

## ANALYSIS OF THE POPULATION TABLE OF THE CENSUS OF SALONICA OF 1903-4

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### *The Categories of the Population of the Census of Salonica*

In this paper we are to analyse the document appended to the Salonica provincial salname of 1321 (1903/4) about the population of Salonica province.<sup>1</sup> As is known, almost every provincial salname contained a population table of the province concerned. The question arises why the population table of this particular provincial salname has been selected to study here. As shall be explained in detail later, this population table is unique in terms of both form and content. In no Ottoman censuses can one see such a population table as this one. The population in the document is divided into two main categories: Yeri (native) and Yabancı Nufus (non-local population). In each category the names of the same religious groups together with their population are given. In late Ottoman census practises the population of a province was usually registered in three defters, the first and second for the Muslims and non-Muslims who were the indigenous residents of the province, and the third one for the immigrants from the other provinces of the Empire. Those in the third group were therefore registered under the separate section as Yabancı Nufus. Both Yerli and Yabancı Nufus were the Ottoman citizens except for those classified in the "teba-i ecnebiye" in both population tables.

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1. I should thank Professor M. Ursinus for bringing this document into my attention.

2. For the Millet System, see H.A.R. Gibb and H. Gowen, *Islamic Society and West*, Vol. I, Part 2, (London, 1957), passim; M. Ursinus, "Millet", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and also B. Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System", in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the Functioning of a Plural Society*, edited by B. Braude & B. Lewis, Vol.I, (New York, 1982), pp.69-88.

Let us now examine the religious groups listed under the headings of Yerli and Yabancı Nufus. The first group consists of Muslims as a ruling element in the Empire who were placed at the first line of the population table at the top, and who always played a significant role in the Empire from the beginning to its end. The Ottoman Empire with its institutions was a Muslim State established and organised on the basis of Islamic and customary laws. There is therefore no need to explain more as to the significance of the Muslim elements in the Empire. However it should be mentioned that the heading of Islam included the Turks, Arabs, Albanians, Slavs, Circassians, Lazs, and Gypsies. The Ottoman governments considered all the Muslim groups as one community<sup>2</sup>, and therefore placed all of them in one category under the heading of either Muslim (Islam) or Turk.<sup>3</sup>

As for the non-Muslims in the Empire, they were organised in accordance with the millet system after the middle of the fifteenth century though it is stated that the millet system was a myth rather than a phenomenon<sup>4</sup>. Despite this, it will be useful to point out some remarks about the religious groups recognised by the Ottoman Empire. The first religious group from the Christian subjects is the Orthodox community affiliated with the Patriarchate. They were recognised by the Ottomans for the first time in 1454. By means of recognising the Orthodox community they were brought together under the name of Millet-i Rum. The Patriarch then became a respected member of a divan having the right to control the Orthodox churches, schools and courts. It appears that Mehmed the Conqueror had been encouraged mainly by the political situation created through granting cultural self-rule to the Orthodox community so as to keep them under the control of the State. Thus the Sultan could remove the influences of the Papacy and Venice over the Orthodox churches. The Ottoman Sultan, Mehmed the Conqueror therefore recognised the Orthodoxes as a separate millet. The same policy was also applied to other religious communities, for instance Gregorians and Jews at about the same time, and continued until the time of reforms in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

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3. K.H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, (Wisconsin, 1985), p.55.

4. B. Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System" in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the Functioning of a Plural Society*, pp.69-88.

5. K.H. Karpat, "Millets and Nationality: The roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the post-Ottoman Era", in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the Func-*

The millet-i Rum denoted the Orthodox Christians comprising of followers from the Greeks, Serbians, Vlachs, Bulgarians, Albanians, and Arabs.<sup>6</sup> The Greeks maintained their dominance over the Orthodoxes in terms of religion, language and culture until the nineteenth century. The Greeks were hereafter no longer a predominant element amongst the Orthodoxes in the Balkans. In late nineteenth century the Bulgarians, Serbians and Vlachs found their own religious establishments, and did not collaborate any longer in the Orthodox community with the Greeks who were then not able to represent all the other Orthodox Christians of Europe. The reason for the Ottoman Empire to break the Orthodox Christians into various pieces derived from two main incidents: independence of Greece and the decree of 1870.<sup>7</sup>

The Ottoman Sultan, Mehmed the Conqueror recognised the Armenians with their own foundations as a second religious group established in 1461 following the recognition of the Greek Orthodox Christians in 1454. The recognition of Greeks and Armenians meant that there were two main Christian groups in the Empire<sup>8</sup>. At the time of the formation of the Armenian millet neither the provinces of Eastern Anatolia, nor Cilicia in which the majority of the Armenians lived had as yet been conquered by the Ottomans. Mehmed the Conqueror therefore selected the Gregorian Bishop of Bursa, Horaghim as the Patriarch of Istanbul who was accorded the same accession as the Patriarch of the Greek Orthodoxes<sup>9</sup>. Over the centuries, the Armenians were however monopolised by the rich Armenian officials and their religious leaders. When the Protestants

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*tioning of a Plural Society*, edited by B. Braude & B. Lewis, Vol. I, (New York, 1982), pp.141-169, especially p.169; see also for the privileges given by Mehmed the Second to the Orthodox Patriarchate, V. Colocotronis, *La Macedoine et'Hellenisme*, (Paris, 1919), p.288.

6. Richard Clogg, "The Greek Millet in the Ottoman Empire", in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the Functioning of a Plural Society*, edited by B. Braude & B. Lewis, Vol. I, (New York, 1982), pp.209-242, especially 185.

7. S. Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, (London, 1965), pp.291-292.

8. K.H. Karpat, "Millets and Nationality: The roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the post-Ottoman Era", in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the Functioning of a Plural Society*, pp., 145; B. Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System" in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the Functioning of a Plural Society*, p.81.

