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*Irini Renieri*

## HOUSEHOLD FORMATION IN 19TH-CENTURY CENTRAL ANATOLIA: THE CASE STUDY OF A TURKISH-SPEAKING ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

This article explores household formation among the Greek Orthodox population of a mixed village of Cappadocia inhabited by Muslims, as well. The village, Çukur, was located on the right bank of the river Kızılırmak, 49 kilometers north–northwest of Kayseri.<sup>1</sup> I aim to show that complex forms of household formation were the main type of social organization and were especially durable over time, with a high average household membership. I attempt to clarify whether the predominance of extended households—which, as other studies have shown, is not that common in the Asian portion of the Ottoman Empire—was related to the Christian character of this section of the Çukur population, or whether the agricultural basis of the village economy played a more important role.

I explore household organization in relation to migration trends, the economy, and the ways in which economic crises were confronted; the adoption of certain practices for the transfer and administration of property; and the ways in which individuals were integrated into the broader family network. I look at why and in which ways this population differed from those that Alan Duben, one of the major scholars of the Muslim household in the Ottoman Empire, regards as being examples of the predominant patterns of actual household formation. Although the ideal model to which the Muslim populations aspired was the complex household, they were very often unable to adhere to this model in practice. However, the Christian population of Çukur did manage to create complex households. My purpose in this article is to explore the ways in which the Christian population of Çukur managed to achieve the “ideal model.”

Most of the studies of household formation in Ottoman territory—a subject that has become quite popular in the past two decades—have tended to focus on the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire,<sup>2</sup> while those that focus on the Anatolian provinces invariably do not take the Christian populations into consideration. The European portion of the empire was integrated into the international economic system

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at an early stage; thus, the study of its forms of household organization was stimulated by the hope that it would shed light on other issues, such as the pace of economic development and European provinces' incorporation into the world market. From a different perspective, there has been a desire to learn more about the changes brought about by contact with the Western European economy, not only in terms of political and economic institutions, but also on the level of domestic life itself.

Although the literature on the family in Ottoman Anatolia is much smaller, it is still of a high quality and is characterized by a well-developed theoretical approach.<sup>3</sup> Haim Gerber and Duben, for example, have examined Turkish terminology for family and household and the shifts in that terminology over time. They point out the difficulties that emanate from both the polysemic nature of the terms, as well as their constant interchangeability. Duben has also explored "emotions" in the Ottoman Empire, such as love and marriage, co-habitation, the emotional relationships between children and parents—issues that have been placed at the center of inquiry by the "cultural" approach to the history of the family.

Even so, it must be noted that all these studies of Ottoman Anatolia relate exclusively to the Muslim population. The authors underline that cultural attributes such as religion are of great significance for practices relating to household formation (practices of property transmission, rights of ownership to productive wealth, methods of wealth accumulation, etc.) and emphasize the fact that their studies relate only to the Muslim Turkish family. The terms "Ottoman family" and "Ottoman household," used by some scholars, do not therefore have a wider application and are used interchangeably with the terms "Turkish family" and "Turkish household."

#### SOURCES

In addition to the collections of the Oral History Archives of the Center for Asia Minor Studies (CAMS) in Athens, I have used three original, unpublished sources for this study, all located in the General State Archives in Athens. The first two are Kayseri Register no. 216, a *cizye defteri* written in Ottoman Turkish script and dating to 1834–35; and Çukur Register no. 245 of the church of the Christian community of Çukur, containing primarily registers of births and christenings for the years 1772–1924.<sup>4</sup> Both are included in the series *Tameion Antallaximon* (Population Exchange Office) and were deposited by refugees on their arrival in Greece.<sup>5</sup> The third register, titled "[Test]imony of the wealth abandoned by the Greeks of the community of Çukur, in the province of Kayseri, as estimated by the Committee of Çukur–Taşlık," was written in Greek and dates from 1926. It belonged to the Property Evaluation Committee (PEC) of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture.<sup>6</sup>

Aside from the personal recollections of the refugees, the only explicit references to the formation of the Greek Orthodox households of Cappadocia are to be found in books and unpublished manuscripts of 19th-century intellectuals and writers. Such references, however, must be approached with great care, as there is a tendency to use terms such as "family," "house," and "home" interchangeably, whereas the distinction among them is of fundamental importance. The terms used by the refugees most definitely had great significance for how they themselves conceived of the organization of their lives, and to a great extent this "controls" the interpretive tools that we

can use to analyze them. The fact that the author of the Çukur Register no. 245, when registering the christenings between 1878 and 1924, did not create new “family” sections when a single household was broken up into several smaller ones suggests that, on the level of family experience, this did not constitute a particularly noteworthy event.

#### SIZE AND STRUCTURE OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX HOUSEHOLDS OF ÇUKUR

Most of the studies of household<sup>7</sup> formation in Ottoman territory focus on the evaluation of the size of the *hane*, the Ottoman household.<sup>8</sup> This is necessary in order to establish a reliable method for assessing the population of the Ottoman Empire for periods during which contemporary-style censuses were not conducted and for which we lack sources akin to the continuous records of births, marriages, and deaths that were kept in various parts of Europe. The problems of assessment are exacerbated by the fact that, until 1881–82, Ottoman censuses recorded only the male population. As a result, there is a lack of evidence for wider kinship relations within the household, impeding attempts to estimate the size of the total population.

Even so, one should perhaps not focus too heavily on attempting to re-create these statistics to the point at which the actual context of the household is reduced to a secondary analytical role. If the study of the average number of members per household is separated from both the developmental cycle of the household and the familial experience that these members acquire during their lives, this approach leads to statistical impressions that disguise the fluidity and historical dimensions of the phenomena under examination. In the case of Çukur, the relevant figures have a mainly comparative character and can be interpreted within a wide variety of parameters of the organization of this community.

The estimates for the average size of Muslim households in 19th-century Anatolia vary. In rural areas, there was an average of 5.3–6.5 members, while an average of 3.9–4.2 has been estimated for Istanbul between the years 1885 and 1907, including individuals without family relationships. A variation in relation to social class has also been observed in Istanbul, between working-class families (an average membership of 4.5) and affluent families, who were in control of the administration (an average of 5.7).<sup>9</sup>

We can make similar estimates for Çukur for the years 1834 (see Table 1) and 1884. The data are inadequate for a proper formulation of the typology of the Çukur household in 1834, because women are completely absent from the statistics. Moreover, the size of the household does not relate immediately to its form (simple, extended, multiple), although size can provide an initial indication: a high average number of family members is more common in complex than in simple households.<sup>10</sup>

By contrast, the entries for the year 1884 include the total membership of 68 households—that is, a total of 247 men and 223 women.<sup>11</sup> The average household size amounted to 6.9 individuals. It can be inferred from this that a probable average size for the 1834 household would have been 6.5 people.

The following additional observations can, however, be made for the year 1834: the head of the household was always the oldest man; no female head of household

TABLE 1 *Number of men per household (1834)*

Village	Average	Village	Average	Village	Average
İstefana	2.7	Tavlusun	2.6	İskopi	2.4
Darsıyak	2.6	Kesi	3.6	Kergeme	4
Vexe	2.4	Ağırmas	2.8	Sarımsaklı	3.4
Çukur	3.4	Molu	2.3	Erkilat	2.5

*Source:* GAK Kayseri 216. The statistics refer to villages with an Orthodox male population of up to 300. The percentage of men participating in migration varied from village to village.

appears, although this is implied when all male members were minors. Under no circumstances did a son replace a father as head of household as long as the father was alive. There are no entries for men who did not have a blood relationship with the head of household. Finally, from the total of 38 households for the year 1834, fewer than ten definitely had a complex form; six of these were made up of three generations (head, sons, and grandsons), while the remaining six varied between those that were recorded as head, his brother or brothers, and his nephew or nephews, and those where the head lived with his son or sons and brothers. At least 26.3 percent of the households in 1834 had a very complex form, and to these belonged 51 of the 130 Greek Orthodox men of the village—that is, 39.2 percent of the total number of men.

A clearer presentation of the situation in 1884 can be seen in Table 2. The demographic data presented here enable one to conclude that, for the Greek Orthodox community of Çukur, the extended and multiple modes of household organization dominated, with a clear predominance of the latter. One can say, therefore, that the Greek Orthodox members of the settlement spent a large part of their lives in complex households.

