire, 1885-1914, and the causes of those movements. In this paper I shall focus on the movement of people within the empire, and leave aside the question of the large-scale emigration of Greeks, Armenians, and Jews from the empire to other countries. I shall also leave aside the question of the internal migrations of the Bedouin tribes, and the great influx of Anatolian Turks into the Balkans.

OTTOMAN POPULATION MOVEMENTS DURING THE LAST YEARS OF THE EMPIRE, 1885-1914: SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS

After the 1876-77 Tanzimat reforms, the empire's population grew rapidly, and despite the capital cities' and major urban centers' rapid growth, the rural areas also experienced significant increases in population density. This was due to a number of factors, among them the growth of the Ottoman state and its administrative and military needs, which required a large labor force; the beginning of the period of decline and the subsequent ruralization of society.

Stanford J. Shaw

The Ottoman Empire suffered a series of staggering setbacks during the four decades preceding World War I before the war itself, the Allied occupation, the Greek invasion, and the Turkish War for Independence administered the final, mortal blows. Yet while its overall population figures remained relatively stable during this time, there were in fact substantial movements of people in and out of the empire which left the makeup of Ottoman society profoundly different from that inherited from traditional times. Study of this social flux has only begun, and requires further research in the Ottoman archives and other sources¹. It is the purpose of this discussion, however, to point up some of the interesting and significant changes that did take place during these years in the different sections of the empire on the basis of materials found to date in two of the principal modern Ottoman archival collections, the Babiali Evrak Odası archive of the Grand Vezir's office, and the Yıldız Palace collection of sultan Abdülhamit II², as well as two comprehensive census reports of the empire compiled by the Imperial Census Department, the first between

¹ See, for example, the pioneering work of Kemal H. Karpat, «Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/82-1893», *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. IX (1978), pp. 237-274; Marc Pinson, «Demographic Warfare: An Aspect of Ottoman and Russian Policy, 1854-1866», Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1970; Georges Sabagh, «The Demography of the Middle East», *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, no. 4/2 (15 May 1970), pp. 1-19; and S. J. Shaw, «The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914», *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, IX (1978), pp. 325-338.

² These collections are described by S. J. Shaw, «Ottoman Archival Materials for the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: The Archives of Istanbul», *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. VI (1975), pp. 94-114, and in particular pp. 100-106; and «The Yıldız Palace Archives of Abdülhamit II», *Archivum Ottomanicum*, III (1971), pp. 211-237.

1882 and 1885, shortly after the beginning of the long reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II, and the second on the eve of World War I, in March, 1914³.

The first impression deriving from these sources is the limited and ever shrinking size of the empire at the time. Bulgaria and East Rumelia were lost in 1878 and 1886 respectively, with the latter already under such a special administration that it was not even included in the earlier count. Bosnia and Herzegovina, though left under nominal Ottoman rule by the Congress of Berlin, were occupied by Habsburg troops, lay outside the sultan's administrative control, and were formally annexed by the Emperor in 1908. Tunisia was lost to France in 1881. Cyprus and Egypt were still parts of the empire, but under British occupation after 1878 and 1882 respectively, with the sultan's rights limited largely to the collection of annual payments of tribute and the right to control Muslim schools, mosques, and courts and to confirm certain appointments. After 1897 Crete was under an autonomous regime which was only thinly disguised Greek control. Italy conquered Tripoli and Benghazi and occupied the Dodecanese archipelago off the Anatolian coast in 1911 and 1912, and Albania was partly autonomous under nationalist control. Istanbul, and eastern Thrace as far as Edirne, which had been lost in 1912 and then recaptured under the leadership of Enver Paşa during the Second Balkan War, were the only other European territories remaining to the empire, which had lost 83 per-cent of its land and 69 per-cent of its people in Rumelia as a result of the two Balkan wars. In addition, throughout these years, Christian nationalist revolts and terrorist raiders in Macedonia and Thrace as well as eastern Anatolia had decimated large groups of the sultan's subjects, Muslim and Christian alike, supplementing the wars and territorial changes in causing thousands of refugees to move to new homes in and out of the empire⁴.

