

VARIA TURCICA
IV

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POPULATION GROWTH AND FOOD
PRODUCTION IN 16th CENTURY
ATHENS AND ATTICA ACCORDING
TO THE OTTOMAN *TAHRIR DEFTERS*

The study of the relation between demographic development and rural and urban economy in Attica during the first centuries of the Ottoman period, has not kept up with research carried out in this field in other parts of the empire, like Anatolia, Palestine and Hungary¹. In this paper, I shall present some new information on this area as far as population growth and production patterns are concerned. For this, we have at our disposal three *mufassal* registers, from 1506, 1540 and 1570 resp. The one from 1540 is badly damaged, and partly unreadable. However, a fragment of the same *defter*, dealing with 13 villages in the *kaza* of Athens, has been preserved (T.D. 1062). It can be dated by comparison with the tax revenues of the *icmal defter* T.D. 196 of the same year. It is thus possible to fill in the gaps in the damaged 1540 *mufassal*. The *defters* from 1506 and 1540 are preserved in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul (signature: T.D. 35 [1506] and T.D. 431). The entries for the year 1570 are collected in two *mufassal defters* preserved in the Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müd., Ankara, (signature *Kuyudu*

* This study is partly the result of two long stays in Istanbul and Ankara in 1982 and 1983 made possible by a generous scholarship of the Netherlands Organization of Pure Research Z.W.O. The German Archeological Institute in Istanbul kindly provided me with a place where I could stay and work with all possible comfort. I wish to thank the Turkish authorities, who permitted me to do research in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul and in the Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü of the Ministry of Interior Affairs in Ankara.

1. The work of Sp. Asdrachas, *Mihasnismo tis Agrotikis Oikonomias stin Turkokratia*, Athens, 1978, might be cited as an exception. This serious author, however, had only the Ottoman *tahrir* material at his disposal as preserved in the National Library of Sofia and which has been published to an impressive amount. But the material preserved in Sofia is very fragmentary, the registers being hardly complete, and, moreover deals largely with the northern parts of Greece which, in the Bulgarian view, might be included in the vaguely defined term, the "Historical Bulgarian Lands".

The excellent Ph. D. thesis of Dimitris N. Karidis, *Issues on the Development of Athens during the Ottoman Rule*, Athens, 1982 (in Greek, unpublished Ph. D. at the National Technical University of Athens) deals largely with a later period than we do and is almost entirely based on (largely unknown) Western material. Currently I am working on the entire province of Eğriboz, including most of Central Greece, covering the 15th-17th century and dealing in detail with the subjects discussed in this brief paper.

Kadime 157 [first volume], *KuK.* 183 [second vol.] and the *İcmal Kul.* 234, all well dated and provided with the *Tughra* of the reigning Sultan (Selim II)².

The town and the province, part of the Ottoman empire from 1456 to 1830, were a *kaza* in the *sandjak* of Eğriboz, established by Mehmet Fatih in 1470, after this conquest of Negroponte/Eurippos/Eğriboz, the important Venetian stronghold and fleet station.

These registers provide us with some valuable information about the situation prior to Ottoman conquest. The history of the area in the pre-Ottoman period is at present much better known than the first two centuries of Ottoman rule³. During the wars between Venice and the Florentine lords of Athens around 1400, most of the rural population of Attica perished. In the first decades after 1400, the Dukes of the house of Acciajuoli had Attica resettled by Albanian semi-nomads, who had been driven away from Epirus by the Lords of the Tocco family.

The Albanians settled mainly in the open land of the fertile plain of the Mesogia, east of Athens, and partly in the plain of Athens. The new Albanian villages usually received the name of the tribal chieftain who founded them: Gjin Spata, Gjon Bura, Nikola Kukli, etc. The 1506 *defter* explicitly states after the name of every Albanian villages: "Arnavudan" (Albanians), while the *icmal defter* T.D. 367 (ca. 1528), which we used for population numbers, occasionally has "Gjin Spata Arnavudan", "Gjon Losha Arnavudan", etc. In the 1540 and 1570 registers, these additions are not given any more. In some villages mentioned in the registers, especial-

2. Since other scholars have treated the general problem connected with the use of Ottoman census and taxation records in great detail, no comments about these problems will be made here. See for example: Ö.L. Barkan, "Türkiye'de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin büyük nüfus ve arazi tahrirleri" etc, *İst. Üniv. İktisat Mecmuası*, II, 1, 1940, p. 20-59; idem, II, 2, 1941, p. 214-247; Barkan, "Tarih Demografi Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, X, 1953, p. 1-26; Barkan "Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, I, 1957, p. 9-36; Halil İnalcik's detailed Introduction to his *Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara TTK, 1954; or the article "Defter-i Hakani" in E.I.², Heat Lowry's Ph. D. thesis on the Trabzon *defters*, or Bruce Mc Gowan's rich article: "Food production and Taxation on the Middle Danube (1568/79)", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, I, 1969, p. 139-196, etc.

