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ТЕМЕТТУАТ ДЕФТЕР (PROFIT REGISTER) OF THE CHRISTIAN MAHALLES OF NIŠ (1845): POP STANKO'S MAHALLE³

Abstract

The paper presents a detailed translation of the temettuat defter of the Pop Stanko's mahalle in Niš (1845) and a comparative analysis of the income of its residents. Temettuat defters are a key primary source for researching the social and economic history of the regions under the Ottoman rule in the 19th century. What makes Pop Stanko's mahalle particularly interesting is the fact that it was the largest Christian community in Ottoman Niš in the 19th century, and after 1878 the largest Serbian settlement in this city (Palilula). Therefore, the aim of the research is to determine the economic profile of mahalle at the time when the aforementioned defter was made and thus to shed light on a phase in its evolutionary development, from a rural area on the outskirts of Niš into its urban city core such was Palilula.

Key words: Niš, Palilula, Ottoman Empire, Christians, temettuat defter, 19th century

JEL classification: N33, N530, N930

ТЕМЕТУАТ ДЕФТЕР (ДЕФТЕР ПРОФИТА) ХРИШЋАНСКИХ МАХАЛА У НИШУ (1845): ПОП СТАНКОВА МАХАЛА

Апстракт

Рад представља детаљан превод теметуат дефтера Поп Станкове махале у Нишу (1845) и компаративну анализу прихода њених становника. Теметуат дефтери су кључан извор првог реда за истраживање социјалне и економске историје поднебља под османском управом у 19. веку. Оно што Поп Станкову махалу чини нарочито интересантном је чињеница да је у питању махала која је била највећа хришћанска заједница османског Ниша у 19. веку, а након 1878. године и највеће српско насеље у овом граду (Палилула). С тога, циљ истраживања је да се утврди привредни профил махале у време настанка реченог дефтера и на тај начин расветли једну фазу у њеном

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еволутивном развоју од руралне области на рубу Ниша у његово урбано језгро какво је била Палилула.

Кључне речи: Ниш, Палилула, Османско царство, хришћани, теметуат дефтер, 19. век

Introduction

The Westernization of the Ottoman Empire, Tanzimat (1839–1876), is the era during which the Ottoman state attempted through a series of reforms to bridge the growing technological gap between itself and the leading countries of Christian Europe. Internally, this meant going through the necessary reorganization of state institutions, establishing the modern ones, and defining a clear and long-term course of internal progressive state policy. With this goal in mind, during a period spanning most of the 19th century, various modern schools were established throughout the Empire, new bureaucratic institutions and councils were introduced, almost every segment of industry was modernized, and the army was organized according to the European model.

The dynamics of these reforms were largely determined by the economic capacity of the Ottoman state. In the decades when the state was financially strong, sultans and progressive statesmen sovereignly implemented reforms in the spirit of the Tanzimat. However, when that was not the case, conservative and anti-reform circles grew stronger and threatened to jeopardize the progress. Therefore, the reformists during the Tanzimat were particularly focused on providing the state with stable economic resources for the sake of securing further development (Güran, 2014). One of the very first steps in this was to enumerate the income of the population, so that the state could pursue a flexible and reasonable tax policy. The achievements in that domain are decided to be evaluated through the newly introduced temettuat defters (profit registers).

Temettuat defters

The new tax policy was launched immediately after the promulgation of the Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerifi (1839), a document which announced the beginning of Tanzimat Era. According to the Hatt-ı Şerifi, all rights of non-Muslims and Muslims were equalized before the state, and everyone was guaranteed the security of property, regardless of religious or ethnic affiliation. All illegal taxes were abolished, as was the practice of leasing state taxes (iltizam). This prevented the private tax farmers, who leased the right from the state to collect the taxes, to multiply the tax collected and thus illegally exhaust the people. Therefore, in the future state taxes were collected only by the muhassils, state officials who received a fixed salary for doing this job (İnalçık, 1978). Also, all taxes were unified under one state tax (Yükçü, 2017). According to the state's assessment, fair tax collection and the emancipation of non-Muslims should have led to greater accumulation of financial resources among them. It should directly affect the positive economic situation of areas where non-Muslims were the majority, mainly in

the European regions of the Ottoman empire (Rumelia). Therefore, the calculation of various profits (temettuat) accumulated by the population was a next logical move.

The temettuat defters provide systematized information about taxpayers, the real estate they own, animals, the amount of their income from commercial, craft and other activities, as well as the amount of taxes they have paid. The *taxes* is the crucial term here, so we will explain the novelties temettuat defters brought with this. As it was mentioned above, all taxes that taxpayers used to pay before 1839 were unified in Tanzimat. These taxes in the Classical period were labeled with the general name *tekâlif-i örfiye* and compiled a vast array of taxes. Depending whether tekâlif-i örfiye was farmed at rural estates (çiftlik) and villages in countryside or mahalles and kasabas in urban areas, this array could vary a bit. Now in Tanzimat the term *tekâlif-i örfiye* was changed into *vergi-i mahsusa*, or simply *vergi*, meaning a special tax or a tax on profit. Vergi was a collective tax which was determined to each sancak by the Ottoman Ministry of Finance. The sancak administration further distributed the payment of vergi according to the paying capacity of the kazas which were subordinate to it. In the kazas, local authorities further personalized the payment of vergi according to the paying power and share in the profit of the villages, mahalles, and çiftlik which made up the kaza. Since vergi was a collective tax, and the fixed rate threatened to burden the poor classes equally with the wealthy elite, at the lowest levels of tax collection care was taken to ensure that it was distributed according to the paying capacity of every taxpayer. In this way, every taxpayer got his economic profile.