In the face of all these conditions, it is surprising that the empire's overall population remained so constant, and in fact increased by about seven per-cent between 1885 and 1914, from 17,375,225 to 18,520,016. Examination of the millet population figures provides a substantial clue as to the reason. The Muslim population of the

³ The census report of 1303/1885-1886 is found in manuscript form in Istanbul University Library, TY 4807; a somewhat later version, corrected to 1893, is found in the uncatalogued collections of the Başbakanlık Arşivi and was published by Kemal Karpat in «Ottoman Population Records,» *Ibid.*, pp. 259-274. The 1914 census was published as Dahiliye Nezareti, Sicil-i Nüfus İdare-i Umumiyesi Müdüriyeti, *Memalik-i Osmaniyyenin 1330 Senesi Nüfus İstatistiği*, İstanbul, 1330/1914, and, in somewhat abbreviated form, as *Tableaux indiquant le nombre des divers éléments de la population dans l'Empire Ottoman au 1 Mars 1330. (14 Mars 1914)*, Constantinople, 1919.

⁴ See S. J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. II, *Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, Cambridge University Press, 1977, pp. 190-310.

empire increased by approximately 2.5 million people, just about 20 per cent (Table A), almost all of whom were refugees from Christian conquest. The official Ottoman refugee figures, compiled by the Refugee Settlement Commission (*İskân-i Muhacirin Komisyonu*) in 1896, show that over one million Muslim refugees crossed the empire's borders during the previous two decades⁵. This figure reflects the fact that the Ottoman provinces in Europe had some 1,386,963 Muslims in 1885 (Table B), of whom a substantial, but indeterminate number lost their lives, while many of the rest were forced to emigrate into Ottoman territory so as to leave substantial Christian majorities in the areas of Macedonia and Thrace where the Muslim population had been predominant⁶. Similar, though somewhat less severe policies of forced emigration caused the flight of thousands of Muslims from Greek rule in Thessaly and Crete, Austrian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Italian rule in Tripoli, Benghazi and the Dodecanese, French rule in Tunisia and Algeria, and Russian rule north and east of the Black Sea, particularly from the Crimea, Caucasus and Kuban⁷. Throughout these years, the Ottoman treasury had to meet the expenses of housing and feeding and, ultimately, settling these refugees wherever land could be found, with loans rather than outright grants being used wherever possible so as to lessen the tremendous financial burden on the state treasury⁸. Istanbul was particularly affected by the flow of refugees, with emigrants being housed in mosques, office buildings and schools, and sometimes in the streets as well as tents, with disease and disorder a constant and pressing danger until they could be resettled outside the city⁹. Efforts were made to relieve the crowded capital by shipping refugees from Albania and Macedonia directly from Salonica across the Aegean to Izmir, but since most of them still came by land in small groups, this solution hel-

5. Başbakanlık Arşivi (hereafter referred to as BBA), İrade, Meclisi Vâlâ 367; Devlet-i Osmaniye, Nezareti-i Umur-u Ticaret ve Nafia, İstatistik-i Umumi İdaresi, *Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniyenin Bin Üçyüz Onüç Senesine Mahsus İstatistik-i Umumisidir*, İstanbul, 1316/1898.

6. Babiali Evrak Odası (hereafter referred to as BEO), 264280 (10 June 1325), 273342 (25 August 1325), 273786 (6 October 1325), 267839 (27 June 1329), 270059 (18 July 1325), 277354 (2 June 1326), 282452 (5 June 1326), 287055 (27 October 1326), 289714 (15 February 1326), 299875 (14 Jan. 1327), 299697 (19. Jan. 1327), 306924 (22 Sept. 1328), 306989 (24 Sept. 1328), 307562 (26 Sept. 1328), 307241 (27 Sept. 1328), 307167 (30 Sept. 1328), 327205 (2 Oct. 1328), 307286 (2 Oct. 1328), 307591 (10 Oct. 1328), 307787 (14 Oct. 1328), 310345 (19 Jan. 1329), 315453 (8 Aug. 1329), 315621 (19 Aug. 1329).

7. BEO (1326) 3255/1228 (22 Nov. 1326), (1324) 4630 (23 Feb. 1324), 295609 (18 Sept. 1327), 300016 (25 Jan. 1327), 300193 (2 Feb. 1327), 305894 (18 Aug. 1328).