Duben believes that the complex household structure was the ideal model in the Ottoman Empire but that it was far from what the population was able to achieve in reality. Using the data of anthropologists who carried out fieldwork in the rural areas of Anatolia in the 1950s and 1960s, as well as his own observations about Istanbul at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, he concludes that the total number of complex household structures could not have been higher than 30 percent.<sup>12</sup> He notes that “from the period of the westernizing reforms of the Tanzimat beginning in 1839 to the early post-World II [period] . . . the majority of people in rural Turkey did not change dramatically until the period of rural transformation beginning in the early 1950s. . . . [S]uch a condition also holds for Turkish families and households.”<sup>13</sup> J. McCarthy gives an estimate of 30 percent for “extended” households in the Black Sea region in 1840.

The percentage indicators for Çukur in 1884 are exceptionally high: 47.9 percent of households were multiple, and 4.5 percent were extended. If one accepts that some households were not included, that may reduce the figure somewhat, although I do not believe that it would affect it to any significant degree.

TABLE 2 *Typology of the household (Çukur, 1884)*

Category/class <sup>a</sup>	No. households	% Total	Total no. of individuals
Solitaries	1	1.5	1
No family	—	—	—
Simple family households			
Married couples	8	11.7	16
Married couple with offspring	17	25	80
Widower with offspring	1	1.5	2
Widow with offspring	5	7.3	20
Extended family household			
Extended upward	1	1.5	8
Extended downward	1	1.5	4
Extended laterally	1	1.5	7
Multiple family households			
Secondary unit(s) up	5	7.3	46
Secondary unit(s) down	18	26	184
Secondary unit(s) lateral	3	4.4	29
<i>Frèresches</i>	7	10.2	73
Total	68		470

<sup>a</sup>The classification, the aim of which is to provide a unified code that will allow comparisons, was drawn up on the basis of Peter Laslett, with Richard Wall, ed., *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (1972), 28–32.

Source: GAK Çukur 245, 441–56.

#### FACTORS IN THE FORMATION OF THE HOUSEHOLD

This method of estimation—the statistical representation of one particular point in the developmental cycle of the household—runs the risk of over-emphasizing certain kinds of households; namely, those that happen to make the greatest appearance. Other factors must therefore also be taken into account, such as age at marriage, the difference in age between spouses and between a father and his sons, the age difference between siblings, and the point at which the household breaks up into smaller households. Such factors constitute the strategies available to the members of a particular society, and they indicate both the potential inherent in the rules governing household structure and their limitations as defined by cultural, socio-economic, and demographic characteristics.

In the case of the Greek Orthodox community of Çukur, on the basis of the evidence of 1884<sup>14</sup> and other sources, one can see that the general rule is that of the patrilocal settlement of the newly married couple. The 1834 register mentions only one example from Çukur and the four other villages (Sarımsaklı, İskopi, Darsıyak, and İstefana) of matrilocal settlement where a newly married man went to live with his wife's family. Toward the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, there were five such men in Çukur, coming mainly from the neighboring areas.<sup>15</sup> They had married into households that had only female descendants. The following example is a good indication of the importance of the preservation of the household, even through the female line: Lazaros Kutloğlu, forty-six years old in 1915 and in bad health, had only three surviving children, a sixteen-year-old daughter and two sons,

age ten and one, respectively. His other ten children had all died. Fearing for his imminent death—which came the next year—he married his daughter to an Armenian from Uludiğın, with the condition that the Armenian convert to Greek Orthodoxy and take his father-in-law’s name. Both of these conditions were fulfilled. The symbolic incorporation of the newcomer through the mechanism of the change of name can be observed in another example: Yeni Nikolas, son-in-law of Paisios Düyunçoğlu, is mentioned in a baptismal entry for which he acted as godparent, as “Yeni Nikolas Düyunçoğlu.”

The early age of marriage increased the possibility that several male descendants would be born, and by extension it created positive conditions for the creation of complex households. The age of marriage for women is especially young. Between age one and eleven, daughters were almost exclusively unmarried, whereas from age eleven to sixteen, there was a sharp rise in the number of girls who were married. Almost no daughters remained unmarried after age sixteen. Four brides in 1884 were ten to thirteen years old, although according to the law, marriage and engagements were not considered legal for women younger than twelve.<sup>16</sup> The typical age of marriage for men was twenty-four to twenty-five, an age characteristic of the conditions of the system, as it implies a long period of cohabitation of sons with their families. The birth of the first son—and here I considered only surviving sons—can be placed around age twenty-eight, whereas the average age difference between surviving brothers is ten years.

Although childbirth was delayed for women until age twenty to twenty-two, and the death rate—mainly infant and child mortality—was great, the Greek Orthodox population of Çukur appears to have reproduced itself demographically at a sufficient rate. An examination of the offspring of one hundred<sup>17</sup> married couples in 1884 reveals that they had a total of 468 children, of whom 332 were surviving—that is, an average of 3.32 children per couple.<sup>18</sup>

These factors, without being constraining, contributed positively to the existence of large households, many of which included three generations. In sixteen households in 1884, the head lived with his sons and unmarried grandchildren. The age of these heads-of-household ranged from forty-eight to seventy-six, with the majority being around sixty. The distribution of the households on the basis of the size of their membership (see Figure 1) indicates that half of the Greek Orthodox population of Çukur lived in households with between nine and twenty people.

In societies such as the one examined here, mortality—especially that of the head-

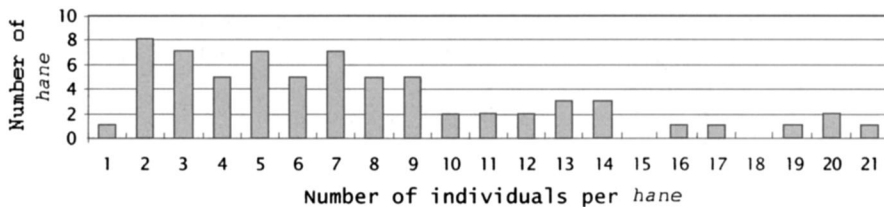


FIGURE 1. Distribution of *hane* on the basis of the size of their membership (Çukur 1884). Source: GAK Çukur 245.

of-household—is considered one of the basic elements that limit the ability to form complex households, because the death of the head of the household delegates the son as the new head. The practice of breaking up households, discussed later, is of great importance, confirming the belief that the schema of complex households was feasible, as well as the preferred ideal.

Sons tended to delay taking up the position of head-of-household. In 1834 and in 1884, 50 percent of the heads were older than forty-five, although the numerically largest age cohort of heads was that of men age thirty-five to forty-four.

It is obvious that there was no steady increase in nuclear families with heads fifteen and fifty-five years of age, because complex households were preferred (see Table 3). Of special interest is the fact that two of the five complex households for the age cohort 25–34 consisted of married brothers (*frèrèches*). There were four such households in the 35–44 age cohort, whereas there was only one for the 45–64 age cohort, and the majority (fifteen households) consisted of households with smaller secondary married units. In other words, the death of the head-of-household did not imply the fragmentation of the household into several nuclear families, but it could just as equally result in complex households if the conditions were right.

The practices involved in breaking up households are linked to strategies for the division of the family wealth, while a common roof and common wealth are connected with complex forms of household.<sup>19</sup> In the Greek Orthodox community of Çukur, family wealth as a rule belonged to the head, and its disposal depended on his death. For this reason, the breakup of the household before his death was very rare. Four such cases were recorded in 1884: two were the result of the second marriage of the father, who then became head of a household comprising his new wife and their children. His sons from his previous marriage established their own nuclear families.

If the death of the head led to the dispersal of the family wealth among the offspring—in particular, the male offspring—then how rapid was its redistribution among them? Unfortunately, the material provides only a little enlightenment, although the following situation is characteristic. In 1884, seven households were com-

TABLE 3 *Age groups of household head according to household typology (Çukur, 1884)<sup>a</sup>*

Category	Age groups											
	15–24		25–34		35–44		45–54		55–64		65+	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Simple	5 <sup>b</sup>	71.4	9	64.2	7	46.6	3	25	4	30.7	2	4
Extended	0	—	0	—	1	6.6	1	8.3	0	—	1	20
Multiple	2	28.5	5	35.7	7	46.6	8	66.6	9	69.2	2	40

<sup>a</sup>The table relates to 66 households. One single-member household and one lacking the details of the age of the head have been omitted.

<sup>b</sup>The large number of simple families with a head age 15–24 is due to the early death of the head. Four of the five households actually consisted of a widow and her children, the majority of whom were minors.