Aside from vergi, temettuat defters also register the payment of tithes (aşar) on various products of the land that the taxpayer earned. Until the Tanzimat, aşar (i.e. oşür in the singular) was only nominally called tithe, while in practice it could tax up to 50% of crops that taxpayer grew on his land. Such a ratio was subjectively (and often biasedly) assessed by tax collectors and local officials, depending on how successful was the agricultural season or the fertility of the region. The Tanzimat put an end to this, so tithes were henceforth determined precisely, as a clear 1/10 of the land products that a taxpayer grew. Both vergi and aşar in temettuat defters were presented as taxes paid for the previous year, and at the end of the entry, the amount of general income the person earned was also stated, so that the future tax rate could be determined more precisely. The payment of the vergi and aşar, sometimes both and sometimes one of them, was made by exempt persons who did not make any profit, which was often evident from the fact that they did not have any real estate on their name. Clergymen, both Muslim and non-Muslim, were often exempt from taxes, too.

The Niş eyalet was included in both times (1840/41, 1844/45) when the temettuat defters were conducted as a pilot project. The idea of the state was to do the temettuat defters in the regions where the Tanzimat novelties had already been applied – Ankara, Aydın, Bolu, Cezâyir-i Bahr-i Sefid, Edime, Erzurum, Bursa, Konya, Niş, Rumelia, Thessaloniki, Silistre, Sivas, Skoplje and Vidin (Yükçü, 2017).

Unfortunately, almost no temettuat defters from 1840/41 have survived today, and those from 1844/45 are divided into 9 catalogues, numbering 17 747 defters (Yükçü, 2017). Unlike the temettuat defters from 1840/41, when muhasılls were the ones who gathered the data, the 1844/45 defters were conducted by the local notables responsible for the community which was covered by the defter. Among Muslims, these notables were the imams and mahalle representatives (muhtars) and among non-Muslims were

people like rabbis, priests, or village elders – köybaşı (Kütükoğlu, 1995). After being confirmed with the seal of these enumerators, the temettuat defters were forwarded to the councils of kaza, and from there to the councils of higher administrative instance, sancak. From there they were checked by the financial manager (defterdar) and the governors of eyalet (vali), as higher authorities. In order to make the temettuat defter easier and more reliable to use in the practice, the defter sheets had a form with exemplary questions and answers, and then preliminary sent to the vali, defterdar and members of the responsible local councils so they could get familiar with the survey.

Although they are valid sources which provide a wide range of reliable data, from economic to demographic and religious, the temettuat defters are often plagued by shortcomings and inconsistencies on the part of the enumerators (which depended of their competence). That is why many temettuat defters lack data related to important categories, such as the vergi paid by a person, the amount of tithe collected, and even a sum of the collective income of whole mahalle, which, as a rule, should always be summarized at the end of the defter.

Temettuat defter of Pop Stanko's mahalle

Temettuat defter from 1844/45 followed the administrative organization of the Niš eyalet into 4 kazas (Niš, Prokuplje, Piroć and Samokov). Each of these kazas was further divided into villages and mahalles where the defter was conducted. Though in general the second time when the defter was done refers to the year 1261 by Hijri (1844/45), the date when defter in Niš was conducted is clearly stated. It was on 29 Zilhicce 1261 AH, meaning 29 December 1845, according to the Gregorian calendar. In the territory that encompasses the town of Niš, out of 21 mahalles we identified more than 10 non-Muslim mahalles and several çiftliks whose inhabitants were Christians, and which were related directly to Niš. Of those 10 Christian mahalles and *infidel* communities (*neveryesi*) in Niš 8 were named after the orthodox Christian priests, as Pop Kosta's, Pop Jova's, Pop Mita's, Pop Đorđe's, Pop Stanko's mahalle, plus Pop Naum's, Pop Jovan's and Pop Jovan's keferi neveryesi (Kordić, 2019). Neveryesi might indicate Christian community settled in Muslim mahalle, which would make such mahalle a religiously heterogeneous district. However, term *neveryesi* also might be a term for irregular Christian settlement, a slum town, in this case inhabited by the Christians on the outskirts of Niš. With 101 registered households, Pop Jovan's neveryesi was the biggest Christian community in Niš, however, with 83 households Pop Stanko's mahalle was the biggest fully recognized Christian district in administrative context. Although these two communities might be physically connected to each other, hence making a one body, we recognized Pop Stanko's mahalle as the core of district which will later grow into Palilula.

The anthroponymic findings clearly indicate that the residents of all these mahalles and çiftliks were predominantly Christian Serbs, which some names particularly point out (Ignjat, Goran-Goga etc.). However, Big and Small Gypsy mahalle (Kebir-i Kıbtıyan Mahallesi, Sağır-i Kıbtıyan Mahallesi) might be an exception, since their names indicate they were inhabited by Roma population. If that is the case, then Roma residents of those mahalles were of Orthodox Christian faith and already with the Slavic names. In general, most of the names are identified, but in some cases possible variations should be taken

in consideration, such as with the names Miladin/Mladen or Hrista/Krsta/Rista. Unique case was the name Lila, which is obviously a nickname or a shortened version of a name we could not reconstruct. Usually, we would consider it a misspelling of a scribe, but at the same time we found 2 more men with the name Lila in other mahalles in Niš. To add, a certain Lila (the son of Žika) with the rest of the Christian notables from Niš in 1858 signed a collective address to authorities about the installment of the new bishop of Niš (BOA, HR. SYS. 1772/1). So, we left the name Lila as it was written.

Regarding toponyms in the vicinity of Niš where certain people had land, in three cases we managed to identify villages as Malošište, Suvi Dol and Batušinac with relative certainty. But in other cases we had to keep the names as mere transliterations and mark them with an asterisk* (though some names were obviously of Slavic origin, but we could not locate and verify them as existing toponyms, such as Hrastinče, Izvor, Girašince).

The names of most of the professions have equivalents in English (kürkçü – furrier, ırgat – crop field worker/worker, bahçıvan – gardener, hizmetkar – household servant, meyhaneci – innkeeper etc.). However, some occupations are specific or were difficult to translate, so we have either clarified them with an endnote or kept them in the original. Kürekcî, for example, could mean a shovel-maker, but also a person who provides by working on a field with a shovel or a hoe, a crop field worker. The same goes for simitçi, who cannot be translated as a simple baker, but a person who bakes and sells a special kind of bagel, a simit. Kıracı is also a specific case. Though it could be understood as a profession (renter and rentier), in the context of temettuat defter it refers to a residential status of a person, therefore it should be understood as a newcomer, tenant (Todorov, 2024). Though kıracıs in general belong to a group of land cultivators, labeling them with this term adds particular value in researching demographic politics and migrations based on the temettuat defters.