8. BEO 264280 (10 June 1325), 266505 (7 May 1325), 248781 (8 May 1323), 305419 (18 Aug. 1329), 308084 (22 Oct. 1328), 308062 (25 Oct. 1328), 313051 (8 May 1329), 315708 (28 April 1330), 312924 (7 May 1329), 313051, 313373 (14 May 1329)

9. BEO 294994 (20 Aug. 1327), 308964 (26 Nov. 1328), 309114.

ped only partially, and the problem remained acute until the outbreak of World War I¹⁰.

The influx of Muslim refugees into the empire was accompanied by an outflow of Christians as a result of the endemic violence which began in 1882 and continued without break through World War I to the end of the empire¹¹, stimulated and exacerbated by Russian arms, ammunition and exhortations¹². The Ottoman Empire thus lost about one quarter of its Greek subjects, about 600,038 people, as well as almost all its Bulgars, some 864,000, increasing the Muslim proportion of the population from 72 to 81 per cent. (Table A). However this took place almost entirely in the lost European provinces of Salonica, Monastir, Kosova and Yanya (Table B). In Anatolia, on the other hand, while there were some population losses in a few individual localities, there still were overall increases among all elements of the population (Tables B and C). Thus the Greeks in Aydin province increased from 196,558 to 299,096, in Izmit from 23,718 to 40,048, in Canik (Samsun) from 64,648 to 98,739, in Sivas from 19,804 to 75,324, in Karesi, along the sea of Marmara, from 67,386 to 97,497, in Menteşe from 10,172 to 19,923, and in Niğde from 36,489 to 58,312, with the only sizable Greek population declines taking place in the provinces of Ankara, Biga and Hüdavendigâr (Table B).

10. BEO 308950 (26 Nov. 1328), 312728 (25 April 1329), 312696 (25 April 1329).

11. During the winter of 1895-1896, 1647 Armenians and 523 Muslims were killed in Diyarbekir province; 2149 and 498 respectively in Mamuret ul-Aziz; 1174 and 150 in Erzurum; 1319 and 483 in Van and 391 and 151 in Bitlis. BBA, Yıldız Arşiv Esas Evrakı, Kısım 14, Evrak 57, Zarf 126, Karton 7, «Anadolu vilayat-ı şahanesinden bazılarda vukua gelmiş olan içtişatın zühür ve esbabı hakkında tutulan zabıt ceridesini havidir,» 4 November 1312/1896. Massive amounts of investigatory reports on these disturbances are also found in the following Yıldız archives files: Kısım 35, Evrak 35/29, Zarf 46, Karton 96; Kısım 35, Evrak 306, Zarf 50, Karton 97; Kısım 35, Evrak 334M, Zarf 50, Karton 97; Kısım 35, Evrak 393, Zarf 36, Karton 98-99; Kısım 35, Evrak 2261, Zarf 50, Karton 97; Kısım 35, Evrak 35/30, Zarf 85, Karton 96; Kısım A, Evrak 21/IV, Zarf 31, Karton 131, Kısım A, Evrak 22/IV, Zarf 22, Karton 131; Kısım A, Evrak 22/VI, Zarf 22, Karton 131; Kısım 11, Evrak 1112, Zarf 120, Karton 5; Kısım 14, Evrak 57, Zarf 126, Karton 7; Kısım 31, Evrak 76/14, Zarf 76, Karton 81. Also BEO 243459 (8 Mart 1324), 245577 (30 Mart 1324), 246250 (30 Mart 1324), 249400 (2 July 1324), 254790 (3 Sept. 1324), 262881 (1 Feb. 1324), 265144 (1 Apr. 1325), 265546 (19 Apr. 1325), 265472 (20 Apr. 1325), 265984 (29 Apr. 1325), 266632 (2 May 1325), 266559 (6 May 1325), 266702 (9 May 1325), 267805 (25 May 1325), 267600 (26 May 1325), 265520 (19 Apr. 1325), 272597 (22 Şaban 1327), 271770 (9 Aug. 1325), 274536 (14 Aug. 1325), 279520 (22 Mart 1326), and 279438 (19 Mart 1326).