Source: GAK Çukur 245, 441–56.



posed of married brothers (of the *frères* type), and another two consisted of married siblings cohabiting with the widowed mother. In at least six of these households, the brothers continued to maintain the undivided family wealth for common use for several years after the death of the household heads. In addition, in all of the households that experienced a change of head between 1878 and 1884, there was only one case in which the household broke up into smaller nuclear households; in the rest, a complex form of household organization continued.

Because we lack knowledge of legal transactions (dowry agreements, donations, buying and selling, etc.), and the decisions of the community's council of the elders, we cannot use contemporary sources to answer basic questions relating to the form, origin, and disposal of productive wealth in this period. Even so, the inequality in access to wealth on the basis of gender and the forms that this access took had great significance for the social organization of the household. Many specialists on Ottoman society have commented on the importance of the ownership of real estate, primarily in rural communities, and have suggested that Islamic inheritance law, under which daughters inherited only half of the portion that their brothers inherited, constituted the fundamental basis of such gender inequality.<sup>20</sup>

Ignoring the chronological leap for a while, one must resort to the only available relevant source: the register dating from 1926 of the estimates of the values of the property abandoned by the Greek Orthodox residents of Çukur as a result of the population exchanges between Greece and Turkey. I have attempted to reconstruct 125 of these properties.<sup>21</sup>

It appears that the different strategies that could be used to alter the inheritable portions in some way (e.g., the sale of property to one's descendants), or alter their structure (e.g., as a donation), or both (e.g., the drawing up of a will) were very rarely employed. A change in size or composition could come about through other means—for example, the abandonment of one's share or the reimbursement to the beneficiary (in most cases) of a monetary equivalent rather than landed or other immovable property. The latter two strategies were most commonly used by women. An examination of the modes of transmission of this property reveals only five circumstances of its division by will, two sales—to descendants of the same family—and six examples of the donation of part of the property. As a result, I believe that the practice of posthumous transmission of property continued to be the dominant mode for the period after 1884, as well.<sup>22</sup> A couple of observations confirm this theory. First, those individuals who, on their arrival in Greece, already had married sons appear as the sole owners of their properties, while the names of their male offspring do not appear anywhere. Second, of the nineteen men who died soon after their arrival in Greece, the vast majority (fourteen) bequeathed their property undivided, while the remainder had already given a section of it away as a donation. These donations were made to male descendants, although in two cases women were among the beneficiaries. In one case, a daughter received a vineyard, and in another a wife was given a gift of five hectares of fields. The contents of the donation are always the same: a "residency" of one or two rooms; stables, gardens, or vineyards; and fields of around 1 to 5 hectares. Only in three cases does it appear that the donation was sufficient to enable the formation of a new household, and in these cases the household probably broke up during the father's lifetime. It is indicative that the donors owned large areas of farmland, be-

cause after the donation they continued to own land of 11.1–31.2 hectares, with an average of 19.8 hectares. It is not impossible, therefore, that the sons who received such large donations also participated in the cultivation and maintenance of the common family land in addition to their own.<sup>23</sup>

In Çukur, posthumous transmission of property followed the lines of Islamic law of the Ottoman Empire: Dowries were not given to daughters, a practice that appeared only in the 19th century within communities that had acquired a mercantile character.<sup>24</sup> Instead, they inherited half of their brothers' share. The use of Islamic law, not Byzantine law (which followed the practice of the Greek Orthodox church whereby descendants of both sexes inherited equal shares), is testified to by both the records of such inherited shares in the PEC register and the assertions of the Greek Orthodox refugees of Çukur that they referred disputes over inheritance shares to the Muslim judge, the qadi.<sup>25</sup> An examination of the registers of the religious court of Galata for the years 1705–1809 reveals that an ever increasing number of non-Muslims—Armenians and Greek Orthodox—appealed to the court in such disputes.<sup>26</sup> Islamic inheritance law was not observed by all communities in Cappadocia (e.g., Synasos), but it was applied in various regions and within the territory added to the Greek state (e.g., at Chalkida in Euboa).<sup>27</sup> Its use in Cappadocia at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century has special significance for the decisiveness of the control that the Orthodox Patriarchate could exercise over issues of family and inheritance law, especially when, during the preceding period, it had clashed with the central administration in attempts to maintain its control over such issues.

Certainly, then, women's ownership of property did not "translate" into increased social status, because various mechanisms (control of the property by the husband, sale of the portion to male relatives for cash, the inability to exercise rights to inheritance) limit the ability of women to manage their own property. However, and especially in the urban centers of the Ottoman Empire, it appears that women come to own property not just through inheritance, but also by purchasing it themselves. In addition, they also frequently appear in the sources as moneylenders.<sup>28</sup>

The PEC register is more silent than illuminating on the ways in which the women of Çukur managed their personal property. The women themselves appear to have been informed about the extent of their "family" wealth, because in many cases it is they who submitted the claims to the committee in the name of their children, their husbands, or even other relatives, and made quite detailed references to the property. Some women already owned vineyards, gardens, or plots of land, and the majority of them were registered as beneficiaries of portions inherited from the property of their fathers or husbands. In spite of this, however, all the properties and portions were registered as having been inherited from men, the only exception being those portions inherited from women who had died between 1924 and 1926. In this case, does the phrase "inheritance from the father" that one reads in the register also cover property transmitted from the mother's line? Or does it imply that, in the meantime, women forfeited their inherited portion by either selling it or giving it away as a donation? If they sold their property, what did the possession of a degree of monetary wealth mean to them in a society whose economy was based to a great degree on exchange? Even so, we do not have a record of jewelry or luxury materials that may have been given as wedding presents.<sup>29</sup> To answer these and similar questions, it is necessary

to have access to the contracts for the transmission of property and other economic transactions.

#### HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE *HANE*

The memory that the refugees had of their homeland, as recorded in the Oral Archive of the CAMS, was also contingent on the social organization of gender: information relating to the economy, geography, local administration, relationships with other communities, and history was given by male refugees. Conversely, female informants dominated on questions of religious life, popular ritual, and even popular medicine. These women appear as bearers of conservative ritual processes and only rarely—in narratives of personal life—does their participation in and knowledge of other aspects of their community appear. It is therefore open to debate to what extent this picture is the result of stereotypes reproduced in the questions asked of the refugees; their answers consequently may not correspond fully to their social and personal experience.

All the same, the way in which women were incorporated into the kinship system was closely connected to their social position. It has been noted that systems such as that which characterized the community of Çukur (a dominant pattern of complex families, delay in the fragmentation of the family, postmarital residency in the groom's house, the young age of women at marriage, etc.) trapped the female population in patriarchal structures.

The way in which the sources themselves have been arranged reveals such a system of incorporation of women into the kinship network. As noted earlier, the christenings included in the Çukur register referring to the period 1772–1852 do not actually match the total number of births and christenings of that period. An investigation into the number of boys and girls christened and the frequency by which they appear on the list suggests that there was no systematic registration of girls until about 1820. The 3:1 ratio boys to girls, compared with a 1:1 ratio for the rest of the period covered by the register, cannot be explained in demographic terms. This “concealment” cannot be attributed to a lack of information on the part of the author. I would instead suggest that his choice to exclude the girls resulted from the requirement—dictated by the social organization of gender—to emphasize the details of those households that existed or could continue after 1852 on the basis of the male line.

The assumption of the role of head of household by women was extremely rare. In records with a more formal character, such as those of 1834, this was indirectly implied when the head of the household was an underage male. (There is only one example of this at Çukur.) In the Çukur register, the solitary household of Deliayan Koulisten contained the record of the birth of her grandson, Ioan, and amongst the households of 1884, the solitary household belonged to a woman who originated in another community, Sarımsaklı.<sup>30</sup> More usual was the assignation of a male individual's identity through his mother's name, although this too was uncommon. A place of origin other than Çukur was given with the woman's name, and it appears that, in

these cases, one has a recent incorporation into the community for which no strong ties existed in terms of the form of household formation.

The listing of household members in 1884 reveals much about the community's value system; aside from brides, who were designated in terms of their husbands, the rest, men and women, were designated in terms of the head of the household. For example, after the head were listed his brothers (married and otherwise); their children were then recorded, initially according to gender, with boys first, and then by age. It must be noted that the wife of the head of the household, if he was still living, was recorded after her husband and before her sons to highlight the importance of the married couple of which the head is a part. But when the head of the household was dead, the widowed mother was placed at the end of the list, the only exception being if her son or sons had their own families, in which case she would be listed before the daughters-in-law.