We have also kept the monetary and measurement units in the original. When it comes to money, it is the silver kuruş (made of 40 paras, i.e. 120 akçes). The land is represented in dönüm (920 m²), and the weight in kiye (~1.28 kg). We believe that by carefully and practically establishing these rules, we preserved the authenticity but also have overcome most of the problems which working with the Ottoman archival materials entails.

We have organized the data related to the Pop Stanko's mahalle in a composition which contains the following categories: the number of household in the mahalle, name of the taxpayer, his father's name (brackets with the letter f), the amount of the vergi for the previous year, the amount of crops in kiye that the taxpayer produced (and the tithe/aşar paid for it), the amount of the tax on alcohol (zecriye) for people who made brandies and wines from fruits they grew in their vineyards and orchards, agricultural holdings of the taxpayer – vineyards, meadows, pastures, fields (with income and paid tithe) and the name of the place where they are located (if the place is mentioned in the register), buildings/fields that the taxpayer has rented or leased (with the amount of kuruş earned or shared with other person), animals and livestock owned by the taxpayer, separate amounts of money taxpayer earned from his job and funds he received from property and other assets. In the Pop Stanko's mahalle, aside from the taxes already mentioned, the tax on sheep (adet-i agnam) is also documented, as another old tax imposed by the Ottomans, in addition to the tithe. Also, summary data on the vergi and the income of the all residents of mahalle (which should be at the end of the defter) are not shown.

The temettuat defter of this mahalle is combined with the defters of a few çiftliks which follow it and then the sum of all of them is stated together. This makes it difficult to draw a precise conclusion about the distribution of the vergi and other financial data related Pop Stanko's mahalle as community, so we stated nothing in this regard.

The temettuat defter which refers to Pop Stanko's mahalle is entitled as *Temettuat defter of reaya which live in Papaz Istanko mahalle*, and it goes like this:

Household no. 1. Carpenter Nikola (f. Stamen). Last year he paid vergi with 110 kuruş and aşar for 50 kiye of wheat (12 kuruş) and 50 kiye of corn (10 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (12 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 165 kuruş per year) and 3 dönüms of land in Malošište (income 225 kuruş per year, taxed with 22 kuruş). His total income is 350 kuruş.

Household no. 2. Gardener Miša (f. Jovan). Last year he paid vergi with 95 kuruş in cash and aşar for 50 kiye of wheat (12 kuruş) and 20 kiye of corn (4 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (24 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 300 kuruş per year), 1 dönüm of garden (income 50 kuruş per year) and 3 dönüms of land in Hrastinče* (income 165 kuruş). He keeps 1 mare and 1 female calf. He earns a total of 450 kuruş from gardening.

Household no. 3. Innkeeper Luka (f. Stojko). Last year he paid vergi with 95 kuruş and aşar for 200 kiye of wheat (50 kuruş) and 150 kiye of corn (20 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 60 kuruş per year), 3 dönüms of meadows (income 60 kuruş per year), 15 dönüms of land (income 800 kuruş per year, taxed with 80 kuruş) in Bатуšinac. He keeps 1 cow. In total, he earns 780 kuruş from land and 550 kuruş from the tavern.

Household no. 4. Kiracı Miladin (f. Đorđe). Last year he paid vergi with 105 kuruş and aşar for 50 kiye of wheat (12 kuruş) and 100 kiye of corn (20 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (50 kuruş). He owns 5 dönüms of vineyards (income 450 kuruş per year) and 8 dönüms of land (income 325 kuruş, taxed with 32 kuruş) in Hrastinče. He keeps 1 donkey, 1 cow and a calf. In total, he earns 350 kuruş from work and 754 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 5. Tailor Pavle (f. Hrista). Last year he paid vergi with 69 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of corn (20 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (7 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 75 kuruş per year) and 2 dönüms of land (income 180 kuruş, taxed with 20 kuruş) in Hrastinče*. In total, he earns 255 kuruş from land and 400 kuruş from work.

Household no. 6. Kumcu Stamen (f. Spasa). Last year he paid vergi with 160 kuruş and aşar for 200 kiye of wheat (50 kuruş) and 60 kiye of corn (12 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (23 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 225 kuruş per year) and 2 parcels of 4 and 6 dönüms of land (income 320 kuruş, taxed with 62 kuruş). He keeps 1 mare. In total, he earns 782 kuruş from land and 500 kuruş from work.

Household no. 7. Innkeeper Filip (f. Goga). Last year he paid vergi with 180 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş), 200 kiye of barley (40 kuruş) and 140 kiye of corn (28 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (42 kuruş). He owns 4 dönüms of vineyards

(income 300 kuruş per year), 1 dönüm of garden (income 150 kuruş) and 4, 4 and 9 dönüms of land (income 930 kuruş, taxed with 93 kuruş) in Malošište, Isprazna* and Batušinac. He keeps 1 ox, 1 mare and 1 milking cow. In total, he earns 1250 kuruş from the tavern and 1339 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 8. Potter Miša (f. Rista). Vergi paid last year is not stated. He paid aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş) and 100 kiye of corn (20 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (9 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 105 kuruş per year) and 8 dönüms of land (income 450 kuruş, taxed with 45 kuruş) in Malošište. He keeps 1 milking cow (income 12 kuruş). His total income is 350 kuruş from work and 522 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 9. Carpenter Bajča (f. Kole). Last year he paid vergi with 110 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş) and 40 kiye of barley (8 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (17 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 255 kuruş per year) and 8 dönüms of land (income 330 kuruş, taxed with 33 kuruş) in Malošište. In total, he earns 350 kuruş from his craft and 553 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 10. Mutafçı Mita (f. Ćira). Last year he paid vergi with 38 kuruş. He earns in total 350 kuruş from his craft.