3. See: W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant, A History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)*, London, 1908; idem, *Athens in the Middle Ages*; K.M. Setton and H.W. Hazard, *History of the Crusades*, III, Madison-Milwaukee-London, 1975 (Setton's contribution: "Catalans and Florentines in Greece, 1380-1462", on p. 255-277, which gives all desirable data and extensive further literature). The works of Sp. Lambros, "Das Namengut Attikas und die Landnahme der Albaner", *Epetiris Parnasou*, I. Athens, 1897, p. 156 vv; P.A. Phurikes, "Der griechisch-albanische Dialekt in Attika", *Athens*, N° 44, 1932, p. 27-76, and: "Beiträge zum Orstnamengut von Attika", *Athens*, N° 41, 1929, p. 77-178, all in New Greek, were inaccessible to me.

ly those situated in the eastern part of Attica, Albanian (besides Greek), is still spoken, as I was able to establish in June 1984.

The *defter* of 1506 is the first source to give reliable information on the number of Albanian settlers and of the surviving rural Greek population. An older *defter*, *Maliyeden Müdevver* 66 from 1466/67, gives details on Central Greece, but does not contain the *kaza* of Athens. Indirectly, the 1506 *defter* gives an impression of the extent of the depopulation of Attica around 1400. Except for a few villages around the city of Athens, Attica must have been almost empty in 1400. The extensive destruction is also shown by the disproportion between the rural and the urban populations. Athens itself must have survived because of the so-called "intensity belt" of agriculture in its neighbourhood. During the 16th century, the rural population of Attica grew in number, especially after 1540, when the population of Athens declined slightly, while the village population continued to grow vigorously. Yet, the urban population remained disproportionately high in comparison with the rural population.

There is a marked difference between the way of life and the production-pattern of the two groups of villagers living in the area: Greeks and Albanians. There was also a Muslim group, but this was so small, ca. 1%, that it can be left out here. A comparison between three large Greek villages and three large Albanian villages in Attica, which may be considered as representative for the entire situation in the area, reveals that the former were found on rather unfertile soil. They were very old villages, situated in a circle around the strongly fortified town of Athens, and more or less secured against enemy raids. They had survived throughout the centuries. The Albanian villages, on the other hand, were new foundations, mainly situated on the best soil of Attica, i.e. the wide open plain of Mesogia to the east of Athens, and behind the Penteli and Hymettos mountains⁴. The tables V and X show that the Greeks did not produce enough wheat for themselves. The registers state that the load (*himl*), used in the Athens district, was equal to 8 Istanbul *kile* for grain, and thus the equivalent of 205.248 kg. per load. These data were used to convert the numbers given in the registers into kilograms. Since the tax on grain was 13% of the harvest, it was also taken and for sheep one *akçe* per two sheep. To find the total number of sheep in a village, the tax amount had only to be doubled. The official fixed prices for food stuffs are given in the registers, which always mention quantity and value. The price for sheep as given in the

4. For the historical geography of the district discussed here, see in detail: Alfred Philippon, *Die griechische Landschaften*, Teil III, *Attika und Megaris*, Frankfurt am Main, 1952; also very useful: Johannes Koder-Friedrich Hild, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* (edit. H. Hunger).

table is more or less hypothetical. According to Hans Dernschwam⁵, the price for one sheep in 1555 was 24 to 26 *akçe* in various places in the Balkans, while Mr. Tony Greenwood of ARIT, Istanbul, specializing in the sheep business, kindly provided me with the average price for sheep around 1570, namely 28 *akçe*. For 1540, I took 24 *akçe* for one sheep, but for 1506, I postulated 18 *akçe*, this being roughly in proportion to the general rise of prices during the period. It is well-known that Ottoman *tahrir defters* provide us only with averages, not with real market prices. Yet, the general trend shown by these numbers over a longer period, certainly reveal a process of development. Asdrachas, Balta, Mc Gowan, Braudel have provided material for a production/consumption model per household⁶, namely:

200 kg. of wheat per individual per year.

60 kg of seed

40 kg of tithes and *salariae* = 300 kilograms per individual, or 1230 kg of wheat per household of four. This calculation has been accepted by Asdrachas and McGowan as being closer to reality as the usually accepted 5 per *hane*. My own calculations for the Greek population of the town of Athens in 1570 (3.150 households) led to 4.16 per household, and 5.06 for the small gipsy community.