The extreme marginalization of daughters-in-law was reinforced as much by the young age at which women married as by the postmarital residency of the young couple in the groom's family home.<sup>31</sup> The phrase "We gave and we took girls,"<sup>32</sup> often repeated by the refugees when referring to their relations with other villages, underlines the conception of women as objects of marital exchange. However, their apparent role in fragmenting the cohesion of the household—especially through the constant conflict that they apparently created—was given as the main cause of the dissolution of complex families. The most recent bibliography, to the extent that it recognizes such a practice, perceives it as a strategy on the part of the women to acquire power by breaking the men's strong family ties.<sup>33</sup> Yet the mechanisms for the composition and propagation of the households of Çukur do not appear to have offered much scope for this tactic, since, for the greater part of their thirties, women cohabited with their husbands' mothers and the other daughters-in-law. Although today such an age is considered relatively young, then, at age thirty-four, women were perceived as already old.<sup>34</sup>

It was not only the method of recording but also the terminology adopted by the compilers of the sources that indicated the roles that were considered by this particular society to correlate to family members on the basis of their gender and the specific phase of their lives.

The Turkish *gelin* is a kinship term that connects the woman to her husband's family. It means either "newlywed woman" or "daughter-in-law" and is used to determine not only the identity of women who have been newly brought into the household, but also those who have already become mothers. For this reason, married women who became godmothers were sometimes described as wives<sup>35</sup> and sometimes as daughters-in-law of a particular man, regardless of the period of time that had passed since their wedding. This emphasizes the fact that women remained in a peculiar relationship with the other members of the family. Concomitantly, the woman's relationship with her original family was not forgotten. In many cases, the name of a husband or father-in-law did not suffice; the women were also defined as someone's daughter (*kız*), regardless of their age or the length of time for which they had been married. In the PEC register, compiled when the form of naming had been fairly well codified, the maintenance of relations with the original family was marked: both the original family name and that of her husband were given as a woman's "surname."<sup>36</sup>

## THE ROLE OF MIGRATION IN HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

Migration to the large urban centers had a catalytic effect on basic characteristics of the economic and demographic development of the Greek Orthodox communities of Cappadocia. As Sia Anagnostopoulou has noted:

Many of these communities were already experiencing from the middle of the 19th century, and especially at the beginning of the 20th, relative economic and cultural development—schools, charitable institutions—which were based on the economic assistance provided by the migrants. . . . [This development, however,] had no relation to the economic development of the region. . . . [For this reason,] these communities were progressively driven toward a complete and total dependence on the large centres of migration—a situation that contributed to the dramatic reduction of their populations. From the middle of the 19th century, Cappadocia began to be threatened with the steady loss of its Greek Orthodox population, [which was being directed] toward the coast or away from Asia Minor.<sup>37</sup>

Even so, there were exceptions, and the economy of Çukur was one. It maintained its agricultural orientation, contained its population, and experienced a low level of outward migration. A comparison of Çukur with the other villages of the region of Kayseri, and with the city itself, depicts an established pattern (see Table 4). Not only does migration from Çukur affect only a small section of the male population, but it is also of qualitatively different nature. While migration from other villages of the Kayseri region was mainly toward Istanbul and the urban centers of the Black Sea Coast, seven of the eight migrants from Çukur migrated to Rumkavak, a nearby village with a similar economy. Migration to Izmir and Adana from the three neighboring agricultural villages—Çukur, Rumkavak, and Taşlık—began during the last decade

TABLE 4 *Number of migrants from the total male population of Kayseri and surrounding villages (1834)*

Place	Total male population	Migrant	Proportion (%)
İstefana	189	113	59.79
Tavlusun	268	146	54.48
Kesi	58	30	51.72
Endürlük	1,235	606	49.07
İskopi	114	53	46.49
Zinci dere	720	328	45.56
Talas	1,808	777	42.98
Vexe	47	20	42.55
Erkilat	307	128	41.69
Germir	1,337	540	40.39
Kergeme	40	13	32.50
Darsıyak	152	49	32.24
Sarımsaklı	258	83	32.17
Ağırnas	78	23	29.49
Molu	44	11	25
Kayseri	1,130	176	15.58
Çukur	130	8	6.15

Source: GAK Kayseri 216.

of the 19th century but never reached levels that would alter the demographics of the villages.<sup>38</sup> On a demographic level, Çukur managed to contain its population—indeed, to increase it—and was able to survive the famine of 1873–74, which had a catastrophic effect on Anatolia. The increase in the population of Çukur continued until 1900. The opposite was true for the village of Endürlük, where the migration of the Greek Orthodox population toward the geographic regions directly connected to the European economy rendered a similar population increase impossible (see Figure 2).

However, the variation between the average number of males per household and the form of household structure in Çukur and other villages<sup>39</sup> in 1834 was not so great. This could be interpreted as suggesting that the different orientation of Çukur's economy was not related to the size and structure of its household. However, I believe that, if one leaves these statistics aside, the effect of migration on the nature of the economy is made much more obvious. The household experience of the Greek Orthodox population of Çukur, male and female, was qualitatively different from that of the other villages: in the latter, the personal presence of the male population within the community was much smaller, because men age 18–50 lived far from the village, returning for a certain period every four to five years. This also meant that, from an early age, they acquired a significant personal income and therefore did not have to rely to the same degree on the family wealth. It is not impossible, then, that over time this practice had an influence on the birthrate. The refugees of Çukur and its two neighboring communities present a different picture of migration at the end of the 19th century. Migration here was either seasonal—between the two sowing seasons—or it lasted for a total of around five years, during the 18–25 age range. After this period, the men returned to the village and took up farming. During this same period, in the other communities, wives, along with their children, would move permanently—as nuclear families—to the places to which their husbands had migrated.

Moreover, communities with intense patterns of migration more often than not “resolved” the problem of family wealth—and, perhaps, the security of the members of the family who remained in the community—through the permanent residence in the family village of the youngest male offspring.<sup>40</sup> It is almost certain that the transmission of property, especially house ownership, in such circumstances would have been done in favor of the youngest son.

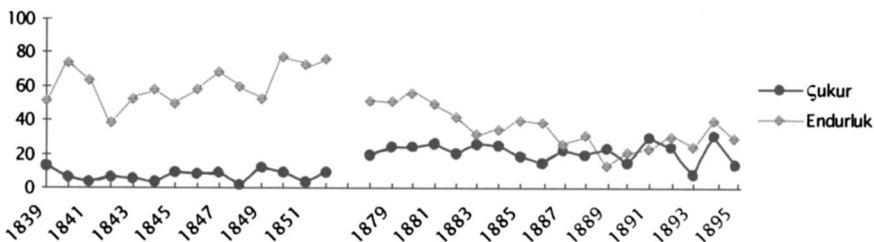


FIGURE 2. Births in Endürlük and Çukur (1839–52 and 1878–95). Source: GAK Çukur 245; *ibid.*, register of Endürlük no. 492 (the data are cited in Renieri, “Andronikio,” 16–19, 34).

## ECONOMY, AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS, HOUSEHOLD

Çukur, along with the villages of Rumkavak and Taşlık, is located in a geographical zone that is economically distinct from the Greek Orthodox villages lying to the east of Kayseri.<sup>41</sup> During the 19th century, the economy of the former experienced similar changes and fluctuations not only because of reforms being applied by the central administration, but also because of limitations emanating from the geographical region itself.

Taking poll tax (*cizye*) categories as an indicator, the economic standard of the Greek Orthodox community of Çukur in 1834 was markedly lower not only than that of the Greek Orthodox populations of other communities—whose income from the receipts of family members working in the urban centers rose dramatically to the level of the highest taxation group—but also lower than the standard in Ankara and Thessaloniki during the same period (see Figure 3).

It is difficult to compare these categories of poll tax with the size of income or property ownership. The guidelines for the conduct of the census of 1830 clearly state that the assessment should be based on personal declaration, in the presence of state officials and local notables, with the presentation, as far as possible, of the necessary receipts. From the distribution of the three taxation categories among the three communities of Kayseri mentioned earlier, it appears that taxation liability was also related to age and the ability to offer one's labor. Thus, the youngest and oldest members of the communities made up the greatest number of those in the lowest tax category. Poll tax relates exclusively to the male population, although "taxation liability," as it has been described and especially in an economy based on division of labor within the family, could also relate to the female population. Conversely, it appears to have been more socially acceptable in Ottoman society to impose tax on eight- and ten-year-old boys than on adult women in a community in which the ability to own personal property in reality came only at a relatively advanced stage of one's life.