12. BEO 247382 (12 Apr. 1324), 248553 (3 May 1324), 248991 (12 May 1324), 254-790 (3 Sept. 1324), 300336 (6 Feb. 1327), 300475 (11 Feb. 1327), 283101 (19 June 1326), 300336 (6 Feb. 1327), 300475 (11 Feb. 1327), 315306 (30 July 1329). Also Yıldız Esas Evrakı, Kısım A, Evrak 22/III, Zarf 22, Karton 131; Kısım 31, Evrak 76/23, Zarf 76, Karton 81; BEO 249400 (18 May 1324), 251, 082 (19 June 1324), 248346 (30 Apr. 1324), 247494 (14 April 1324), 247499 (13 April 1324), 279529 (22 Mart 1326), and 279966 (3 April 1326).

The Armenian population decreased in Istanbul, the Anatolian provinces of Ankara, Eskişehir, Kütahya and Trabzon, and the Arab province of Aleppo. (Tables B and C). The overall Armenian population, however, increased substantially, by 172, 282 people, or seventeen per cent, during the same period. There were large Armenian increases in Erzurum province, from 101, 138 to 125, 657, in Izmit, from 37, 220 to 55, 403, in Urfa from 9, 783 to 15, 161, in Bitlis from 101, 358 to 114,704, in Biga, along the Dardanelles, from 1, 741 to 48, 659, in Diyarbekir from 46, 823 to 55, 890, in Sivas from 116, 545 to 143, 406, in Konya from 9, 813 to 12, 871, in Kayseri from 35,819 to 48, 659, in Maraş from 21,019 to 27, 842, and in Van from 60, 448 to 67, 793.

The overall Muslim population in the empire increased by some twenty per cent between 1885 and 1914 (Table A), but that in many individual provinces increased by even more: Erzurum from 445, 548 to 673, 297, Ankara from 735, 766 to 877, 285, Izmit from 113, 117 to 226, 859, Eskişehir from 56, 078 to 140, 578, Urfa from 114, 358 to 149, 384, Bitlis from 167, 054 to 309, 999, Diyarbekir from 289, 591 to 493, 101, Sivas from 766, 558 to 939, 735, Mamuretülaziz (Elazığ) from 300, 188 to 446, 379, and Van from 59, 412 to 179, 380.

Jewish refugees also were admitted to the Ottoman empire in substantial numbers at this time, as it continued its centuries' long role as a place of refuge for those fleeing from persecution in Russia as well as various countries in western Europe.¹³ Even before the Zionist Organization was established, the leaders of the Jewish millet in Istanbul arranged with Abdulhamit II to receive Jewish refugees from the Russian pogroms which were then in progress. As a result of the success of this program, they agreed to his request that the settlers go to Rumelia and Anatolia rather than to Palestine, and did not openly object to his refusal to agree to the request of Theodor Herzl for establishment of some sort of Jewish home in Palestine¹⁴. Thus one sees (Table B) Jewish increases of 64 per cent in Edirne province and 17 per cent in Istanbul, and one can assume that an even greater increase took place in Salonica, which had by far the largest proportion of Jews of any Ottoman city until its conquest by Greece. In southwestern Anatolia, the Jews of Aydin

13. S. J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. I, *Empire of the Caesars: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808*, Cambridge University Press, 1976, pp. 59, 69, 148, 152, 177-78; Cecil Roth, *The House of Nasi: Dona Gracia*, London 1947,, and *The House of Nasi: The Duke of Naxos*, London, 1948; Avram Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs d'Istanbul*, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1941-1942, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie*, Istanbul, 1939.

14. BEO 117385, 182089, 214140, 248424 (23 June 1324). Arminius Vambéry, *Story of My Struggles: The Memoirs of Arminius Vambéry*, 2 vols, London, 1904, and «Personal Reflections of Abdulhamid II and His Court», *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 1xv, 388 (1909), pp. 980-993, and 1xvi, 389 (1909), pp. 69-88; Theodor Herzl, *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, ed. Raphael Patai, 5 vols., New York and London, 1960.

increased by 60 per cent, those of Izmit and Menteşe tripled. Even in central and eastern Anatolia the increases were substantial. Ankara's Jews more than doubled. Those of Eskişehir province increased from 52 to 728, of Hüdavendigâr from 3037 to 4126, of Diyarbekir from 1051 to 2085, of Van from nothing to 1383.