The tables show that the Greek villagers did not produce enough corn for themselves. Besides bread, they probably had to eat barley porridge (*trachana*) which apparently was never very popular, but is wholesome and highly appreciated by a classical authority like Galen. The 16th century traveller/ambassador Ogier Busbecq noted that barley porridge was served in many Ottoman caravanstations. The Greeks of Attica had to make their living by products like wine and olive oil, which do not need rich soil as is the case with wheat. Flax and cotton also rank among their foremost products. The Albanians, on the other hand, hardly engaged in wine, olive or textile production. At the beginning of the period, they grew enough wheat to be able to sell a few hundred kilograms per household to the market, but the greater gain was found in intensified sheep-breeding, as is clear from the tables. As the sheep price rose, it became possible to buy more wheat than was required for consumption. So, even after the population increase of the 16th century, sheep-breeding made up for the loss of grain-surplus and allowed for a reasonable living. It is less easy to verify

5. Hans Dernschwam, *Tage-Buch einer Reise nach Constantinople und durch Klein-Asien*, Franz Babinger (edit.), München 1928.

6. Asdrachas, *Mihanismos* (cf. note 1) p. 90 and 285; E. Balta, *L'île d'Eubée en 1473* etc. Thèse pour le Doctorat, Paris, 1982, vol. II, p. 42; Bruce Mc Gowan, *Food Supply and Taxation* (see note 2), the specific problem on p. 153-157; or, in more general terms: Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée*, etc., I, p. 384-85 of the French edition of 1966.

the production of the Greeks. They produced a considerable amount of textiles at home and sold them on the market, but, unfortunately, prices for textiles were not available.

In the 16th century, Attica shared in the population growth known to have taken place almost everywhere in Europe. The yearly rate of growth between 1506 and 1570 was high for the time and the place were dealing with (1.44%). The three Greek villages had a much higher rate of growth than the three Albanian villages, 1.35% yearly as against 0.67%. It might be that hygienic conditions, or the lack of them, have played a role.

It is remarkable that the Greek villages had a considerably higher percentage of widows than the Albanian ones. This reflects the different marital pattern between the two communities rather than a higher mortality among the Greek males. Greek widows usually do not remarry, as old traditions require of them, but Albanians do. For the Greek villages, the percentage of widows was 8.65% in 1506, and 5.20% in 1570, while 5.60% in 1506, and 5.45% in 1570 for the three Albanian villages. It was the highest in Athens, 9.40% in 1570. This was not only due to the traditional Greek marital pattern, mentioned above, but also to the higher mortality rate in the cities. In the 16th century, Athens was indeed a Greek city with only a very small Muslim group (56 households of civilians in 1570) and a few Albanians.

The high rate of population growth in a relatively unfertile area as Attica soon had its influence on food production. Although wine, olive-oil, cotton and sheep were grown on a considerably, and sometimes spectacular level, the production of wheat and barley lagged behind and even decreased. Nevertheless, by 1570 the Attican villages were still making a reasonable living. The total value of their production, and hence the per household income, grew considerably between 1506 and 1570. This increase was caused by a steady rise of prices of foodstuff, first of all of wheat (see table 7), perhaps partly caused by the growing demand on the international market, mainly in Italy, with its failing wheat production.

The numbers as contained in the *defters* suggest that the limit of wheat production was reached in Attica in the second half of the 16th century. Wheat needs good soil and it depletes the soil more quickly than other crops. But good soil was limited in Attica. The result of the population increase was that, in 1506, rural Attica was self-sufficient as far as wheat was concerned, and could even market some 500 kg per household. In 1570, however, it had to import 70 kilogram per household, in order to reach the subsistence level. The Greek villagers responded with an increased out-

put of wine and olive-oil of remarkably good quality. In the "intensity belt" around Athens, the wine plantations more than doubled, but the olive plantations multiplied astronomically. The number of sheep in the city more than doubled, while the population between 1540 and 1570 remained more or less stable. Although wheat production around the town rose considerably between these two years (174 tons in 1540, 237 tons in 1570), Athens had to import 2595 tons of wheat for its own consumption (200 kg \times ca. 14.200 inhabitants). This large quantity could only be provided by the fertile plains of Boeothia, the *kaza* of İstifa (Thebes) in Ottoman times. According to the *Kuyudu Kadime* register 157 (pp. 329-396), the 97 villages of this *kaza* produced 7.449.219 kg of wheat. The total rural population was 4.457 households, which needed 5.482.110 kg for its own use (tax, seed and consumption), so that in theory, 1.967.109 kg could be marketed. From this amount, roughly 2.400 households could be supplied. Thus almost all the wheat needed to feed Athens could be bought, at least in theory, in the nearby district of Boeothia. Another quantity might have come from the likewise fertile district of Levadya^{6a}.