Household no. 11. Kiracı Živko (f. Krsta). Last year he paid vergi with 130 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş) and 50 kiye of corn (10 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (22 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 90 kuruş per year) and 10 dönüms of land in Malošište (income 350 kuruş, taxed with 35 kuruş). He keeps 1 milking cow (income 12 kuruş) and 2 bulls. In total, he earns 350 kuruş from work and 417 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 12. Carpenter Rajko (f. Živko). Last year he paid vergi with 67 kuruş and aşar for (unspecified). He pays tax on alcohol (22 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 150 kuruş per year). He keeps 1 milking cow (income 12 kuruş). In total, he earns 350 kuruş from work and 162 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 13. Household servant Paun (f. Goga). He pays tax on alcohol (21 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 45 kuruş per year). He keeps 1 milking cow (income 12 kuruş). He earns a total of 150 kuruş from service and 57 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 14. Kiracı Paun (f. Stojan). Last year he paid vergi with 39 kuruş, and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (10 kuruş and 20 para). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 150 kuruş per year) and 4 dönüms of land in Hrastinče* (income 250 kuruş, taxed with 25 kuruş). He keeps 1 bull. In total, he earns 350 kuruş from work and 375 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 15. A young man (sabi) Mika (f. Stanko). Last year he paid vergi (unspecified) aşar and for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (10 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 45 kuruş per year) and 4 dönüms of land in Malošište (income 250 kuruş, taxed with 25 kuruş). His total income is 382 kuruş.

Household no. 16. Kiracı Jovan (f. Cone). Last year he paid vergi with 95 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (57 kuruş). He rents

from Goga (f. Joka*) 5 dönüms of vineyards (income 225 kuruş per year) and 4 dönüms of land in Malošište (income 250 kuruş, taxed with 25 kuruş). He keeps 2 bulls and a milking cow (income 12 kuruş). In total, he earns 500 kuruş from work and 462 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 17. Cart driver Ignjat (f. Cvetko). Last year he paid vergi with 34 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of corn (20 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (10 kuruş and 30 para). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 120 kuruş per year) and 2 dönüms of land in Hrastinče (income 200 kuruş, taxed with 20 kuruş). He keeps a milking cow (income 12 kuruş) and 1 calf. In total, he earns 500 kuruş from work and 312 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 18. Saddle-maker Stojan (f. Apostol). Last year he paid vergi with 38 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (16 kuruş and 30 para). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 225 kuruş per year) and 2 parcels of 4 and 5 dönüms (income 330 kuruş, taxed with 33 kuruş) in Malošište and Isradan*. He keeps a pair of water buffalos and 1 milking buffalo (income 25 kuruş). In total, he earns 450 kuruş from work and 587 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 19. Kiracı Đorđe (f. unnamed). Last year he paid vergi with 160 kuruş and aşar for 200 kiye of wheat (50 kuruş), 50 kiye of barley (10 kuruş) and 100 kiye of corn (20 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (66 kuruş). He owns 6 dönüms of vineyards (income 750 kuruş per year), 2 dönüms of meadows (income 40 kuruş) and 2 parcels of land of 6 and 10 dönüms (income 800 kuruş, taxed with 80 kuruş) in Hrastinče* and Sudurun*. He keeps 4 bulls, one milking cow (income 12 kuruş), 2 breeding mares and 3 foals. In total, he earns 650 kuruş from work and 1482 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 20. Kiracı unnamed (f. Živko). Last year he paid vergi with 140 kuruş and aşar for 400 kiye of wheat (100 kuruş), 200 kiye of barley (40 kuruş) and 200 kiye of corn (40 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (17 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 300 kuruş per year), 4 dönüms of meadows (income 80 kuruş) and 3 parcels of land of 5, 6 and 13 dönüms (income 1800 kuruş, taxed with 180 kuruş) in Hrastinče*, Kalna* and Sudurun*. He keeps 4 bulls, 2 milking cows (income 22 kuruş), 2 yearlings, 2 calves, 2 horses, 3 mares and 2 foals. He earns a total of 750 kuruş from business and 2022 kuruş from other income.

Household no. 21. Kiracı Petar (f. Cvetko). Last year he paid vergi with 110 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş) and 150 kiye of corn (30 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (12 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 150 kuruş per year) and 2 parcels of land of 4 and 5 dönüms (income 550 kuruş, taxed with 55 kuruş) in Hrastinče* and Batušinac. He keeps 1 horse, a mare, a bull, a milking cow (12 kuruş of income) and 20 sheep (income 140 kuruş). He paid 2 kuruş of tax on sheep (adet-i agnam). In total, he earns 550 kuruş from business and 797 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 22. Crop field worker Bane (f. Petar). He owns only a house and earns 250 kuruş from work.

Household no. 23. Crop field worker Radonja (f. Spasa). He does not own any real estate. He keeps 1 horse and 1 calf of a black Anatolian cattle breed (karasığır). He earns 250 kuruş in total.

Household no. 24. Rista (f. Milenko). No other data.

Household no. 25. Household servant Todor (f. Jovan). He did not pay taxes last year. He owns nothing and earns only from his service. Last year he earned 200 kuruş.

Household no. 26. Crop field worker Stamen (f. Sava). He did not pay taxes last year. He owns only a house and earns only from his service. Last year he earned 250 kuruş.

Household no. 27. Household servant Anta (f. Jova). He did not pay taxes last year. He owns only a house and earns only from his service. Last year he earned 120 kuruş.

Household no. 28. Simitçi apprentice Miladin (f. Petar). Last year he paid vergi with 29 kuruş. He owns only a house, and his income comes only from his job. Last year he earned 150 kuruş.

Household No. 29. Crop field worker Petar (f. Jovan). Last year he paid vergi with 30 kuruş. He owns only a house, and his income comes solely from his job. He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income of 90 kuruş per year). In total, he earns 250 kuruş from work and 90 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 30. Household servant Janko (f. Kole). He owns only a house, and his income comes solely from his service. Last year he earned 200 kuruş.

Household no. 31. Crop field worker Ranča (f. Đorđe). Last year he paid vergi with 15 kuruş. He pays tax on alcohol (23 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyard (income 120 kuruş per year). In total, he earns 200 kuruş from his job and 120 kuruş from the vineyard.