9. H.A.R. Gibb and H. Gowen, *Islamic Society and West*, p.221; for the rise of the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul and its struggle for gaining the control over the Armenians in the Caucasus and Cilicia with the Catholicosate of Sis and Ecmiasin, see Kevork B. Bardakjian, "The Rise of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople", in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the Functioning of a Plural Society*, edited by B. Braude & B. Lewis, Vol. I, (New York, 1982), pp.88-100.

and Catholics were recognised as separate millets in the nineteenth century this situation gave the Gregorian Armenians preference to choose either Protestantism or Catholicism. As a result, a few Armenians converted themselves to Protestantism or Catholicism because of the discontent against the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul<sup>10</sup>.

Latin missionaries in the 17th and 18th centuries went from place to place amongst the Greeks and Armenians to renounce their former sect and accede to that of Latin<sup>11</sup> Not only the Latin missionaries, but also Protestant missionaries from the 17th to the end of the 19th century worked amongst the Gregorians and Orthodoxes to convert them into Protestantism<sup>12</sup>. The Catholic and Protestant missionaries apparently achieved some success, because it is observed that the Protestant missionaries at last also received from the Porte an official acceptance as a separate religious group with an imperial ferman in 1850.<sup>13</sup> The majority of Catholics and Protestants listed in the census of 1881/82 were originally from those converted mainly from the Gregorian Armenians<sup>14</sup>. The Catholics obtained the right of being a separate millet in 1860.

One of the other three religious groups was the Jews recognised as a millet also during the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror. There is a debate going on as to whether the Jews had a Chief Rabbi with same powers as those obtained by the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs over their followers in the Empire<sup>15</sup>. Concerning the Chief Rabbi, Hacker points out that "though there was no Chief Rabbi over all the Jews of the Empire, but there was a Chief Rabbi whose official authority was limited to Istanbul and its constituent communities, and was approved by the Ottoman authorities"<sup>16</sup>. Just

10. Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey 1808-1975*, Vol.II, (Cambridge, 1977), p.40.

11. M. Ursinus, "Millet", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

12. For the conversion of the Armenians to Catholicism, and the Ottoman attitudes towards it, see Ahmed Refik (Altınay), *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı 1689-1785*, (İstanbul, 1988) especially numbers 34, 47, 54, 194; also Ahmed Refik (Altınay), *Onüçüncü Asr-ı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı 1786-1839*, (İstanbul, 1988), number 22.

13. Roderic H. Davison, "The Millets as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire", in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the Functioning of a Plural Society*, edited by B. Braude & B. Lewis, Vol.I, (New York, 1982), pp.319-337, especially 329.

14. Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey 1808-1975*, p.200.

15. H.A.R. Gibb and H. Gowen, *Islamic Society and West*, p.217.

as, in the population surveys in the fifteenth century, the Jews were counted under a separate section<sup>17</sup> along with the Muslims and Christians.

It is obvious that the Ottoman did not back the divisions amongst the Christians in its heydays, and did not change this policy until the middle of the nineteenth century when the Cretan uprising and the animosity of Greece made the Ottoman statesmen accept the suggestion in their political will "to isolate the Greeks as much as possible from the other Christians", and "to withdraw the Bulgarians from the domination of the Greek Church"<sup>18</sup> Ali Paşa backed Fuad Paşa's thought. Hereafter the Bulgarians started their activities to establish a Bulgarian national church in the middle of the nineteenth century. At the end a ferman allowed the formation of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870. The Bulgarians and Greeks immediately realised the significance of the ferman. Greeks and Christians then became no longer synonymous in the Balkans.

Following the foundation of the Bulgarian Exarchate, the Bulgarians freely selected their churches either from the church of the Patriarchate or from that of the Exarchate. However almost all the Christians in the Danube province and the majority of the inhabitants in Macedonia opted for the Exarchate. The Patriarchate then represented chiefly the Greeks, but some Bulgarian speaking groups remained with the Patriarchate. There were also a few Catholic Greeks and Bulgarians kept separated from the Greeks and Bulgarians in accordance with their linguistic affiliation<sup>19</sup>. Amongst the Bulgarians we find the Paulikans who accepted Catholicism as their sect during the Byzantine period and remained altogether as Catholics in the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

In 1870 when the Exarchate was created in a short time, it became the centre of Bulgarian propaganda the object of which was to create the big Bulgaria. According to the Bulgarian propaganda,

16. Joseph R. Hacker, "Ottoman Policy toward the Jews and Jewish Attitudes toward the Ottomans During the Fifteenth Century", in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the Functioning of a Plural Society*, edited by B. Braude & B. Lewis, Vol. I, (New York, 1982), pp. 117-126, especially 122.

17. H.L. Lowry, "Portrait of a City: The Population and Topography of Ottoman Selanik in the year 1478", *Diptycha*, 2 (Athens, 1980-81), pp. 254-294.

18. William Miller, *The Ottoman Empire 1801-1913*, (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 345-346; L.S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453*, (New York, 1963), p. 519.

19. K.H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, pp. 29-50.

20. S. Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 329.

if Macedonia did not become a part of Bulgaria, Bulgaria would never be formed<sup>21</sup>. It was forthwith noticed by the Ottomans that the Bulgarians wished to annex Macedonia, and then the Ottomans immediately acted to recognise the Serbs to be a separate millet like others. This was not realised until 1900. Yet the Ottomans in 1889 welcomed the appearance of the Serbs in Macedonia and granted them some privileges as a means of creating a counter against the Bulgarians<sup>22</sup>. Although the Serbs were not given a right of being a separate millet, they were permitted to found Serbian consulates and schools, particularly in Kosova and Salonica. They were included in the censuses of 1905 and 1914 but not of 1906. It is however observed that they were registered as Serbs in the population registers.