The only available data on the relationship between agricultural holdings and poll-

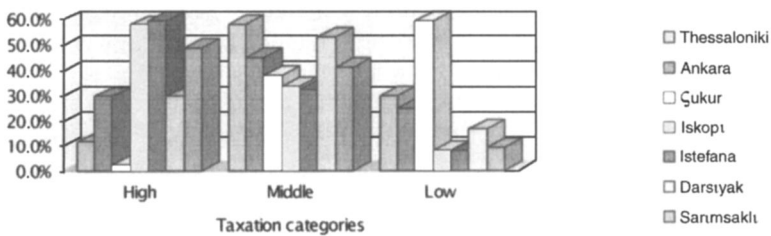


FIGURE 3. Comparative chart of poll-tax categories (1830 and 1834). *Source:* GAK Kayseri 216. The figures for Ankara are taken from Çadırıcı, "1830 genel," 116. Those for Thessaloniki refer only to its Greek population and are taken from Vasilis Dimitriadis, *I Thessaloniki tis Parakmis. I elliniki koinotia tis Thessalonikis kata ti dekaetia tou 1830 me vasi ena othomaniko katasticho apografis tou plithismou* (Thessaloniki in Decline: The Greek Community of Thessaloniki in the 1830s in the Ottoman Census Registers) (Iraklion: Crete University Press, 1997), 37. In calculating my own figures, I included all those who appeared in the taxation data, regardless of whether they had at that point actually paid the amount calculated for them. This figure was calculated from the total number of those liable for taxation, not for all registered males, because among them were children and the aged who were not liable for the poll tax.

tax categories relates to Bulgaria in 1870:<sup>42</sup> those with fewer than 2.8 hectares of land belonged to the lowest tax bracket; those with 2.9 to 9.2 hectares to the middle tax bracket; and those with 9.3 to 13.7 to the highest tax bracket. No data are available that enable one to extrapolate the Bulgarian scales of poll tax to another geographical area; neither is the reverse possible.

However, the positive results of the gradual application by the central administration from the beginning of the 1830s of a policy that aimed to stabilize the amount designated by the tithe and the replacement of tax farmers by public employees, as well as the boost given by the Land Law of 1858, should not be underestimated. Rumkavak was among the villages that, at the end of the 18th century through the system of tax farming, had come into the administration of the Çapanoğlu, an especially powerful *ayan* family.<sup>43</sup> Although the local notables put up a vigorous resistance throughout the whole of the 19th century,<sup>44</sup> much of the period between 1820 and 1873 had been favorable to farmers.

The residents of Çukur—during this period, at least—must have increased the size of their arable land. The Land Law of 1858 gave titles of land ownership to all those who *de facto* had been farming a plot of land for at least ten years; it also gave the right of ownership of unowned land, the only obligation being its continued cultivation and payment of the tithe. It must be noted here that the plots of land in Taşlık were cultivated and later contested by Çukur farmers.<sup>45</sup>

One of the pieces of information available on 16th-century Çukur suggest that it was not a particularly conventional village.<sup>46</sup> Although the village experienced one of the most rapid levels of population growth from 1490 to 1584, this presented no threat to its economy or to the standard of living of its residents, although such repercussions were witnessed in other villages. On the contrary, Çukur diversified agriculturally and became one of the leading producers of cereals. This occurred to such an extent that, in 1490, it produced a surplus of 55 percent and in 1580, of 43 percent, which it sold on the market.

During the 19th century—especially during the second half—Çukur was an agricultural community that was in large part self-sufficient, its main product being cereals. It followed a system of cultivation based on two annual sowing periods, in spring and fall, with a two-year fallow period. The large extent of the land permitted the increase in the extent used for agricultural purposes, which obviously reduced the repercussions of the fallow period. Even if one does not know what the greatest volume of produce was, the cultivation of products such as pulses, clover, flax, barley, and millet indicates the application of a system of crop rotation that, in conjunction with the ability to irrigate, enriched the land, probably also helping to increase its output. The means of production were technologically simple, and the informants of the CAMS refer to the exclusive use of the wooden plough, even up to the year of the population exchange. Stock-raising supplemented the incomes of the farmers. The forest land around the village was used for wood cutting and for expanding the extent of farmable land when necessary through gradual land clearance. In the PEC register, 2,500 hectares of Çukur herding land and forest were recognized as common land.

Economic relations for the most part were based on exchange, although certain commercial tendencies can also be noted: community employees (e.g., shepherds and clergy) were paid in cereals, while economic relations with the Turkman stock breed-



ers were based on the exchange of their respective products. However, it appears that, in both Çukur and Taşlık, surplus cereal products were channeled into the market of Kayseri and the surrounding villages, and Çukur and Taşlık in return received mainly raw materials and agricultural tools.<sup>47</sup> However, the lack of both a transportation system and a communications network prevented the growth of this kind of trade. Çukur still functioned to a degree as a small commercial center, and its two linseed-oil presses and its water mills served the needs of an impressive number of surrounding—mainly Muslim—villages.<sup>48</sup> A large number of water mills were in use, powered by water that ran in the nearby ravines. Six mills were mentioned in 1584, and the sources for the beginning of the 20th century refer to twelve to thirty mills, the majority, with the exception of two, owned by Muslims. One of these was owned by the church. This is a significant total number of water mills, especially if one considers that an important urban center such as Ak Saray had only fifteen during the same period.

The extent of agricultural holdings and the consequence of this on the formation of the household has engaged all those involved in the study of the Ottoman household. Indeed, Duben based his theory of the dominance of the simple family even in rural Anatolia on the belief that smallholdings—that is, holdings of fewer than 5 hectares—were dominant.

Assessments for the extent of cultivated land in Çukur exist for 1880 (see Table 5) and for the year before the population exchange. The ratio of size of landholding per “house” in Taşlık is highly improbable, and it is not known exactly what the author of the report based his evaluations on. It is the only example of 179 communities where the land under cultivation was so great. Moreover, the number of men resident in Taşlık is relatively low compared with the estimates at the beginning of 1890. One interpretation of the data in Table 5 is that the 2,684 hectares were cultivated by another set of farmers who do not appear here because they were residents of other

TABLE 5 *Extent of the cultivation of land in the villages of Kayseri (1880)*

Place	No. of houses	Male population			Hectares <sup>a</sup> under cultivation	Average per house (hectares)
		Armenians	Orthodox	Muslims		
İstefana	203	—	158	349	201.5	0.99
Tavlusun	578	182	314	699	145.4	0.25
Endürlük	684	—	1,264	67	572.1	0.83
Zinci dere	595	—	1,124	132	1,219.9	2
Talas	2,303	2,240	2,395	1,173	865.1	0.37
Vexe	60	—	66	94	236.2	3.9
Ağırnas	258	—	138	560	3,977.6	15.4
Kayseri (town)	8,137	7,288	1,339	13,714	8,397.8	1.03
Taşlık	16	—	61	—	2,684.5	167.7
Çukur	170	—	224	290	584.1	3.4

<sup>a</sup>Size is given in *dönüm*, converted here into hectares (50 *dönüms* = 4.5 hectares).

Source: PRO, F.O. 222/7/1, “General Report of the Sandjak of Kaisariéh,” 4 October 1880. The full table contains a total of 179 villages. The villages that have a greater average of hectares per “house”—with an upper limit of 40 hectares—had an exclusively Muslim population.

communities. It is possible that among these were farmers from Çukur, and for this reason I consider the estimate for the average extent of cultivated land that corresponds to them low. This theory is supported by the data from the PEC register, which relates to the period before 1924 (see Table 6). The figures show an unusually large increase in cultivated land from 1880 to 1924: in 1880, 584 hectares of land were owned by both Greek Orthodox and Muslims. By 1924, the irrigated and non-irrigated fields held by the Greek Orthodox alone came to 1,415 hectares. It is difficult to accept such a large increase in cultivated land, especially when, at the beginning of the 20th century, demographic patterns had changed from the previous periods.