Of course the sultan's disinclination to support Zionist immigration to Palestine does not mean that such immigrants were not allowed to come and stay. Jewish refugees usually came as visitors for limited periods of time and then managed to settle there permanently by accepting Ottoman citizenship, causing regular protests from local Muslims¹⁵. The Jews of Jerusalem thus increased from 8, 110 to 21, 259, or 162 per cent, during these years. Unable to stem the tide, the Ottomans at least tried to divert it to Syria and Beirut, hoping to use the industry, expertise, and energy of the refugees to promote Ottoman agriculture, industry and trade in those areas and, in particular, to increase exports so as to solve some of its financial problems¹⁶. Thus the Jewish population of Beirut province increased five fold, to 15, 052, of Aleppo by thirty per cent, to 12, 193, and of Syria (Damascus) by 62 per cent to 10, 140. While the empire's overall Jewish population increased by only three thousand people, from 184, 106 to 187, 073, the substantial immigration is concealed by the loss of the large Jewish populations of Salonica, Kosova, Monastir and Janina as a result of the Balkan wars, while Bağdad and Basra were not counted in the 1914 census.

Table A presents the overall population figures by millet as given in the censuses of 1885 and 1914. Table B presents the breakdown of the same statistics by province (*vilâyet*) and district (*sancak*), where the latter were included within provinces in 1885 but administered and counted separately in 1914. Table C presents the figures for the major counties (*kaza*), which in most cases were co-terminus with the cities and towns which were their capitals. While all the provinces and independent districts are presented in Table B, only the more important cities and towns are listed in Table C. All the millet figures are given in Table A, but only those of the largest four millets, Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Muslim and Jewish, are given in the latter two tables because of limitations of space. It should be noted also that some of the provincial and district boundaries were shifted between the two censuses, particularly that of Hüdavendigâr, which was substantially broken up. Further research is needed, however, to determine the effect of this on the population distribution figures themselves.

15. BEO 217188 (9 April 1324), 272841, 273923 (8 Sept. 1325), 274478 (12 Oct. 1325), 320668 (27 Mart 1330), 117385, 182089, 214140.

16. BEO 248424 (1 May 1324), 268718 (1 July 1325), 268736, 271831 (15 Sept. 1325), 727572 (8 Feb. 1325), 277772.

TABLE A

GRAND TOTALS—ALL MILLETS, 1885-1914

Millet	1885	1914
Muslims	12,585,950	15,044,846
Greek Orthodox	2,329,776	1,729,738
Armenian Gregorian	988,887	1,161,169
Jews	184,139	187,073
Catholics	150,166	130,306
Bulgarian Exarchate	818,962	14,908
Protestants	36,229	65,844
Latins	18,240	24,845
Monophysites	22,598	n. a.
Non-Muslim Gypsies	3,153	11,169
Suryani	n. a.	4,133
Geldani	n. a.	13,211
Ya'qubi	n. a.	6,932
Maronite	n. a.	47,406
Samarian	n. a.	164
Nestorian	n. a.	8,091
Yazidi	n. a.	6,957
Druze	n. a.	7,385
Qazaq	n. a.	1,006
Serbian	n. a.	1
Vlach	n. a.	82
Franks	235,690	n. a.
	17,375,225	18,520,016

TABLE B

THE MAJOR OTTOMAN MILLETS, 1885-1914
BY PROVINCE (VILAYET) AND DISTRICT (SANCAK)

Diyarbekir province	289591	493101	1166	1822	46823	55890	1051	2085
Zor district	33863	65770	—	18	83	67	2	2
Sivas province	766558	939735	19804	75324	116545	143406	209	344
ANATOLIA (continued)								
Trabzon province	857280	921128	155039	161574	41786	37049	5	8
Kastamonu province	929300	737302	15000	20958	2777	8959	—	8
Konya province	877232	750712	56561	35071	9813	12871	216	4
Karahisarsahip district	(205539)	277659	(103)	632	(5450)	7437	—	7
Karesi district	(257954)	359804	(67386)	97497	(6307)	8544	(314)	362
Kayseri district	(120357)	184292	(24895)	26590	(35819)	48659	—	—
Kütahya district	(308502)	303348	(6732)	8755	(4649)	3910	(52)	—
Mamuretulaziz province	300188	446379	543	971	73178	76070	2	—
Maraş district	(115680)	152645	—	11	(21019)	27842	(198)	251
Menteşe district	(135207)	188916	(10172)	19923	—	13	500	1615
Niğde district	(162421)	227100	(36489)	58312	(2342)	4890	—	—
Van Province	59412	179380	—	1	60448	67793	—	1383
ARAB WORLD								
Baghdad province	150108	excluded	—	excluded	349	excluded	421	excluded
Beyrut province	462034	648314	54976	87244	86	1188	3541	15052
Halep province	684599	576320	7552	13772	52407	35104	9913	12193
Jerusalem district	204613	266044	16701	26035	939	1310	8110	21259
Basra province	10154	excluded	—	excluded	35	excluded	421	excluded
Syria province	338931	791082	29399	60678	199	413	6277	10140
GRAND TOTALS	12587137	15044846	2332191	1729738	1001465	1161169	184106	187073