Household no. 32. Carpenter Spasa (father's name not recorded). Last year he paid vergi with 90 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş) and 50 kiye of corn (10 kuruş). He owns 6 dönüms of land (income 350 kuruş, taxed with 35 kuruş) in Suvi dol. In total, he earns 315 kuruş from land and 400 kuruş from work.

Household no. 33. Crop field worker Milenko (f. Rista). He pays tax on alcohol (14 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 105 kuruş per year). Total income 105 kuruş from vineyard and 350 kuruş from work.

Household no. 34. Crop field worker Đoka (f. Mita). He owns nothing. His total income is 105 kuruş from work.

Household no. 35. Furrier Zlatko (f. Anta). Last year he paid a vergi with 120 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş). He pays a tax on alcohol (80 kuruş). He owns 7 dönüms of vineyards (income 600 kuruş per year) and 3 dönüms of land (income 250 kuruş, taxed with 25 kuruş) in Girašince*. In total, he earns 825 kuruş from work and 600 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 36. Crop field worker Paun (f. Marko). He did not pay taxes last year. He pays tax on alcohol (10 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 120 kuruş per year). He earns a total of 150 kuruş from work and 120 kuruş from the vineyards.

Household no. 37. Potter Todor (f. Manča). Last year he paid vergi with 85 kuruş and aşar for 80 kiye of wheat (20 kuruş) and 50 kiye of corn (10 kuruş). He pays a tax on alcohol (48 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 345 kuruş per year) and 5 dönüms of land (income 300 kuruş, taxed with 30 kuruş) in Malošište. In total, he earns 550 kuruş from business and 615 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 38. Potter Du(š)an (f. Veljko). Last year he paid vergi with 68 kuruş. He pays tax on alcohol (15 kuruş). He owns a vineyard on 2 parcels of land of 2 and 3 dönüms (income 210 kuruş per year). He earns a total of 650 kuruş from his job and 90 kuruş from a lesser vineyard.

Household no. 39. Potter Stojan (f. Jovan). Last year he paid vergi with 85 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş) and 50 kiye of corn (10 kuruş). He pays a tax on alcohol (24 kuruş). He owns a vineyard of 3 dönüms (income of 225 kuruş per year) and 6 dönüms of land (income of 350 kuruş, taxed with 35 kuruş) in Suvi dol. He keeps 1 horse. He earns a total of 500 kuruş from job and 540 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 40. Household servant Andrija (f. Manča). Last year he paid vergi 10 kuruş. He owns nothing. His total income from a service is 150 kuruş.

Household no. 41. Crop field worker Ilija (f. Mita). The vergi he paid is not stated, but he paid aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş). He pays the tax on alcohol (11 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 45 kuruş per year) and 1 dönüm of land (income 250 kuruş, taxed with 25 kuruş) in Malošište. He keeps a milking cow (income 12 kuruş) and a horse. His total income is 250 kuruş from work and 282 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 42. Innkeeper Petar (p. Ćira). Last year he paid vergi with 125 kuruş and aşar for 150 kiye of corn (20 kuruş). He pays a tax on alcohol (28 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 120 kuruş per year) and 4 dönüms of land (income 300 kuruş, taxed with 30 kuruş) in Malošište. In total, he earns 1200 kuruş from job and 390 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 43. Carpenter Miša (f. Bone). Last year he paid vergi with 120 kuruş and aşar for 50 kiye of wheat (12 kuruş) and 80 kiye of corn (16 kuruş). He owns 6 dönüms of land (income 285 kuruş, taxed with 29 kuruş) in Malošište. In total, he earns 550 kuruş from job and 259 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 44. Kiracı Nikola (f. Gospodin). He is kiraci together with his father. Last year he paid a vergi with 67 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş) and 50 kiye of corn (10 kuruş). He pays a tax on alcohol (14 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 90 kuruş per year) and 2 parcels of land of 4 dönüm each (income 300 kuruş, taxed with 35 kuruş) in Sudurun* and Malošište. He keeps 1 bull. In total, he earns 650 kuruş from work and 405 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 45. Carpenter Marinko (f. Stojanča). Last year he paid vergi with 67 kuruş. He earns a total of 350 kuruş from his job.

Household no. 46. Carpenter Stevan (f. Živko). He keeps 1 milking cow (income 12 kuruş) and 2 female calves. He earns a total of 350 kuruş from his job.

Household no. 47. Priest Joakim (f. Bilmarkin*). Last year he paid vergi with 10 kuruş. He owns 3 dönüms of land (income 75 kuruş per year) and rents out 1 shop (income 100 kuruş). In total, he earns 500 kuruş from work and 175 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 48. Carpenter Stojko (f. Đorđe). He works with a business partner at his home. Last year he paid vergi with 85 kuruş. He earns a total of 550 kuruş from his work.

Household no. 49. Carpenter Kole (f. Jovan). Last year he paid vergi of 55 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş) and 40 kiye of corn (8 kuruş). He pays a tax on alcohol (29 kuruş). He owns 2 parcels of vineyards 2 dönüms each (income 150 kuruş per year) and 4 dönüms of land (income 330 kuruş, taxed with 33 kuruş) in Isprazna*. In total, he earns 400 kuruş from work and 447 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 50. Carpenter Stojanko (f. Kole). Last year he paid vergi 29 kuruş. He earns a total of 350 kuruş from his work.