As for the Vlachs, they became important when Macedonia was transformed into the battle-field of nationalist propaganda. According to Vlach propaganda the Vlachs were indeed in majority in Macedonia, and this belief was increasingly favoured in Romania. The Vlachs schools were founded in Macedonia to abate Greek influence and win the favour of the Ottomans<sup>23</sup>. The Ottoman government also supported the Romanian propaganda for the Vlachs in Macedonia, because firstly this propaganda was hostile to the Greeks and secondly there was no possibility that the Romanians could annex Macedonia. So the Ottomans allowed the Vlachs to establish schools and make propaganda in Macedonia<sup>24</sup>. There is as yet no information about the Vlachs being accepted as a separate group from the Orthodox Greeks. However they were counted as Vlachs in the censuses of 1906 and 1914, and in the Turkish official statistic of 1905 published in *Asr Gazetesi*.<sup>25</sup>

The Gypsies and nomadic tribes were excluded from the number of Muslim and non-Muslim. They were listed separately in the census of 1831 under the heading of Kipti.<sup>26</sup> However, later, the Gypsies were divided into two; Muslim and non-Muslim Gypsies. The Muslim Gypsies were included in the Muslim population, and the non-Muslim Gypsies were separately enumerated and called as Kipti-i Gayr-i Müslim. There were also separate registers kept spe-

21. L. Villari, *Balkan Question*, (London, 1905), pp.143-144.

22. L.S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453* p.520.

23. Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, pp.375-377.

24. L. Villari, *Balkan Question*, p.155.

25. For it, see *Asr Gazetesi* on (26 Şevval 1322) 2 January, 1905.

26. Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol.5, (Ankara, 1947), p.159.

cially for foreigners termed as "Franks", who were reflected in the population tables as *Teb'a-i Ecnebiyye*.

There were other non-Muslim religious groups, which emerged as a result of the Protestant and Catholic activities amongst the Christians. These groups were Catholic Armenians, Catholic Bulgarians, Catholic Greeks, Protestant Armenians, Protestant Bulgarians, Protestant Greeks and Syriacs (*Süryani*). The term Armenian was used as the name of the members of the Gregorian church on the whole, but some ethnic Armenians were converted to other sects. Then, the new terms like Catholic and Protestant Armenians, Catholic and Protestant Greeks, and Catholic and Protestant Bulgarians were introduced. The Latin signified old-European Catholics, but the term also denoted those speaking Latin or one of the European languages.<sup>27</sup> Although the number of these groups were small, they were counted and listed separately in the census tables. The population tables sometimes mentioned some other Christian groups living in a particular area such as in Syria and Irak, Nestorians, Chaldeans, Jacobites, Maronites, Syriacs, Yezidis, and Druzes.

In the nineteenth century, the Ottomans, on the one hand, protected the Greek guerrillas against the Bulgarian bishops so as to let them hellenize the Bulgarians in some villages of Macedonia by means of making them join with the Patriarchate of Istanbul. The Ottomans, but on the other hand, it encouraged the Vlachs to take action against the hellenization. Thus, Macedonia became an area where the Christians had to fight with one another<sup>28</sup>.

*The Reflection of the Population Figures in the Population Table of Salonica*

The population table of the census of Salonica comprised the *yerli nüfus* (native population) and the *yabancı nüfus* (non-local population). The *yerli nüfus* was situated on the left side, and the *yabancı nüfus* on the right side of the document. The *yerli* and *yabancı nüfus* were broken down into male and female, and divided along the line into the religious groups listed in the first line at the top of the table. In the census of Salonica of 1903-4, the existing non-Muslim groups, regardless of how small they were in number, were shown in the table. For instance there were only two Protest-

27. K.H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, p.108.

28. İ. Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, Vol.5, (İstanbul, 1972) p.345.

ant Armenians amongst the yabancı nüfus, but no Protestant Armenians in the yerli nüfus. An entry for just two Protestant Armenians was made both in the tables of the yerli and yabancı nüfus. This shows that those who prepared the population table took into account even a single person belonging to a very small religious community.

There were three sancaks (sub-province), Salonica, Siroz and Drama in Salonica province in terms of administrative units. Each sancak was made up of a number of kazas, Salonica 14, Siroz 8, and Drama 5. These twenty seven kazas had in their centres their own population offices and officers who collected the population data from their attached communes and villages as well as from their kaza centres. Thus the population figures became available for each kaza. Then the population of the 14 kazas attached to the sancak of Salonica was brought together and listed under the section of the sancak of Salonica. The same process was followed for the sancaks of Drama and Siroz. In the table of the census of Salonica, these sancaks were listed according to their number of kazas from the top of the table to its bottom. Accordingly Salonica sancak was the first with its 24 kazas, second Siroz sancak with its 8 kazas, and lastly Drama sancak with its 5 kazas in the table. As will be seen in the table appended to the end of the text, the total population of each kaza and the total population of Salonica sancak were given along with the total numbers of the listed religious groups in the sancak. The same process was pursued for the other sancaks, Drama and Siroz. The total population of the religious groups of three sancaks were also given in the first line at the bottom. There was also a column on the right side of the yerli nüfus giving the total population of yerli by kaza, sancak and by province.

In the yabancı nüfus, the first group listed in the first column of the table were the Muslims. In the next three columns, the Orthodox people listed in the table were divided into three parts; the first one was the Orthodox Greek attached with to the Patriarchate of Istanbul, the second was the Vlachs belonging to the Patriarchate of Istanbul, the third group being the Orthodox Bulgarians and Serbians who remained under the shelter of the Exarchate. Amongst the non-Muslims in Salonica province, the most numerous religious group was the Orthodox Greeks, the second largest community was the Exarchists (Bulgarians, Serbians, Vlachs, and Turks). It then followed the Armenians (of the Gregorian). After these communities it started giving the population of Catholics in accordance with

the ethnic line (Catholic Armenians, Catholics, Catholic Greeks, Catholic Bulgarians and Latins). Their numbers are not as much as those of the Orthodox Christians. The next column is appropriated for the Jews who were the fourth numerous community in Salonica province. It followed the non-Muslim Gypsies. The last group mentioned in the population table was the foreign citizens who were mainly merchants, missionaries, travellers, and the representatives of the foreign states.

The table of the yerli nüfus about the reflection of the population was similar to that of the yabancı nüfus. It listed the same religious communities and presented their population in the same way as was done in the yabancı nüfus, but there was one column on the right side of the yabancı nüfus showing the total population of the yerli and yabancı nüfus of Salonica province. The importance of the census table of Salonica is that it listed 17 different religious groups. This type of information was not given in any other population document. Because of this reason the document in question is unique and must be considered as a new attempt to reflect the population in as much detail as possible. As will be seen later, the reflection of population in empire-wide censuses and in population lists in the salnames do not resemble that of the census of Salonica under study.