TABLE C
THE MAJOR OTTOMAN MILLETS IN IMPORTANT CITIES AND TOWNS,
1885-1914 (1)

IMPORTANT CITIES AND TOWNS	MUSLIMS	GREEK	ORTHODOX	ARMENIAN	GREGORIAN	JEWWS	
	1885	1914	1885	1914	1885	1914	1885
<i>EUROPE</i>							
Edirne	117208	53731	77830	36222	3841	4536	8918
Selanik	29489	lost	36985	lost	149	lost	34523
Istanbul	384910	497323	152741	180036	149590	69381	44361
Üsküp	40256	lost	6655	lost	—	lost	724
Priştina	52614	lost	—	lost	—	lost	305
Prizren	35492	lost	—	lost	—	lost	—
Manastir	30517	lost	41077	lost	26	lost	4274
Ohrid	16360	lost	3049	lost	—	lost	—
Gorice	32759	lost	30479	lost	—	lost	771
Janina	4759	lost	77258	lost	—	lost	38
Berat	72152	lost	35686	lost	—	lost	5
Avlonya	24990	lost	4511	lost	—	lost	31
Berat	37852	lost	35686	lost	—	lost	5
Kirkclareli	36327	22022	53663	14154	108	—	900
Dimotika	—	20110	—	24447	—	174	—
Uzunköprü	—	26483	—	13711	—	81	—
Lüleburgaz	—	14777	—	3125	—	64	—
Tekfurdağ	44632	19484	38893	4618	11004	9093	609
Gelibolu	—	8220	—	16137	—	1190	—
Keşan	—	15221	—	15371	—	51	—
<i>ANATOLIA</i>							
Erzurum	27109	83070	486	1097	9730	32751	6
Pasinler	35356	56403	21	—	6778	10046	—
Erzincan	41523	53898	206	275	12686	16144	—
Refahiye	20640	23308	1101	1394	769	1270	—

Bayezit	8943	20952	—	2	1913	2619	—	—
Eleşkirt	14528	23368	—	—	3607	4202	—	—
Adana	58049	71617	1605	3104	9612	14956	—	20
Tarsus	39862	60947	646	774	1210	2929	—	5
Kozan (Sis)	18338	20763	—	—	14026	3859	—	—
Kars	Russia	16989	Russia	16	Russia	1108	Russia	—
Haçin	Russia	16972	Russia	—	Russia	11043	Russia	—
Ankara	17218	69077	1637	3327	725	3341	—	1026
Çorum	48381	83150	146	555	497	1231	—	—
Kırşehir	53559	71647	38	412	708	1729	—	—
Yozgat	45117	77187	1156	2281	8459	13736	—	—
Kayseri	85163	101923	18406	19663	24950	30105	—	—
Kırşehir	53599	71648	38	412	708	1720	—	—
Aydın (İzmir)	79288	100356	53086	73676	6810	10061	14909	24069
Bergama	53804	56812	10250	16841	809	968	495	698
Ödemiş	53817	71069	3760	6104	1093	1553	—	12
Mağnisa	68186	86565	15398	22471	2227	2630	1345	2146
Karaağaç	16732	18076	2602	3388	770	919	74	30
Izmit	19248	40403	3576	5226	15837	23073	162	307
Yalova	n. a.	7954	n. a.	10274	n. a.	3304	n. a.	—
Iznik	n. a.	13785	n. a.	1632	n. a.	136	n. a.	—
Bitlis	44467	38701	—	—	30445	18650	—	—
Ahlat		10190	—	—		9501	—	—
Siirt	49095	27639	—	—	11971	2218	—	—
Muş	42647	30254	—	—	53776	33087	—	—
Genç	30845	24467	—	—	5166	1603	—	—
Biga	36542	65242	3160	2243	280	409	—	102
Kalayı Sultaniye	8518	13596	4939	4358	964	1266	1495	2961
Ayvacık	16302	17089	1671	—	—	5	3	1
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid								
Rhodes	6467	lost	20711	lost	3	lost	2690	lost
Sakız	1709	lost	35106	lost	14	lost	179	lost
Istanköy	2439	lost	10459	lost	—	lost	67	lost