Household no. 51. Household servant Stefan (f. Ivko). Last year he paid vergi with 90 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş). He owns 4 dönüms of land (income 250 kuruş, taxed with 25 kuruş). He earns a total of 120 kuruş from his service i 125 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 52. Grocer Mladen (f. Vlatko). Last year he paid vergi with 90 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş). He pays a tax on alcohol (11 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 75 kuruş per year) and 4 dönüms of land (income 250 kuruş, taxed with 25 kuruş) in Zukve*. He keeps 1 milking cow (income 12 kuruş) and 1 horse. In total, he earns 405 kuruş from job and 312 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 53. Carpenter Stojan (O. Kole). Last year he paid vergi 25 kuruş. He pays tax on alcohol (14 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 30 kuruş per year). In total, he earns 300 kuruş from work and 30 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 54. Weaver Jevta (f. Živko). Last year he paid vergi with 75 kuruş and aşar for 80 kiye of corn (16 kuruş). He pays a tax on alcohol (23 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 150 kuruş per year), 1 dönüm of garden (income 100 kuruş) and 2 dönüms of land (income 160 kuruş, taxed with 16 kuruş) in Malošište. He keeps 2 foals. In total, he earns 350 kuruş from work and 394 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 55. Eskici Toša (f. Bane). Last year he paid vergi with 18 kuruş. He keeps 1 milking cow (income 10 kuruş). In total, he earns 150 kuruş from work.

Household no. 56. Carpenter Mitar (f. Kole). Last year he paid vergi with 42 kuruş and aşar for 50 kiye of wheat (12 kuruş) and 40 kiye of corn (8 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of land (income 205 kuruş, taxed with 25 kuruş) in Batušinac. In total, he earns 350 kuruş from job and 143 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 57. Weaver Lila (f. Kosta). Last year he paid vergi with 18 kuruş and aşar for 50 kiye of wheat (12 kuruş). He pays a tax on alcohol (11 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 75 kuruş per year) and 2 dönüms of land (income 125 kuruş, taxed with 13 kuruş) in Isradan*. In total, he earns 120 kuruş from work and 186 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 58. Carpenter Andrija (f. Đoka). Last year he paid vergi 10 kuruş. He pays tax on alcohol (10 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 30 kuruş). In total, he earns 30 kuruş from vineyards and 180 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 59. Household servant Jovan (f. Petar). Last year he paid vergi with 29 kuruş. He pays tax on alcohol (14 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 90 kuruş). In total, he earns 90 kuruş from the vineyards and 150 kuruş from his service.

Household no. 60. Carpenter and priest Ilija (f. Đorđe). Last year he paid vergi 18 kuruş. He earns a total of 250 kuruş from his business.

Household no. 61. Simitçi Jovan (f. Ignjat). Last year he paid vergi with 75 kuruş and aşar for 150 kiye of wheat (37 kuruş) and 50 kiye of corn (10 kuruş). He pays a tax on alcohol (21 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 190 kuruş per year) and 6 dönüms of land (income 475 kuruş, taxed with 48 kuruş) in Malošište. In total, he earns 600 kuruş from work and 616 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 62. Potter Lazar (f. Miljko). Last year he paid vergi with 29 kuruş and aşar for 80 kiye of corn (16 kuruş). He pays a tax on alcohol (32 kuruş). He owns 2 parcels of vineyards of 2 and 3 dönüms (income 195 kuruş per year) and 4 dönüms of land (income 160 kuruş, taxed with 16 kuruş) in Malošište. He keeps 1 horse. He earns a total of 250 kuruş from job and 329 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 63. Crop field worker Ivanko (f. Cvetko). Last year he paid vergi 15 kuruş. He pays tax on alcohol (22 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 225 kuruş per year). In total, he earns 225 kuruş from the vineyards and 120 kuruş from work.

Household no. 64. Carpenter Krsta/Kosta (f. Stojan). Last year he paid vergi 52 kuruş. He pays tax on alcohol (14 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 225 kuruş per year). In total, he earns 350 kuruş from his craft and 225 kuruş from other.

Household no. 65. (Occupation not recorded) Cvetko Nazaren (f. Paun). He paid aşar for 150 kiye of wheat (37 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of land (income 375 kuruş, taxed with 37 kuruş) in Isprazna*. His income is 337 kuruş.

Household no. 66. Household servant Rista (f. Janko*). He earns a total of 150 kuruş from service.

Household no. 67. Simitçi Mitar (f. Toša). Last year he paid vergi with 38 kuruş. He pays tax on alcohol (24 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyard (income 135 kuruş). In total, he earns 350 kuruş from work and 135 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 68. Simitçi Hrista (f. Ljuben). Last year he paid a vergi with 180 kuruş and aşar for 200 kiye of wheat (50 kuruş) and 100 kiye of corn (20 kuruş). He pays a tax on alcohol (20 kuruş). He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 190 kuruş per year) and 8 dönüms of land (income 700 kuruş, taxed with 70 kuruş) in Bilat*. In total, he earns 650 kuruş from work and 820 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 69. Kürekçi Đorđe (f. Mita). Last year he paid vergi with 110 kuruş. He pays tax on alcohol (8 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 120 kuruş per year) and 2 dönüms of garden (income 90 kuruş). In total, he earns 650 kuruş from work and 210 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 70. Innkeeper Jovan (f. Miladin). Last year he paid vergi with 170 kuruş and aşar for 150 kiye of wheat (37 kuruş) and 100 kiye of corn (20 kuruş). He pays a tax on alcohol (20 kuruş). He owns 6 dönüms of land (income 575 kuruş, taxed with 58 kuruş) in Sudurun*. In total, he earns 1550 kuruş from the tavern and 517 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 71. Gardener Ignjat (f. Stojan). Last year he paid vergi with 115 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş), 50 kiye of barley (10 kuruş) and 40 kiye of corn (8 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (11 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 75 kuruş per year), 3 dönüms of land (income 430 kuruş, taxed with 43 kuruş) in Izvor and rents out 1 dönüm of garden (income 50 kuruş). In total, he earns 550 kuruş from work and 512 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 72. A young man (sabi) Janko (f. Vidoje). He has no income, he just lives at his home.

Household no. 73. Crop field worker Todor (f. Veljko). He did not pay vergi last year, yet he paid aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş), 50 kiye of barley (10 kuruş) and 40 kiye of corn (8 kuruş). He pays tax on alcohol (44 kuruş). He owns 4 dönüms of vineyards (income 225 kuruş per year), 3 dönüms of meadows (income 61 kuruş) and 2 parcels of 4 and 9 dönüms of land (income 430 kuruş, taxed with 43 kuruş) in Kalna*. In total, he earns 250 kuruş from work and 667 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 74. Kiracı Ranča (f. Apostol). He keeps 1 foal and 2 bulls. Total income 250 kuruş from work.