In order to make the census of Salonica comprehensible we must look through the reflections of the population used in the censuses of the 19th century and in the population lists of the salnames. In the first census in 1831 Ottomans' acceptance of the religious groups in the population table can be seen as they were reflected in the earlier land surveys. The population in the census of 1831 was divided into five main groups (Muslims, Re'aya, Gypsies, Jews and Armenians). The term Re'aya in the nineteenth century was officially applied in general to the Orthodox Christians (The Greeks, Bulgarians, Vlachs and Serbians). The census of 1831 for the first time differentiated the Bulgarians from the Orthodox Christians, often referring to them by their ethnic name. The census-takers from time to time referred also to non-Muslims as "Re'aya-i Milel-i Selase" (Orthodoxes, Armenians, and Jews), but sometimes there were special entries opened for Armenians and Jews. In the original registers the Muslims and Christian Gypsies were listed separately, but these two groups were combined into one category in the census table of 1831 where the population was broken down into eyalets, sancaks, kazas, and nahiyes. In general,

the population of 1831 was given in the form of a summary as Muslim and non-Muslim.

The reflection of the population of the Empire ostensibly continued in the same way as in that of 1831 until the census of 1881/82. In this census, the population of the Empire was recorded in far more detailed than in the previous censuses. Although the Muslims were the same, the non-Muslim population was divided into specific groups. Then Greeks, Armenians and Bulgarians were counted as separate groups under their ethnic names within the Christians. Protestant and Catholic Christians were reflected in the table without dividing them into ethnic groups. Latins, Syriacs and non-Muslim Gypsies were listed in the table as they would be seen in the censuses after 1881/82 similar to the Jews and foreign citizens. The population was broken down into provinces under which the population of kazas was listed. The censuses prior to 1881 gave only the number of male population, but the census of 1881/82 classified the population by sex for the first time. In the census of 1881/82, the total population of kazas, sancaks and provinces was presented by millet. As far as the population of Salonica in the census of 1881/82 was concerned, no estimate was made, and all the areas of Salonica province were kept subject to counting and registering.

In the population table of 1897 it is noticed that the Chaldeans and Maronites were added to those Christian religious groups used in the census of 1881/82. The same method was applied to introduce the figures of the religious groups as was done previously in the census of 1881/82.

As for the reflection of the figures of the Turkish official statistic of 1905 for Macedonia, the population was, first of all, divided by province (Salonica, Kosova and Manastır). Then each province's population was reflected by religion (Muslim and non-Muslim) in the table. The non-Muslim population was divided into Greeks, Bulgarians, Vlachs and Serbs whose exact population was given in *Asr Gazetesi*. However the population of Jews and others, such as Catholics, was estimated totally as 100.0000 for three provinces. As far as the information in *Asr Gazetesi* is concerned, the distribution of this figures of these small religious groups is unknown.

There were more religious groups in the census of 1906/7 than those counted in the previous censuses. The newly added religious groups were all non-Muslims. They were namely Yezidis, Samari-

tants, Jacobites, and Cossack reflected for the first time in this population table. Moreover, Catholics were divided into two parts; Greek and Armenian Catholics. There is no indication made about the number of the Bulgarian Catholics. The Protestants were reckoned as one united group. The population was divided into sex, as in the census of 1881/82. The population of 1906/7 was presented by religious group, sancak and province. The presentation of the population was the same as that of 1881/82.

In the statistic of 1914, the population was given down to kaza level according to the religious groups, the numbers of which were increased by adding Druzes, Serbs and Old Syrians to those listed in the earlier censuses. The population was not divided into sex.

Let us now examine the mode of reflecting the population figures on the tables of the provincial salnames. The provincial salnames were published after 1866. They especially provided information about administration, education, demography, geography, economy, and commerce of the province concerned. The salnames mainly gave the population of the provinces in the form of either total population or population by sancak and kaza, or population by sex and millet, but occasionally, they also gave limited information on births and deaths, and in a few salnames population by village.<sup>29</sup> The figures of the population in the salnames as in the censuses derived from the same source, the population registers. The salnames from Erzurum, Trabzon, Kastamonu, Cezayir-i Bahr-ı Sefid, and Suriye in terms of the reflection of the population are to be examined here.

The salname of Erzurum for the year 1288/1871<sup>30</sup> gave the population figures of the province down to kaza and commune level. The population in this salname was presented, sancak by sancak, then every sancak population was broken into kaza and nahiyeye level. There were two totals, one for the whole population of commune, kaza and sancak, another for the total population of religious groups in the sancaks. In addition to the number of villages and quarters attached to the communes and kazas, only Muslim and Christian male population were represented in the table.

29. J. MacCarthy. "Ottoman Imperial and Provincial Salnames", *IJMES*, XII/11 (1979), pp.10-20, especially p.10. Also for the lists of the provincial and state salnames, see K.H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, pp.12-13, and *Ottoman Yearbooks (Salname and Nevasal): a Bibliograph and a Union Catalogue with Reference to Istanbul Libraries*, compiled by Hasan Duman, (Istanbul, 1982).

30. The salname of Erzurum province of 1288.

The salname of Erzurum of 1290/1873<sup>31</sup> gave the province's male population, sancak by sancak with the number of villages or quarters attached to each nahiye or kaza. The number of hanes of the kazas was placed next to the column in which the number of villages were written down. The population was divided not only into the Muslims and non-Muslims, but into the six different groups (Muslims, Greeks, Catholics, Protestants and Gypsies). Although the population of Erzurum was distributed into six different religious groups in the salname, the same distribution was not applied to the population of sancaks of Kars, Van, Bayazid, Çıldır, Erzincan and Muş attached to the province of Erzurum. Their population was presented as Muslim and Christian with the number of total villages and hanes in each kaza in these sancaks.