THE MAJOR OTTOMAN MILLETS IN IMPORTANT CITIES AND TOWNS

IMPORTANT CITIES AND TOWNS	MUSLIMS	GREEK ORTHODOX		ARMENIAN GREGORIAN		JEWS		
	1885	1914	1885	1914	1885	1914	1885	1914
Midilli	4794	lost	35095	lost	32	lost	—	lost
Limni	1992	lost	13640	lost	—	lost	—	lost
Hüdavendigâr (Bursa)	89663	110301	21286	24048	3232	6433	2584	3687
Gemlik	15340	16373	6575	8568	16623	3348	—	—
İnegöl	38343	56238	—	34	5504	7101	—	106
Kütahya	115385	136164	4402	5587	2808	2811	—	—
Eskişehir	56078	83883	820	2613	1172	3979	52	194
Afyonkarahisar	76679	97547	—	59	5314	7163	—	7
Balıkesir	110325	—	1960	—	1800	—	—	—
Diyarbakır	42688	52285	192	343	12083	13970	285	520
Mardin	22558	51116	—	12	—	4	—	—
Maden (Ergani)	39029	71493	812	958	3979	8901	247	—
Lice	19069	23595	—	—	4647	4151	—	—
Silvan	11375	26330	162	507	6560	12756	—	—
Sivas	65696	54819	542	728	20446	23812	—	—
Şarkışla (Tenus)	30919	40868	—	—	11957	12969	—	—
Hafik	32509	40076	—	21	10895	11376	—	—
Amasya	37170	53123	1414	2679	6164	9598	—	—
Tokat	65344	90125	2167	3997	9198	12046	209	339
Karahisar-ı Şarkı	19421	26379	8512	16383	7118	8477	—	—
Suşehri	17509	22831	1379	2040	9711	11240	—	—
Merzifon	18786	25370	163	1067	5317	8160	—	—
Divriği	25178	30630	—	—	7986	8354	—	—
Gürün	11651	15640	3	—	6158	7788	347	—
Trabzon	79129	64726	27588	23806	9546	14846	—	8
Ordu	79771	111421	10398	18505	7552	12349	—	—
Çanık (Samsun)	33419	44993	32925	54709	1163	4791	5	18
Bafra	38936	48944	22834	30838	1012	1735	—	—

Çarşanbe	47597	54353	3114	3948	9775	10820	5	
Rize	72749	122055	641	1507	—	5	—	
Gümüşhane	21956	29639	5459	9179	1152	1817	—	
Torul	19458	29686	16679	30547	—	24	—	
Kastamonu	54395	67467	1595	2468	561	2153	—	
Inebolu	58682	80431	1497	3289	17	167	—	
Taşköprü	39639	50721	596	65	—	1477	—	
Kangarı (Çankırı)	84107	94385	758	1234	298	472	—	
Sinop	40254	28290	4063	4595	273	675	—	8
Boyabat	42681	59324	84	194	—	3074	—	
Bolu	42666	53564	17	14	825	1220	—	
Bartın	49819	64396	380	1104	195	401	—	3
Konya	92816	101880	4016	6542	1566	3235	—	
Akşehir	43265	57234	1711	2266	3134	4890	—	1
Karaman (Lârende)	36727	55237	124	567	603	1246	—	
Burdur	37213	54032	1754	2783	810	1271	—	
Isparta	43561	46698	4524	6648	619	1119	—	
Antalya (Teke)	72962	70165	4059	7837	49	341	216	173
Niğde	36868	52754	15725	26157	843	1149	—	
Aksaray	37407	59010	2437	4551	478	1758	—	
Mamuret ül-aziz (Elazığ)	134761	56365	347	23	51096	33725	—	
Malatya	124338	57726	9	—	9032	7060	—	
Dersim	22177	11874	182	—	10637	1151	2	
Mazgirt	18912	14323	—	—	2413	1483	—	
Harput	—	22541	—	—	—	7519	—	
Van	10896	45119	—	—	33053	33789	—	
Erciş	7735	27323	—	—	3711	8083	—	
Şetak	4852	8132	—	—	3793	4292	—	
Adilcevaz	6229	10820	—	—	4040	4849	—	
Gevaş	4428	18123	—	—	4802	10520	—	
Hakkâri	n. a.	31848	n. a.	1	n. a.	3461	n. a.	836