Household no. 75. Innkeeper Toša (f. Stanča). Last year he paid vergi with 95 kuruş and aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş) and 40 kiye of corn (8 kuruş). He pays a tax on alcohol (22 kuruş). He owns 1 dönüm of vineyards (income 165 kuruş per year) and 4 dönüms of land (income 330 kuruş, taxed with 33 kuruş) in Malošište. He keeps 1 horse. In total, he earns 550 kuruş from work and 462 kuruş from other things.

Household no. 76. Crop field worker Kole (f. Paun). He pays tax on alcohol (19 kuruş). He owns 2 dönüms of vineyards (income 180 kuruş per year). His total income is 200 kuruş from work and 180 kuruş from other sources.

Household no. 77. Household servant (name not recorded) (f. Marko). His total income is 150 kuruş from service.

Household no. 78. Kiracı Nikola (f. Manča). Last year he paid vergi with 46 kuruş. He owns a house, keeps 2 bulls and a milking cow (income 12 kuruş). In total, he earns 500 kuruş from work and 12 kuruş from the cow.

Household no. 79. Household servant Kole (f. Đole). His total income is 120 kuruş from service.

Household No. 80. Household servant Kole (f. Živko). He did not pay taxes last year. He earns a total of 120 kuruş from his service.

Household no. 81. Household servant Stevan Malča). He did not pay taxes last year. He earns a total of 150 kuruş from his service.

Household no. 82. Carpenter Stanoje (f. Spaša). Last year he paid vergi with 48 kuruş. He owns 3 dönüms of vineyards (income 105 kuruş per year). In total, he earns 450 kuruş from work and 105 kuruş from other income.

Household no. 83. Mane (f. Stanko), he is disabled and mute. He paid aşar for 100 kiye of wheat (25 kuruş), 100 kiye of barley (20 kuruş) and 50 kiye of corn (10 kuruş). He pays the tax on alcohol (43 kuruş). He owns 4 dönüms of vineyard (income 450 kuruş), 1 dönüm of garden (income 30 kuruş) and 10 dönüms of land (income 550 kuruş, taxed with 55 kuruş). In total, he earns 490 kuruş from land and 495 kuruş from other things. In total 985 kuruş (BOA, ML. VRD. TMT d, 11024/3–16).

Conclusion

The statistics of Pop Stanko's mahalle according to the temettuat defter show that its 83 households were headed by 15 people who were carpenters; 12 crop field workers; 12 household servants; 10 kiracı; 5 innkeepers and potters; 3 simitçi; 2 priests, gardeners, weavers, individuals registered as sabi and 2 with unspecified professions; 1 tailor, grocer, saddle-maker, furrier, kumcu, kürekçi, mutafçı, eskici, simitçi apprentice and 1 disabled person.

Based on this, it is clear that mahalle was mostly inhabited by people whose professions were related to agriculture. In this regard, there were ~20 cultivators of the land grouped in several professions (crop field workers, gardeners, at least 5 out of 10 kiracı and maybe 1 kürekçi with them). Of all the groups engaged in agriculture, the most income was accumulated by kiracı, although the defter did not state whether they rented or leased land or real estates. What is also specific for them, compared to other land cultivators, is that kiracı often possessed various (and numerous) livestock or draft animals, which helped a lot in cultivating land, hence in accumulating income from it. That helped a lot of them to stand out with their income from the rest of the land cultivators. For example, the kiracı with an unrecorded name who lived on number 20 was the richest resident of mahalle, with 750 kuruş earned from primary job and 2022 kuruş drawn from his possessions. As for the land cultivators from the lowest in this group, the crop field workers, it is noticeable that half of them earned 250 kuruş annually from their job, which indicates that the income was probably fixed in some cases.

A kind of a fixed income from a job also applies to the least qualified profession we registered in the mahalle – a household servant. Aside from this job, the majority of people in this group (10) did not have any property or additional source of income. Half of them had an annual income of 150 kuruş, which is again some kind of fixed salary. However, this was still lower than 300 kuruş, which is considered to be the average income of the lower class in the Ottoman Empire at that time (Yükçü, 2017). Among the household servants there were people who had even lower incomes than this. Four household servants earned only 120 kuruş per year, and in their entries in temettuat defters it is often stated that they had not paid vergi for the previous year or the vergi column was simply left blank. Two of the household servants earned annual salary of 200 kuruş from the service. Those who had more than that earned additional profit through agriculture.

In that case, the additional income was always lesser than the income accumulated from their primary profession (Paun at household no. 13 and Jovan at no. 59).

When it comes to a sole profession, the largest number of people were engaged in carpentry (16). It is expected, considering the needs of numerous households in the mahalle and the professions related to agriculture, which dominated among the residents. The need for tools, handles and wooden objects was such that one of the two priests who lived in Pop Stanko's mahalle also was listed among the carpenters (priest Ilija from household no. 60). Priest Ilija was not an isolated case among the clergy. A monk Antim, resident of Pazarići mahalle in Plovdiv, who was also documented by the temettuat defter in 1845, aside from being a cleric also was an artisan – a furrier with a pretty high income of 2400 kuruş (Todorov, 2024).

As a group, people who accumulated the highest general income were the innkeepers. With 1250 kuruş earned from the tavern and 1339 kuruş from his possessions, innkeeper Filip who lived at no. 7 was the richest of them all and the second richest person in mahalle after unnamed kiracı from no. 20. However, when it comes to profit from tavern as a primary source of profit, the innkeeper Jovan (from no. 70) with 1550 kuruş was the one who ran the best (and the most visited) tavern in mahalle. In the case of innkeepers, the primary profit from tavern and the profit from the secondary sources show huge differences among them. For example, innkeeper Luka (no. 3) accumulated the lowest income from his tavern (550 kuruş), same as innkeeper Toša (no. 75) who ran the worst tavern in the mahalle, probably on its outskirts. But when it comes to income from the secondary sources, 780 kuruş made Luka to be second after Filip among the innkeepers in mahalle by the additional profit.