The salname of the same province of 1294/1877<sup>32</sup> provided the same categories of the religious groups for Erzurum, Kars and Çıldır sancaks, but the categories in Erzincan and Bayazid sancaks differed from those of two sancaks in the salname of 1290/1873<sup>33</sup>, because the Christian population of Erzincan sancak in 1877 was distributed into Armenians and Greeks, but not into Muslim and Christian as in 1873. The Bayazid population was made up of Muslim, Christian and Yezidi religions. In this salname, only male population was provided. The salname of Erzurum of 1312/1894 and 1315/1897<sup>34</sup> reflected the population in the same way. The population of Erzurum was divided into sancak (Erzurum, Erzincan and Bayazid), sex and millet (Muslim, Greek, Armenian, Catholic, Protestant, Jews, Gypsy, Yabancı and Ecnebi). It also listed the number of villages, mahalles and hanes. The population of the kazas of each sancak was also given by sex and millet along with the total population of kazas, sancaks and province, and of the millets, in each administrative unit. The same procedure was applied to introduce the population in the salname of Erzurum of 1318/1897<sup>35</sup>, but only Jews were excluded from the table of this salname.

The salname of Trabzon of 1286/1869<sup>36</sup> gave the number of hanes and population by sancak and kaza. Hanes were divided into

31. The salname of Erzurum of 1290/1873.

32. The salname of the same province of 1294/1877.

33. The salname of Erzurum of 1290/1873.

34. For them, see the salnames of Erzurum of 1312-1315/1894-1897.

35. For it, see the salname of Erzurum of 1318/1897.

36. The salname of Trabzon of 1286-1869.

Muslim and non-Muslim. There was a separate column for the total of hanes for each kaza and sancak, and another column for the number of villages. The male population of Muslims, Greeks, Armenians and Catholics in Trabzon province were given separately. There were two further columns for totals, one for the population of the religious groups, and another for the population of the administrative units. In the salname of Trabzon of 1288/1871,<sup>37</sup> hanes and male population were presented by sancak and millet. The male population of the Muslims, Circassians, Greeks, Armenians and Catholics was reflected in the table, sancak by sancak and kaza by kaza. The summary population of the sancaks was added to the detailed population table. In the salname of Trabzon of 1318/1900,<sup>38</sup> the population was given by sancak and kaza separately. Each sancak's population was divided into kazas for which separate tables were made to represent the population by millet and sex. These groups were Muslims, Greeks, Armenians, Catholics and Protestants. After the population of the kazas, the total of their sancak population was given and at the end of the population table, the totals of the religious groups were also presented by sancak and sex.

The salname of Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid (Aegean Islands) of 1302/1885<sup>39</sup> gave the population of the Aegean Islands by religious groups (Muslim, Christian, Muslim Gypsy and Jewish). The male and female population of every kaza of each sancak were represented. The total population of each sancak and the total population of the groups in the province were placed in the table.

The population of the Muslims, Greeks, and Armenians was recorded in the table of the salname of Kastamonu of 1314/1896<sup>40</sup>. Kastamonu province was comprised of four sancaks whose kazas' population was shown by religious group and sex. At the bottom of the table, the total population of the groups and general total population of Kastamonu were given.

One of the rare salnames giving information on births and deaths was the salname of Suriye of 1311/1893.<sup>41</sup> It showed the

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37. The salname of Trabzon of 1288/1871.

38. The salname of Trabzon of 1318/1900.

39. The salname of Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid (Aegean Islands) of 1302/1885.

40. The salname of Kastamonu of 1314/1896.

41. The salname of Suriye of 1311/1893.

births and deaths by religious group and kaza occurring in Syria in 1893. These groups were the Muslims, Orthodox Greeks, Catholic Greeks, Catholic Armenians, Old Syriacs, Catholic Syriacs, Protestants, Maronites and Jews whose number of births and deaths were given with their totals in the province. At the right side of the table, the total number of births and deaths of each kaza was also shown.

The information given on the population in the salnames tends to support the view that the salnames reflected the population of the existing groups in the provinces to which the salnames belonged. These groups varied according to the time and to the religious composition of the province concerned. As was seen in the salname of Erzurum, the categories of the population shown in Erzurum salname of 1290 were different from those of that of 1294. It can be argued that the differences resulted from the arbitrary choice of method of registration by the population officials. It appears that there was no established method to reflect the population in the salname tables. It is also more likely that the editors of the salnames took figures from the population offices of each kaza, and brought them together as they wished the figures to appear in the salname, since the reflection of the population by religious group was also different from one sancak to another. For one sancak, population was listed by Muslim and non-Muslim, but for another it was listed by religious group in detail.

The figures of the population table of a salname differed from the figures of other salnames for the same province. In other words the same figures were not repeated in the population tables of the different salnames of a province.

The way of reflecting the population in the tables of the salnames and censuses have so far been examined, none of them defined the population as detailed as the table of the census of Salonica of 1321/1903-04. The latter presented the yerli and yabancı nüfus of Salonica giving the population of seventeen different religious groups by kaza and sex. The question arises why the table of the census of Salonica was unique and the most detailed one of the population tables of the salnames and the censuses. The answers lie in the fact that Salonica in about 1903 was the centre of the struggle amongst the Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs and Vlachs who wished to annex Macedonia including Salonica from the Ottomans. That is

why such a detailed population table as that of Salonica was prepared to give convincing population of the religious groups in Salonica province to bring an end to the struggle amongst the people in the Balkans.

*The Population of Salonica Province by Yabancı and Yerli*

We have explained who formed the yerli and yabancı nüfus in the previous sections, and we shall be analysing the figures of the census of Salonica from the point of yerli and yabancı nüfus. As was shown in the table below, the total population of the Salonica province was 1.133.730 which comprised of yabancı nüfus 58.465 (5.15% of the total provincial population) and yerli nüfus 1.075.265 (94.85% of the total provincial population).