THE MAJOR OTTOMAN MILLETS IN IMPORTANT CITIES AND TOWNS

IMPORTANT CITIES AND TOWNS	MUSLIMS	GREEK ORTHODOX	ARMENIAN GREGORIAN	JEWS		
	1885	1914	1885	1914	1885	1914
<i>ARAB PROVINCES</i>						
Bağdad	103625	n. a.	—	n. a.	349	n. a.
	males				males	
Basra	5729	n. a.	—	n. a.	32	n. a.
	males				males	
Beirut	22662	45063	13294	22018	86	123
Sidon	33785	46472	147	130	—	341
Sur	21717	31653	302	550	—	859
Mercium	12888	22296	3728	4777	—	278
Trablus Şam	32530	50004	7757	10723	—	63
Safita	27376	32254	2063	4271	—	72
Akár	19920	12538	12573	7919	—	63
Hisnûlekrat	15664	16477	6873	12185	—	—
Acre	20014	31800	2914	3959	—	106
Haifa	13935	23517	452	939	—	2439
Safad	12882	22481	218	326	—	4644
Nâsira	6848	11777	2859	4274	—	—
Tabârya	5161	8410	54	150	—	3194
Lazikiye	37388	46017	1852	3485	—	—
Cebele	18648	28586	—	105	—	—
Merkub	28612	29469	2394	3413	—	—
Sakyun	25870	30626	1132	1537	—	580
Nablus	30786	74843	652	1035	—	83
Benisa'b	31271	35929	12	18	—	29
Cenin	30179	40780	313	760	—	3
Haleb (Aleppo)	n. a.	93976	n. a.	1172	n. a.	9973
Ursâ	n. a.	69026	n. a.	—	n. a.	817
İskenderun	n. a.	14140	n. a.	2373	n. a.	1519
Maraş	n. a.	50356	n. a.	11	n. a.	13260
					n. a.	151

Antakya (Antioch)	n. a.	78054	n. a.	7352	n. a.	4773	n. a.	357
Zeytun	n. a.	8069	n. a.	—	n. a.	10050	n. a.	—
Ayntab	n. a.	89769	n. a.	67	n. a.	14466	n. a.	860
Kilis	n. a.	78905	n. a.	434	n. a.	3934	n. a.	775
Suriye (Damascus)	98621	197507	4251	6569	199	413	6265	10129
Hama	43237	64225	5923	8089	—	—	—	—
Kudüs (Jerusalem)	54364	70270	12022	19717	849	1173	7105	18190
Yafa (Jaffa)	45175	62758	3897	5312	92	137	294	2105
Gaza	59517	77296	768	1006	—	—	—	243
Halilurrahman	40557	55720	15	—	—	—	611	721

SOURCES: The census report issued in 1303/1885-1886 is found in the Istanbul University Library, manuscript TY 4807; a later revision, presented to the sultan, Abdulhamit II in 1309/1893, and found in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, is published by Kemal H. Karpat, «Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/82-1893», *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, IX (1978), pp. 237-234. The census report issued in 1330/1914 was published as Dahiliye Nezareti, Sicil-i Nüfus İdare-i Umumiyesi Müdürlüğü, *Memalik-i Osmaniyyenin 1330 Senesi Nüfus İstatistiği*, İstanbul, 1330/1914, and *Tableaux indiquant le nombre des divers éléments de la population dans l'Empire Ottoman au 1 Mars 1330 (14 Mars 1914)*, Constantinople, 1919. See also S. J. Shaw, «The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914», *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, IX (1978), 325-338.