From 1869 to 1910, the landholders of the Ottoman Empire began to experience a decrease in the size of their holdings. In 1869, 82 percent of the landholdings in Anatolia were between 6 and 8 hectares, whereas in 1901, 81 percent of landholdings were below 4.5 hectares. This phenomenon, the diminishing size of landholdings, continued until 1910.<sup>49</sup> The extent to which this phenomenon affected the Greek Orthodox population of Çukur and the other two villages engaged in agriculture is a matter of debate, because the refugees claimed that, during this period, they increased their landholdings through purchases of land belonging to Muslims. It is possible that these purchases were made in the late 1890s, when the Muslim farmers found themselves in a difficult position as a result of the debts they had incurred in previous years.<sup>50</sup> The distribution of landholdings among the population of Çukur was as follows: 29 percent, 0.25–5 hectares; 23.6 percent, 5.1–8 hectares; 32.7 percent, 8–15 hectares; 10.9 percent, 15–20 hectares; and 3.6 percent, more than 20 hectares. It must also be noted that more than half the smallholdings of 0.25–5 hectares were owned by women or consisted of land that had been donated, and that the average size of the original landholding from which these donations were made was 13 hectares.<sup>51</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

Household formation cannot be understood without reference to the social, economic, cultural, and geographic context. The exclusively agricultural communities of Kayseri

TABLE 6 *Type and extent of cultivated and uncultivated land in Çukur (1924)*

Type of land <sup>a</sup>	Hectares <sup>b</sup>	Type of land	Hectares
Unirrigated fields	980.5	Vineyard	27.5
Irrigated fields	435	Garden	9.2
Fields	1	Vegetable garden	0.3
Millet	11.5	Cloverfields	1.8
Threshing floor	4.8	Plots	3
Herding/forest	2,500		

<sup>a</sup>The description of the land is given here exactly as it is presented in the PEC register.

<sup>b</sup>Size is given in *stremmata*, converted here into hectares (10 *stremmata* = 1 hectare).

Source: General State Archives, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, Property Evaluation Committee for Çukur and Taşlık.

were characterized by their tendency toward the formation and maintenance of complex family forms.

The case study of Çukur has shown that the agricultural orientation of the village economy played a definitive role in the organization of complex forms of family household: the collective effort, inter-generational solidarity, and sense of family alliance among family members were necessary as much for the smooth progress of the economy as for social security. The landholdings were of a satisfactory size, especially compared with what is considered the average size of landholding in the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, all of the family's abilities were required in order to counterbalance the inadequacy of the means of production, as well as the problems that arose because the landed property of each family was not always concentrated in one unit but scattered around in different areas of the community. It could be argued that, to the extent that the size of landholding was increasing in the 19th century, members of the family generally remained resident within the household and did not migrate to other locations. The average number of men per household was substantially greater in 1884 than in 1834. Moreover, the men of these villages needed to collaborate to counteract raids by the Turkman and Kurdish tribes who passed through the neighboring mountain, Ak Dağ. From this perspective, there were very few moments during the 19th century that could have been considered safe.

Even so, economic conditions are not enough on their own to secure the survival of such a system of household organization over time. The community itself intervened to maintain this family structure through a wide variety of social institutions. Certain demographic prerequisites were necessary in order to support such complex family structures. These communities themselves, though—as far as was permitted to them—intervened to reform these demographic conditions, mainly through their organization along gender lines. In addition, practices that relate to the cultural system, such as posthumous transmission of wealth, influenced these trends so as to maintain the productive power of the family for as long as possible. Hereditary law helped to concentrate wealth in the hands of men of the same descent group, and various practices appeared to deprive the female population of the ability to administer their own property. Moreover, the ways in which women were absorbed into the kinship system occurred under conditions that for them were particularly limiting, suggesting a strictly hierarchical society.

Even when conditions were difficult, such as during periods of population pressure, solutions other than the breakup of the household and division of the land were preferred. Pertinent here is the resettlement of excess population in new territories, with the reproduction of the same system of social organization in the new settlement. Rumkavak, for example, was settled when families from Çukur left their village and settled a little farther away. Similarly, Taşlık was again resettled after a period of abandonment when families from Rumkavak and other communities decided to settle on its territory. Even when such solutions were not possible, the absence of some male members from the household for a number of years, until conditions favored their return, was preferred. In such cases, the strategies adopted by family members to maintain the basic structure of the household included the provision of a section of the productive wealth, even if it was inadequate for the maintenance of a separate

household, and the construction of a room adjacent to the family home and with a common entrance to the courtyard in which to house the married couple.

Yet although complex household forms characterize all of the Christian communities of Cappadocia, the mechanisms for their formation did not lead to the same results in each one. In the communities where the accumulation of wealth was based primarily on migration and from income not derived from the exploitation of the common family wealth, the experience of the family members differed and the mechanisms that defined the forms and structures of their households most likely operated in a much looser way. During the first years of the 20th century, their dissolution had become a reality, because their populations were abandoning their communities by the family.

Distinctions therefore should not necessarily be sought between Greek Orthodox and Muslim households; they should be sought among the various economic features of the communities. It is probable that the smallholding did not characterize all Muslim communities. At the same time, the phenomenon, observed by Duben, of the settlement of the population in urban centers at the beginning of the 20th century in the form of nuclear families is part of a separate development, one that one should not assume occurred in the previous century without any specific evidence to suggest that this was indeed the case.

#### NOTES

*Author's note:* The research for this article was carried out as part of the research program "The Christian Communities in Cappadocia (18th–20th century)," Institute for Mediterranean Studies in Rethymon, Greece.

<sup>1</sup>The earliest reference to Çukur dates to the 10th century, where the village is referred to by the name Siricha. For Çukur in earlier centuries, see Friedrich Hild and Marcell Restle, *Kappadokien: Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebastein und Lykandros, Tabula Imperii Byzantini, Bd2* (Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Academie der Wissenschaften, 1981), 281; Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Charsianon Kastron, Qal'e-i Harsanos," *Byzantion: Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines* 51 (1981): 410–29; Ronald C. Jennings, "The Population, Society, and Economy of the Region of Erciyes Dağı in the Sixteenth Century," in *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman*, ed. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Paul Dumont (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la Recherche Scientifique, 1983), 236–38. Çukur's current name is Felahiye.

<sup>2</sup>Joel M. Halpern and Barbara Halpern, "The Zadruga—A Century of Change," *Anthropologica* 12 (1970): 83–97; Traian Stoianovich, "The Balkan Domestic Family: Geography, Commerce, Demography," *Revue des Études Européennes* 14 (1976): 465–75; Eugene A. Hammel, "Household Structure in Fourteenth-Century Macedonia," *Journal of Family History* 5 (1980): 242–73; Alan Duben, "The Significance of the Family and Kinship in Urban Turkey," in *Sex Roles, Family and Community in Turkey*, Turkish Studies 3, ed. Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982): 73–99; Maria Todorova, "Population Structure, Marriage Patterns, Family and Household According to Ottoman Documentary Material from North-Eastern Bulgaria in the '60s of the 19th Century," *Études Balkaniques* 1 (1983): 59–72; Kemal H. Karpat, "The Ottoman Family: Documents Pertaining to Its Size," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4 (1987): 137–45; Alan Duben, "Understanding Muslim Households and Families in Late Ottoman Istanbul," *Journal of Family History* 15 (1990): 71–86; Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Maria Todorova, *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern: Demographic Developments in Ottoman Bulgaria* (Washington, D.C.: American University Press, 1993). For studies relating to Greek territory, see the special bibliography in Eythimios Papataxiarchis and Socrates D. Petmetzas, "The Devolution of

Property and Kinship Practices in Late- and Post-Ottoman Ethnic Greek Societies: Some Demo-Economic Factors of Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Transformations,” in *Problèmes de la transmission des exploitations agricoles (XVIIIe–XXe siècles)*, ed. Gérard Bouchard, Joseph Govy, and Anne-Lise Head-König, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome: Italie et Méditerranée* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1998), 239–41. See also Roxane Kaftanzoglou, *Syngeneia kai organosi tou oikiakou chorou: Syrrako, 1898–1939* (Kinship and Organization of the Domestic Space: Syrrako, 1898–1930) (Athens: National Center for Social Research, 1997).