Yerli and Yabancı Nüfus of the Province

	<i>Yerli</i>	<i>Yabancı</i>	<i>Yabancı to Total (%)</i>
Muslims	484.334	24.626	4.8%
Greeks	289.684	21.874	7.0%
Bulgarians	220.351	5.781	2.5%
Vlachs	19.344	2.341	10.7%
Jews	50.729	1.894	3.5%

According to the table, the Muslims contained the most numerous yerli and yabancı population of the Salonica province. Their yabancı nüfus proportion to that of yerli was 4.8% which was similar to the proportion of the total yerli and yabancı nüfus of the Salonica province, which was 5.1%. The second largest community was the Orthodox Greeks whose proportion of the yabancı nüfus to that of yerli was 7%. This 7% is higher than the mean of the province. Although the Bulgarians formed the third largest community in number in the Salonica province, their proportion of yabancı to the yerli was 2.5% which is lower than those of the four major groups. The Vlachs possessed very high yabancı nüfus (10.7%) in number in proportion to their yerli nüfus. The mean of the Vlachs is two-fold more than the mean of the province. The proportion of the Jewish yabancı nüfus was lower than that of the province. What these proportions may inform is the province of Salonica did not attract the religious groups at the same level. Though the Muslims were the largest community in the Salonica province in terms of both yerli and yabancı nüfus, this province did not attract the Mus-

lms from the other provinces in the same proportion to the Greeks and Vlachs. It is perhaps the reason why the Salonica province was not considered as a secure place for the Muslims, Bulgarians and Jews, but for the Greeks and Vlachs.

<i>The Largest Muslim Yerli Nufus</i>		<i>The Largest Muslim Yabancı Nufus</i>	
Nevrekop	50.231	Salonica	7574
Siroz	33.433	Siroz	2126
Drama	48.205	Drama	2146
Lankaza	27.590	Kavala	2166

According to the table, the Muslims in Drama and Siroz kazas seem to have chosen two kazas because of the dominant density of the Muslim population in two kazas. However Lankaza and Nevrekop kazas demonstrate the reverse.

<i>The Largest Bulgarian Yerli Nufus</i>		<i>The Largest Bulgarian Yabancı Nufus</i>	
Petriç	18.208	Salonica	4399
Cumabala	19.949	Aynaroz	712
Nevrekop	29.282	Drama	551
Avrethisarı	17.366	Avrethisarı	300

Among the Bulgarians in the yabancı nüfus, only those in Avrethisarı show that they opted for Avrethisarı because of the dominant Bulgarian population. However those in three kazas demonstrate the reverse. It is also true that the Jews within the group of yabancı nüfus in the Salonica province may have selected the city of Salonica. After all these remarks, all the people in the yabancı nüfus do not seem to have chosen any particular kaza owing to their predominant coreligionists' population.

#### *The Population of Salonica Province by Sex*

The population of yerli and yabancı of the province was broken down into the religious groups together with the distribution of sex-anas (female) and zükür (male). In the Ottoman census and registration system the female population of the Empire was registered for the first time in 1881/82 1988/82. Thereafter we always find female columns next to males both in the tables of the salnames and in the census tables.



In the city of Salonica all the males of the religious groups except for Latin were more than their females. The most interesting population distribution by sex was in Aynaroz holding 45 Muslim males, but no female, 1.770 Orthodox Greek males, but no female, 179 Vlach males and no female, and no male Exarchist Bulgarian females. The Muslim, Greek and Vlach possessed almost two thousand males and no female, but Bulgarian held 712 females and no male. One may suspect that something was wrong with Aynaroz population. In fact there is nothing wrong with it. The explanation lies in the fact that Aynaroz was commonly known in Europe as Mount Athos (the Holy Mountain) in which only male population must have existed owing to the religious status of Mount Athos.<sup>42</sup> It is therefore most likely that the Bulgarian females (712) were placed at the column of the female of the Bulgarian Exarchists instead of their male column. If so, the male population of Aynaroz in this case includes only male population correctly. In Siroz kaza, with the exception of the Protestant all the other groups contained more males than females in the yabancı nüfus. In Drama and Kavala kazas all the groups without exception contained more males than females. This case is also true for other kazas of Salonica province in the yabancı nüfus.

As for the yerli nüfus, it does not resemble the yabancı nüfus in distribution of population by sex. The proportion of the total females to the males in the yerli nüfus was 48.3%. In the five major groups, all the males except for the Jewish males were slightly more than their females. Though the difference between the males and females in the yerli nüfus is not as much as in the yabancı nüfus, this small difference in the yerli nüfus might have resulted either from the position of the women in the community or from the fact that the males outnumbered the females.

#### Total Yabancı Nüfus by Religious Group

<i>Millets</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Female to Male (%)</i>
Muslims	247.461	236.873	48.9
Orthodox Greeks	155.533	139.156	47.2
Vlachs	10.291	0.053	46.8
Exarchist Bulgarians	113.905	106.446	48.3
Jews	25.209	25.520	50.3
Total	552.3999	5127.048	48.3

42. See for this, Micheal Ursinus, "Holy Mountain and Supreme Council: Mount Athos at the Beginning of a New Era", *Byzantine & Modern Greek Studies*, 13(1989), pp.253-284.

When remembering the strict regulations which were made for the males, owing to the military, taxation, and other concerns, their numbers would be accepted to be almost accurate. According to this, only 1.7% of the females failed to be registered in the defter. In other words, 18.279 which should be added to the number of the yerli nufus do not make too much difference in the total provincial population.