The fact that some groups were made of a great number of people does not mean that those groups were the best accumulators of profit by default. The groups of 3 or 2 professionals, or even 1 single craftsman could earn more than a decent amount of money. Two of 3 simitçi, Ignjat (no. 61) and Hrista (no. 68), earned 600 kuruş, i. e. 650 kuruş which was more than the innkeepers with the lowest primary income earned (Luka and Toša). Among all craftsmen in mahalle, the data puts furrier Zlatko (no. 35) on top, with 825 kuruş earned from making and selling clothes with furs, as a primary profession. The rest of the small groups of craftsmen and individuals show huge differences in incomes, as much as their professions vary. What might be concluded from that is that those craftsmen were mainly supplying the needs of the households in mahalle rather than exporting their products or providing their services to customers in other parts of Niš.

The temettuat defters do not have religious affiliation as a standard category, but in some cases a note about that might be found next to an entry of a taxpayer (if he stands out from the usual orthodox-Slavic profile in the case of Christian mahalles). For example, Cvetko from household no. 65 was marked as a Nazarene (nasrani), a member of an early Christian sect from 1. century AC. It would be considered awkward or maybe a typo of defter scribe, but also in Niš, in Taverna çiftlik, another person was recorded as Nazarene, too. It was Kole, who lived at the household no. 4. Even with the 2 examples, the case with Nazarenes in Niš might still look like a wrong administrative entry but the fact is that small Christian congregations could be found here and there in the Ottoman Rumelia. For example, Nikolay Todorov identified the Paulikian community in Plovdiv registered by the same temettuat defter from 1844/45 (Todorov, 2024).

Regarding the residential status, out of 83 household owners 10 were recorded as *kiracıs*, meaning, they came from somewhere and found their place at this mahalle. The reason for having such a visible number of new residents is probably the great Niš uprising which happened in spring of 1841. On the vast territory which stretches in a triangle from Niš to Pirot and Vranje local Serbs in 1841 rose against the violence, discrimination and misdeeds they suffered for a long time from local Muslim landlords and corrupted officials (Randelović, 2022). The main reason that made the Serbs burst particularly in 1841 was poorly conducted first *temettuat defter* (1840/41) which, due to the incompetence of the first muhassils and corruption of clerks, enlarged their tax obligations and fabricated unsettled debts of many (Öztürk, 2003). As for the previous residence of *kiracıs* at Pop Stanko's mahalle, some hints (though not necessarily certain) could be the villages where they had their parcels of land. It is the case with 6 out of 10 *kiracıs*. Five *kiracıs* had their land at Hrastinče*; 3 at Sudurun*, 2 at Kalna*; 1 sole parcel owned by a *kiracı* is recorded in Batušinac and Malošište. As for the rest of the residents of mahalle, though not *kiracıs*, their land parcels were also scattered around Niš, so we can bring following statistics: 1 parcel of land was owned by a resident of mahalle in villages Kalna*, Bilat*, Izvor*, Zukve* and Girašince*; 2 parcels of land in Sudurun*, Isradan* and Suvi Dol; 3 parcels of land in Isprazna*, Hrastinče* and Batušinac. The place where the residents of Pop Stanko's mahalle had the most parcels of land was Malošište, and it records 13 land parcels there. We underline that at some entries land location was not mentioned, so the statistics might be different if that was not the case. As for the toponyms we brought here, it is obvious that most of the population of Pop Stanko's mahalle gravitated to the south of Niš or had their origin from there. The village Malošište dominates in numbers; Batušinac is located close to it, so the same might be the case with at least part of the toponyms mentioned in *temettuat defter*. From a historical perspective, it makes sense, considering the fact that Malošište, Batušinac and the area around them suffered heavy destruction during the Niš uprising (1841) followed by a significant population drop afterward.

Things changed after the Ottomans announced *Hatıhumayun* in 1856, the decree which strengthened all progressive efforts they were committing since 1839 (Randelović, 2022). It was particularly important for further economic and political emancipation of the non-Muslims in the Empire. The benefit from that for the Christians in Niš will be seen when they start building an Orthodox cathedral in the 1850s (Randelović, 2015). The location of the huge temple was set in the Serbian Town/Palilula, which obviously could be only Pop Stanko's mahalle. At the same time next to the cathedral, a Christian school was opened, hosting dozens, if not hundreds of Serbian pupils. That way, in less than 15 years Pop Stanko's mahalle was turned from a district at the outskirts of Niš into a political, cultural and religious core of the Serbian community in this city. Such changes affected the character of the mahalle, too. By attracting rich Christian families of traders and craftsmen, once a settlement made dominantly of land cultivators with low and modest income, Pop Stanko's mahalle became a residential district of Serbian pre-industrial bourgeoisie and, after 1878, the oldest historical district of Niš.

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Endnotes

¹ Although history in the Ottoman period is an integral part of all monographs about Niš from the Interwar period to the present day, so far only two titles have dealt with Ottoman Niš in more detail: the first volume of *Istorija Niša* (Niš, 1983) and the monograph *Osmanski upravnici Niša u 19. veku (1799–1878)* by Milan Randelović. When it comes to periodicals and defters as primary sources for the history of Ottoman Niš, the primary (and sole) title is the translated and edited oldest defter of kadılık of Niš (1498) by a group of authors in *Spomenik 131/7* (Belgrade, 1992). All these facts emphasize that working on Ottoman documents of this type (defters) is a scientific necessity, even in the case of specific defters, such as temettuats.

² Sand seller and dealer

³ A craftsman who makes sackcloth and similar products woven from goat hair (srb. mutavdžija).

⁴ A trader of secondhand clothes and items, a flea marketeer.

⁵ When it comes to first temettuat defter from 1840/41, the mistrust of the non-Muslims toward the Ottoman clerks and officials also contributed to this problem. Not really understanding why was the temettuat defter conducted, many people avoided to report their all estate and profit, hence leading the officials to guess or speculate with the income of many taxpayers. It deepened the mistrust of the non-Muslims toward the Ottoman state and caused more serious problems which eventually burst into open uprising.