<sup>3</sup>Justin McCarthy, “Age, Family and Migration in Nineteenth-Century Black Sea Provinces of the Ottoman Empire,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10 (August 1979): 309–23; Musa Çadırcı, “1830 genel sayımına göre Ankara şehir merkezi nüfusu üzerinde bir araştırma” (A Study of the Population of the Town of Ankara According to the Census of 1830), *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 1 (1980): 109–32; Alan Duben, “Household Formation in Late Ottoman Istanbul,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22 (1990): 419–35; idem, “Turkish Families and Households in Historical Perspective,” *Journal of Family History* 10 (1985): 88–91; Haim Gerber, “Anthropology and Family History: The Ottoman and Turkish Families,” *Journal of Family History* 14 (1989): 409–21; Rifat Özdemir, “Tokat’ta ailenin sosyo-ekonomik yapısı (1771–1810)” (The Social and Economic Structure of the Family in Tokat [1771–1810]), *Belleten* 54 (1991): 993–1052; Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual, “Famille et Démographie à Damas autour de 1700: Quelques données nouvelles,” in *Histoire économique et sociale de l’Empire Ottoman et de la Turquie 1326–1960*, ed. Daniel Panzac, *Actes du sixième congrès international tenu à Aix-en-Provence du 1er au 4 juillet 1992* (Paris: Peeters, 1995), 427–45.

<sup>4</sup>General State Archives, Kayseri Register no. 216 (hereafter, GAK Kayseri 216) refers to the Orthodox male population of both the *sancak* and the city of Kayseri. The entries have been made according to village and neighborhood. Only males age one year and older have been entered, along with their tax status, age, and, for those outside of their own parish, place of residence. An analytic description can be found in Irini Renieri, “Andronikio: ena kappadokiko chorio kata ton 19o aiona” (Endürlük: A Cappadocian Village During the 19th Century), *Mnimon* 15 (1993): 11–12.

General State Archives, Çukur Register no. 245 (hereafter, GAK Çukur 245) has 476 numbered pages. Many of the pages are blank; others were removed and subsequently have been lost. The register is written mostly in *Karamanlidika* but is also written in Ottoman Turkish and Greek. According to the title written on its outer cover, the register was started in 1874. It was, however, in use much earlier. There is no uniform method for registering the entries. The entries for the years 1772–1852 (pp. 3–17) are written in the same hand, and for this reason I believe that this is a later copy, made in 1852, of the original register. The christenings are not listed in chronological order, and the author, most likely a Greek Orthodox priest, preferred to correlate them to the households of the community. Despite this, the method used to compile the register is not particularly systematic. Moreover, the entries do not actually match the total number of births and christenings that were registered during this chronological period. In the following pages (pp. 18–24), another style of entry was attempted which included marriages and deaths in addition to christenings and engagements. These columns were filled in in 1860–76, following a somewhat inconsistent method of entry. At one point, entries were made chronologically, and at other points they were made according to household. From pages 37–440, christenings, entered according to household, are recorded in a generally systematic fashion. A clear distinction is made among the different households. At the beginning of each entry, the date that the entry for each household was begun—e.g. “1 March 1878”—is written, followed by the name of the head of the household. These entries begin in 1878 and continue until 1924. As a comparison with the entries that followed indicates, the author, with very few exceptions, did not take into consideration the breakup of households after 1878. The following pages (pp. 441–56) give a full picture of the Greek Orthodox community of Çukur in 1884, including entries relating to both men and women, their dates of birth, and kinship relations to the heads of their households. This catalogue, the result of an order given by an officer by the name of Arif Ağa, recorded the new members added to each household until 1889. The register ends with the recording of christenings that previously had been neglected (p. 459); the registering of donations to the church (pp. 461–62); and a table of contents for pages 37–440.

<sup>5</sup>The Greek Orthodox of Cappadocia (*Karamanlides*) were included in the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey, as agreed to in the Treaty of Lausanne, signed at the Peace Conference of 24 July 1923. *Karamanlidika* is the written form of the language of the Turkish-speaking Greek Orthodox of Cappadocia—that is, the Turkish language written using the Greek alphabet.

<sup>6</sup>The purpose of this committee was to evaluate the wealth of the populations that had come to Greece

from Turkey to award their compensation according to the Treaty of Lausanne. The entries in the register of the PEC were made as follows: a detailed analysis of real estate (type, number, size, value) given beneath the name of each individual who declared the details of his or her property—property, which in most cases also belonged to others. The value given was the estimate of the committee, and not that given by the declarant, which was often larger. Other forms of private property followed, which for the most part consisted of crops. There are no references to animals or tools, although, according to Katerina Bagia, keeper of the archives, such things are mentioned in the codices of other communities. Then come the names of the people to whom the property in question belonged, occasionally detailing their exact share and their relationship with the former owner of the property. It is also noted if the property was acquired through inheritance or by bequest, or was purchased.

<sup>7</sup>In this study, I use the definition of the term “household” as set out by Duben, “Turkish Families,” 78–79 (which to a great degree is also made apparent by Berkes’s study of the corresponding terms) for the Turkish *hane*. This is the basic unit of production and consumption for the purpose of which cohabitation, in the widest meaning, under the same roof, although necessary for its members, is not sufficient. A main prerequisite is the existence of kinship ties among its members. Although the international bibliography has demonstrated that this definition does not have a standard application, in the case of the Anatolian households the contribution of each member in the activities of the household and the existence of kinship ties is axiomatic. Sylvia Junko Yanagisako, in her article “Family and Household: the Analysis of Domestic Groups” (*Annual Review of Anthropology* 8 [1979]: 161–205), analyzes how the prevailing definitions of both family and kinship organizations, while aspiring to a standard application, also overlook important factors in these forms of organization.

<sup>8</sup>Ömer Lutfi Barkan, “Tarihî Demografi araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi” (Studies of ‘Historical Demography’ and Ottoman History), *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10 (1951): 1–26; Ronald C. Jennings, “Urban Population in Anatolia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon, and Erzerum,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 7 (January 1976): 21–57; Nejat Göyünç, “‘Hane’ Deyimi Hakkında” (Concerning the Term “Household”), *Istanbul Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 32 (1979): 331–48; Eugenie Bietry-Elifoğlu, “Ottoman *Defters* Containing Ages of Children: A New Source for Demographic Research,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 9 (1984): 321–28; Duben, “Turkish Families”; Karpat, “The Ottoman Family”; Gerber, “Anthropology.” This last article can be found in Greek translation in Roxane Kaftantzoglou, trans. and ed., *Oikogeneies tou Parelthontos. Morfes oikiakis organosis stin Europi kai ta Balkania* (Families of the Past: Forms of Family Organizations in Europe and the Balkans) (Athens: Alexandria Editions, 1996), 161–83, to which I will refer. Most monographs dealing with the social and economic study of household composition in Ottoman territory have encountered similar problems; thus, I cite only articles here.

<sup>9</sup>Halil İnalçık and Donald Quataert, ed., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2:782–83; McCarthy, “Age, Family,” 313, suggests a figure of 6.5 as the average household size of the Black Sea region in 1840, while Göyünç, “‘Hane,’” 345, proposes 4.17 based on the size of the households of various parts of Ottoman Empire and on the Muslim refugees from the Balkans and those who arrived after the Crimean War.

<sup>10</sup>Kenneth M. Cuno, “Joint Family Households and Rural Notables in Nineteenth-Century Egypt,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27 (1995): 486.

<sup>11</sup>The figure of 68 is much lower than what must be the true figure. Pages 453 and 454, which have entries of other families, are missing from GAK Çukur 245. There must be at least nine more families, which are mentioned in 1878 and in the PEC register of 1926.

<sup>12</sup>Duben, “Turkish Families,” 91; idem, “The Significance of the Family,” 95, n. 4.

<sup>13</sup>Duben, “Turkish Families,” 76–77; McCarthy, “Age, Family,” 313–14. It is worth pointing out that, because the sources available included only the male population, McCarthy defined as extended households all those that included male relatives other than just the father and sons. In other words, the figure of 30 percent is the lowest probable.

<sup>14</sup>These observations are based on the 121 married couples who made up the 68 households in 1884. The data from the 1884 registration and other demographic evidence from GAK Çukur 245 were used to establish the number of children born to these couples.

<sup>15</sup>GAK Çukur 245, 237, 341, 387, 433, 446; Oral History Archives of the Center for Asia Minor Studies (hereafter, CAMS), Çukur, file no. 136.

<sup>16</sup>Nikos Serouios, *Epitome tou en tois ekklisiasikois dikastiriois tou Oikoumenikou thronou en ischui*

*romaikou kai byzantinou nomou* (A Short Guide to the Ecclesiastical Court of the Orthodox Ecumenical Church under Roman and Byzantine Law) (Istanbul: Patriarchal Press, 1886), 69.