#### The Yerli Nufus of Six Administrative Centres by Millet and Sex

	Salonica		Aynaroz		Siroz		Cum'abala		Drama		Kavala	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Muslim	11.677	12.452	-	-	16.399	17.034	3.905	3.786	23.275	24.930	8.472	8.797
Ort.Gr.	5.300	5.313	-	3.770	21.322	21.442	85	102	4.930	4.969	2.289	2.141
Vlachs	32	40	-	234	335	335	272	283	-	-	-	-
Exar.Bul.	700	752	-	281	6.338	6.338	9.739	10.210	2.017	2.055	-	-
Armen.	66	72	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cat.Arm	9	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cath.	16	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cath.Gr.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cath.Bul	11	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Latin	5	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Protestant	1	2	-	-	11	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
Prot.Arm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Prot.Bul.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Syriac	6	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jews	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gypsy	23.583	23.215	-	-	547	547	61	54	80	70	501	547
(n.M.)	58	66	-	-	824	824	3	4	-	-	-	-
Foreigner	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

In Salonica kaza, wherever we find the big number in Muslims, Orthodox Greeks, Jews, beside Catholics and Catholic Armenians, their females were more than their males. It is likely that some males in Salonica city might be missing from the count, while in general males were more than females, there is no reason why females in Muslim, Greek, Jewish and in some small religious groups in Salonica kaza should be more than males. In Aynaroz there were Orthodox Greeks, Vlachs and Exarchists (?) who recorded only males but no females. As was explained earlier, those living in Aynaroz kaza were all the Orthodox men owing to the holiness in Orthodox Christianity. In Siroz the females of Muslims, Greeks, Vlachs, Bulgarians and non-Muslim Gypsies were less than their males, the only group which contained more males than females was Protestants. In Cum'abala, Muslim and Jewish females were more than their males. However Greek, Vlach, Bulgarian and non-Muslim Gypsy's males were less than their females. In

Drama kaza only Jewish females were in majority but in the other groups the males exceeded the females. In Kavala only females of Orthodox Greeks were more than their males, but, for the Muslim and Jews, males were in majority. Although the males were in general more than the female numbers, there was no significant difference between them. The ratio of male to female in the yerli nufus can be considered as consistent.

### *The Population of Salonica Province by Millet*

The census of Salonica like all the censuses of the Ottoman Empire reflected its population along the line with the millets while others took into account language, nation or adherent of the propaganda. In the census of Salonica every individual belonging to the separate religious groups was listed under the name of his or her religious groups. As is shown in the census table, Muslims were the most numerous group among the millets in Salonica province. Their total number was 508.960 persons. They formed 44.8% of the total population of the province. The distribution of the Muslims according to the three sancaks were 234.065 (39.3%) of the total population of the province. The distribution of the Muslims according to the three sancaks were 234.065 (39.3%) of the total population of Salonica sancak, 150.045 (40.2%) of the total population of Siroz sancak, 124.850 (75.1%) of the total population of Drama sancak. The Muslims were the largest group in 14 kazas of the province. It is worth noting that in Drama sancak all the five kazas were overwhelmingly populated by the Muslims, constituting in two kazas of Siroz sancak, and seven kazas of Salonica sancak as the largest group.

The largest group after the Muslims was those belonging to the Patriarchate of Istanbul, namely, Orthodox Greeks. Their total population was 311.558 covering 27.4% of the total population of the province. They were divided into three sancaks, 199.479 (33.5%) of the total population of Salonica sancak, 79.901 (21.4%) of the total population of Siroz sancak and 32.178 (19.3%) of the total population of Drama sancak. The Orthodox Greeks were the largest group in eight kazas and nahiyes, the six kazas of them were in Salonica sancak and two kazas in Siroz sancak. The Orthodox Greeks in Drama sancak formed no kaza where they were the most numerous group.

The Bulgarian Exarchists held the position of the third largest group in the census of Salonica. Their number was less than that of

Muslims and Orthodox Greeks. 226.132 persons who formed 19.9% of the total population of Salonica province were the adherents of the Bulgarian Exarchate, most of them settled in Siroz sancak in the number of 131.476 which formed 35.2% of the total population of Siroz sancak. There were 89.462 Bulgarians in Salonica sancak constituting 15.0% of the total population of Salonica sancak. A small number of Bulgarian Exarchists also resided in Drama sancak with 5.194. The Bulgarian Exarchists formed five kazas of the province as the largest group, one kaza in Salonica sancak and four in Siroz sancak. The Jews contained 52.623 persons forming 4.6% of the total population of the province. They mainly settled in the city of Salonica with a number of 46.798. Their total population of Salonica sancak was only 48.867 covering 8.2% of the total population of Salonica. There were also total 3.736 Jews in Siroz and Drama sancaks. The Jews were the most numerous group in the city of Salonica. The Vlachs possessed 21.685 persons of the total population of the province. They were largely in Salonica and Siroz sancaks. There were 15.767 in Salonica sancak covering 2.7% of the total sancak population of Salonica and 5.789 in Siroz sancak forming 1.5% of the total population of Siroz sancak. The other millets had small number of their adherents staying in Salonica province. Their totals according to the religious groups were as follows: 638 Armenians, 55 Catholic Armenians, 113 Catholics, 2030 Catholic Greeks, 715 Catholic Bulgarians, 734 Protestant Bulgarians, 4 Syriacs, 6.897 non-Muslim Gypsies and 794 foreign citizens.

## APPENDIX I

## The population of the census of Salonica by Sancak

	SALONICA		SIROZ		DRAMA	
	Yerli	Yabancı	Yerli	Yabancı	Yerli	Yabancı
Muslims:	220,382 (94.2%)	13,683 (5.8%)	145,039 (96.7%)	5,006 (3.3%)	118,913 (95.3%)	5,937 (4.7%)
Greeks:	189,713 (95.2%)	9,766 (4.8%)	77,944 (97.6%)	1,957 (2.4%)	22,027 (68.5%)	10,151 (31.5%)
Bulgarian:	85,609 (95.7%)	3,853 (4.3%)	130,622 (99.4%)	854 (0.6%)	4,120 (79.4%)	1,074 (20.6%)
Vlachs:	14,848 (94.2%)	919 (5.8%)	4,390 (66.0%)	1,399 (24.0%)	106 (82.8%)	23 (17.8%)
Jews:	48,136 (98.6%)	731 (1.4%)	1,390 (88.0%)	190 (12.0%)	1,203 (55.3%)	973 (44.7%)