<sup>17</sup>Twenty-one couples age 60 and older have been excluded because evidence of their number of offspring was lacking.

<sup>18</sup>Indeed, this is a low estimate, because details of births between 1852 and 1878—that is, of those offspring age 35–50 in 1884—were not recorded in GAK Çukur 245. Özdemir, “Tokat’ta ailenin,” 1028, suggests an average of 1.4 children for Muslim families, and an average of 2 children for the families of the *zimmi* in Tokat between 1771 and 1810. See Establet and Pascual, “Famille et Démographie à Damas, Göyünç,” 440, on Damascus in the early 18th century, who argue, “Les familles nobreuses sont une expection. La règle est à un, deux, trois enfants par famille” (Large families were the exception. The norm was to have one, two, or three children).

<sup>19</sup>See Gerber in Kaftanzoglou, *Families*, 175.

<sup>20</sup>Fatma Müge Göçek and Mark David Baer, “Social Boundaries of Ottoman Women’s Experience in Eighteenth-Century Galata Court Records,” in *Women in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Madeline C. Zilfi (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), 61.

<sup>21</sup>This figure does not tally with the number of individuals who gave testimony of details of their property, but it relates to what were at some point the “initial” properties, regardless of whether these properties had been divided into several portions by 1924. Indeed, these 125 properties relate to the properties of the heads of household of 1884, or to their first- or second-generation inheritors.

<sup>22</sup>The oral testimonies of the refugees from Çukur also support this argument. A characteristic example is that of Konstantinos Mishailidis, in CAMS, Çukur, file no. 134: “[e]veryone lived in the houses together and grew up and married together. They did not split up as long as the father lived. He ruled the house. When he died, the eldest son took his place. They couldn’t break this system easily. . . . The breakup happened in Greece; the holding was split up into small families. Even children under twenty got land. The families began undivided. Mine had fifteen members. Someone who had moved away, when he heard that his family was thinking about dividing its portions of the family house, wrote that if this was really going to happen, then he would return to the village.”

<sup>23</sup>See Cuno, “Joint Family,” 489, on the concomitant ownership of personal property with participation in the complex form of household.

<sup>24</sup>Christos Hadjiiossif, “Les dimensions culturelles des pratiques successorales des Grecs orthodoxes de Cappadoce à l’ époque ottomane,” in Bouchard et al., *Problèmes*, 196.

<sup>25</sup>CAMS, Çukur, file no. 134, sec. 2.

<sup>26</sup>Göçek and Baer, “Social Boundaries,” 52.

<sup>27</sup>Hadjiiossif, “Les dimensions,” 193, 196.

<sup>28</sup>Mary Ann Fay, “Women and *Waqf*: Property, Power, and the Domain of Gender in Eighteenth-Century Egypt,” in Zilfi, *Women*, 32–38. See also Abraham Marcus, “Men, Women and Property: Dealers in Real Estate in 18th Century Aleppo,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 25 (1983): 144–52.

<sup>29</sup>See Suraiya Faroqhi, “Crime, Women and Wealth in the Eighteenth-Century Anatolian Countryside,” in Zilfi, *Women*, 6–27, for the significance of this kind of property.

<sup>30</sup>GAK Çukur 245, 336, 456. A different picture is given of female heads of household in the many tax registers for the Aegean islands: see Dimitris Dimitropoulos, “Oikogeneia kai forologikes katastixoseis sta nissia tou Aigaiou kata tin Othomanike periodo” (Family and Tax Registers in the Aegean Islands During the Ottoman Period), *Istorika* 27 (1997): 347–52.

<sup>31</sup>The only exception to this rule is that of the daughters of the heads of household who entered a second marriage. Most probably, the initial widowhood of the father and then his second marriage delayed the weddings of his daughters, because in such households one finds unmarried daughters age seventeen to twenty-five years. In GAK Çukur 245, one finds an example of the second marriage of a head who did not have a surviving son; he married a widow, who is recorded in the household along with her son and the head’s eighteen-year-old daughter from his first marriage. This is also the only case in which a daughter precedes a male child in the register.

<sup>32</sup>CAMS, Çukur, file no. 134. The ambiguous approach to widowed women should also be noted. Second marriages were not unusual, but the choice of a widow as wife was made only out of necessity. On the subject of intermarriages, Andreas Mavrozoğlu, a resident of the community of Çay, recalled, “My two

grandmothers were from that village [i.e., Çukur and the surrounding region]. In Çay, they usually took widows. Çukur was a large village, they could find their own brides.”

<sup>33</sup>Yanagisako, “Family and Household,” 190. Fay, “Women and the *Waqf*,” 28–47, suggests a contrary political role for women: the decentralizing tendencies of the Mamluk system are alleviated by the choice of bride.

<sup>34</sup>Leslie P. Pierce, “Seniority, Sexuality and Social Order: The Vocabulary of Gender in Early Modern Ottoman Society,” in Zilfi, *Women*, 186.

<sup>35</sup>The terms for “wife” are varied: *kari*, *ehil*, *zевce*, *familya*. The last is perhaps the most appropriate, because it refers to the wife of a non-Muslim. The use of the term *familya* is of particular interest, as it refers to how the community defines itself in relation to others. In the 1884 records, which were compiled for official purposes, only the term *familya* is used. This term becomes more common in the rest of the baptismal register soon after 1900. During the previous period, Turkish or Arabic terms were used by the Christians and were also applied to Muslim wives.

<sup>36</sup>For example, in the PEC register (app. no. 63, pp. 47–48), the same woman is referred to as Aikaterina Gavril Paschaloğlu (her father’s name was Gavril Paschaloğlu) and Aikaterina Gavril Kutloğlu (Kutloğlu was the name of her husband’s family).

<sup>37</sup>Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Mikra Asia, C19–1919: Oi Ellinorthodoxes koinotites. Apo to Millet ton Romion sto Elliniko Ethnos* (Asia Minor, C19-1919: The Greek Orthodox Communities: From the Millet of the Rum to the Hellenic Nation) (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 1997), 232–33.

<sup>38</sup>CAMS, Çukur, file no. 135. See also CAMS, Taşlık, file no. 129, and CAMS, Rumkavak, file no. 104.

<sup>39</sup>Here I compared Çukur with the villages of İstefana, Vexe, and Darsiyak. These villages are almost as large as Çukur, and each makes a different contribution to the overall migration pattern (see also Table 1).

<sup>40</sup>Renieri, “Andronikio,” 28.

<sup>41</sup>The data on Rumkavak and Taşlık comes mainly from CAMS, Rumkavak, file nos. 102–105, and CAMS, Taşlık, file nos. 128–30. These refugees’ recollections of the economy and household composition are very similar to those of the refugees from Çukur.

<sup>42</sup>Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 22.

<sup>43</sup>İnalcık and Quataert, *Economic*, 671–72; CAMS, Rumkavak, file no. 102.

<sup>44</sup>Taşlık provides a typical example here. Its 7,800 hectares were originally in the possession of Osman Fercencenoğlu and were later contested legally by their next owner, Lazarakis Mubayaacoğlu. The contest for ownership began around 1850, reaching Istanbul and finally ending in favor of the farmers in 1896. In Greece, Mubayaacoğlu’s descendants reopened the case in pursuit of compensation.

<sup>45</sup>CAMS, Rumkavak file no. 105.

<sup>46</sup>Jennings, “Population, Society,” 238.

<sup>47</sup>CAMS, Çukur, file no. 134; CAMS, Taşlık, file no. 128.

<sup>48</sup>CAMS, Çukur, file no. 135. There is evidence of disputes between the community’s Orthodox and Muslim populations over the water supply. In the PEC register (pp. 112–13), Father Lazaros Papalazarou and his son are noted as having constructed an aqueduct, fountains, a drain, and a bridge—for a total value of 1,150 Turkish lira—which were used as much for the irrigation of their land as for commercial water exploitation. This provided them with an annual income of 25 Turkish lira.

<sup>49</sup>İnalcık and Quataert, *Economic*, 684.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 871. According to Quataert, the majority of creditors were Armenian.

<sup>51</sup>Of the 125 properties that I reconstructed, twenty-one belonged to women. When two properties of 6 hectares and 8.9 hectares were excluded, the remaining nineteen properties had fewer than 5 hectares each.