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تیره‌ی اولادنی قوس			
الام	زوم	ارمی	بکون
۱۱۲۰۸	۱۹۲۸۸	۳۵۷۸	۳۸۱۶۱
۳۶۰۱	۳۵۷۸	۶۵۹	۷۱۷۸
۳۲۱	۳۲۸		۶۵۹
۳۳۳۰	۳۳۰۲		۳۳۵۲
ایچه ایلد قضاصلک حاری اولدنی قوس			
الام	زوم	ارمی	بکون
۲۰۷۰۰	۲۰۱۷۶	۲۴۴۱	۲۱۱۶۶
۲۳۲۰	۲۴۴۱		۲۷۶۱
۲۰۲۲	۲۱۲۳		۲۱۷۷
۲۵۰۵۱	۲۵۰۶۳		۵۰۱۱۷
اوق قضاصلک جامع اولدنی قوس			
الام	زوم	ارمی	بکون
۲۴۲۸۵	۲۳۰۶۷	۵۱۸	۲۷۳۵۲
۵۶۰			۱۰۱۸
۲۴۸۴۵	۲۳۵۸۵		۲۸۴۳۰
سورمه قضاصلک جامع اولدنی قوس			
الام	زوم	ارمی	بکون
۲۰۲۵۲	۲۱۸۲۹	۳۳۳۰	۲۳۲۰۲
۲۱۹۶		۱۲۹	۲۳۰
۲۳۵۹۸	۲۵۱۰۸		۲۹۰۰۶

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کوردله قضاصلک جامع اولدنی قوس			
الام	زوم	ارمی	بکون
۱۱۳۲۸	۱۶۷۱۱	۴۱۵	۲۲۰۷۲
۴۰۸			۸۵۲
۱۰۵	۱۰۳		۲۰۸
۱۶۸۱۱	۱۷۲۹۲		۲۲۸۳۲
وقف کبر قضاصلک جامع اولدنی قوس			
الام	زوم	ارمی	بکون
۱۱۴۹۰	۱۱۵۰۱		۲۲۹۶۱
۳۷	۴۲		۷۹
۱۱۵۲۷	۱۱۵۴۱		۲۳۰۱۳
طبریزدن سنجاقی قوس عوبد سیک بکونی			
الام	زوم	ارمی	بکون
۲۴۵۱۷	۲۴۷۷۳		۲۸۲۱۰
۳۸۳۲۷	۱۱۲۷۸		۸۰۲۱۵
۱۳۹۹۹	۱۲۲۹۲		۲۸۳۵۱
۷۰۸	۷۱۵		۱۴۲۳
۲۶۵	۲۸۹		۵۸۱
۲۸۹۶۶۱	۳۰۴۲۸۷		۳۰۲۲۸۲

THE POPULATION TABLE OF THE SALAMME OF TRABZON OF 1897

THE POPULATION TABLE OF THE SALNAME OF

CEZÂİR-I BAHE-İ SEFİD 1302/1885

جزایر سفید ولایتی داخله تحریری بنام یولان محارک مقارن نفوسى مبین جدید و لدیر

	مات موسوی		مات فطمان مسلم		مات یونون		مات اسلام		اجمال
	ذکور	بکون	ذکور	بکون	ذکور	بکون	ذکور	بکون	
سافر سفیانی	۵۷	۷۱	۸	۹	۱۶۶۳۷	۱۸۴۲۹	۶۵	۷۷۶	۱۴۲۱
سافر قضایى	۳۲	۳۵	۱۶	۱۷	۳۷۹۱	۳۹۰۰	۱۱۸۷	۱۱۷۹	۴۳۶۶
استانکوری قضایى	..	...	..	..	۴۹۹	۴۲۹	..	...	...
ایصار و قضایى	۸۹	۱۱۵	۴۱	۴۶	۴۰۹۱۵	۴۴۶۵۸	۱۸۴۲	۱۹۵۵	۳۷۸۷
بکون									۲۷۶۰۵
لجین سفیانی			۹۵۷۱	۹۸۱۵	۱۹۳۸۶	۱۹۳۸۶	۹۱۸	۹۶۹	۱۸۸۷
لجین قضایى			۴۶۵۸	۴۷۹۸	۹۴۵۶	۹۴۵۶	۴۱	۶	۱۷
امروزه قضایى			۱۱۶۱	۱۲۹۲	۴۴۵۴	۴۴۵۴	۶۱۳	۶۰۱	۱۴۱۴
بوزجه الهه قضایى			۱۵۴۹	۱۵۹۰	۳۱۴۵۵	۳۱۴۵۵	۱۵۴۲	۱۵۶۷	۳۱۱۸
بکون									۳۱۱۸
مدللو سفیانی			۱۷۶۲۷	۱۷۰۴۸	۳۴۶۵۹	۳۴۶۵۹	۴۶۰	۴۳۷۱	۴۵۳۱
مدللو قضایى			۱۳۳۳۰	۱۳۷۵۷	۴۷۰۸۷	۴۷۰۸۷	۳۹۹۱	۴۴۴۲	۸۴۳۲
مور و قضایى			۹۳۴۳	۹۲۴۲	۱۸۵۸۵	۱۸۵۸۵	۴۷۴	۴۹۶	۵۷۰
بیاز قضایى			۱۷۶۵	۲۰۲۵	۳۷۹۰	۳۷۹۰	۱۵	۲۲	۳۷
بوله قضایى			۴۲۰۶۵	۴۲۰۵۴	۸۱۱۱۷	۸۱۱۱۷	۶۴۰	۷۱۳۱	۱۳۵۷۱
بکون									۱۳۵۷۱
رودس سفیانی	۱۳۰۱	۱۳۵۹	۹۰۴۵	۱۰۴۸۸	۱۹۵۳۳	۱۹۵۳۳	۴۴۱	۴۵۹	۲۹۰۳
رودس قضایى			۹۰۴۵	۱۰۴۸۸	۱۹۵۳۳	۱۹۵۳۳	۴۴۱	۴۵۹	۲۹۰۳
بکون									۲۹۰۳
جمله بکون	۱۳۹۰	۱۴۶۵	۴۸۵۱۵	۹۱۱۰۳	۱۷۸۵۱۸	۱۷۸۵۱۸	۱۴۲۵۸	۱۳۱۲۱	۴۵۳۷۹