The relative poorness of the soil of Attica is better understood if its per household output of wheat is compared with that of, for example, the Levadya district. 14 of the 56 villages of that district produced much more wheat than needed for consumption. In 1570, after having coped with the effects of a population increase as high as in Attica, the average household production of the Levadya district was as high as 3.500 kg. After subtraction of tax, seed and home consumption, ca. two tons of wheat per household was left over to be marketed.

The combination of population growth and limited agricultural possibilities suggests that Attica, towards the end of the 16th century, was slowly heading for a subsistence crisis. On top of this came the Ottoman financial-economic crisis of the 16th-early 17th centuries, which was to hit Attica more severely than other regions. When in 1675/76 Jacob Spon and George Wheler visited Attica, there were not 55 villages as in 1570, but only 45, 13 of which were entirely or almost entirely deserted⁷. Among these was Maruša, one of our example villages. At the same time, the population of Athens had gone down from ca. 14.000 in 1570 to 9.000 in 1675. Meanwhile, the capital of the *sandjak* of Eğriboz, had grown from

6a. Yet, if we compare the Levadya harvest with the numbers provided by Mc Gowan for the Middle Danube area (Graph I on p. 145), even this relatively fertile area in Greece was faring less well than Ottoman Danubia.

7. Jacob Spon and George Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant*, Lyon, 1678, but also in English, German and Dutch translations. I used the Dutch edition (Amsterdam, 1689, p. 259 ff.).

ca. 4.300 inhabitants in 1570 to 15.000 in 1675. This information of Spon and Wheler is confirmed independently by Evliya Çelebi in 1670. More detailed information on the immigration from Attica to the more fertile northern part of the *sandjak* is found in *defter* M.M. 114 861 in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, dated 1087 (1677/78). In this small *defter* are enumerated 432 households from various villages of the *kaza* of Athens which in the preceding 20 years had moved to the north, all mentioned by name and patronym and with the village they originally came from 133 households had moved to the district of Eğriboz, 290 to the fertile district of Thebes (İstifa).

An indicator for the decline of Attica in the 17th century is found in the work of consul Jean Giraud, who lived in Athens in the 1660's and 1670's. Giraud tell us that "before 30 years" the Attican peasantry was hardly indebted, but "now" it was very much so⁸. There are indications that Athens and Attica had fared relatively well until around 1600. In 1588, the traveller Reinhold Lübenau from Königsberg listed a considerable amount of export articles from Athens, mainly silk, cotton, and wax. He also noted that provisions were cheap and plentiful⁹. The British traveller Lithgow remarked the same in 1608¹⁰. The notary acts of Athens, preserved in the Petrake monastery, mention Athenian families living as merchants in Venice, with brothers left behind in Athens as business companions¹¹. An act from 1592 deals with a quarrel about a very large sum of money, an indication that this trade was rather substantial. Population must have increased after 1570 because such a process is not repealed suddenly. More wheat had to be imported, at increasingly higher prices, creating financial difficulties in the end. To this can be added the increased fiscal pressure by the State. In 1640, 300 *akçe* as *cizye* had to be paid per individual in the neighboring district of Atalanta, as can be seen in a small *defter* added to the main register *Kuyudu Kadime* 183 in the Ankara Archive, as against 60 *akçe* of old¹². Even if the strong devaluation of the *akçe* after 1585 is

8. *Description de la Ville d'Athènes par Jean Giraud, Le Consul J.G. et sa relation de l'Attique au XVII^e siècle par M. Maxime Collignon*, Paris, 1913.

9. The account of Lübenau on Athens is accessible in English translation by C.G. Lowe, "A Description of Athens in 1588", *Classical Studies*, Princeton, N.J., 1936, p. 233-242. The entire text of Lübenau's very interesting Travel Account has been published by W. Sahn, in: *Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr.*, IV-VII, 1912-1930.

10. William Lithgow, *The Rare Adventures and Painfull Peregrinations*, Glasgow, 1906, p. 67-68.

11. For the Petrake Papers see in detail Dimitris N. Karidis's Thesis, *Issues* (cf. note 1), with further literature. I wish to thank the author for supplying me with this precious information.

12. This small *defter* contains 17 folia and is dated *Rebi'l-Evvel sene hamsin ve elf*. It is written on different paper than the main *defter* n° 183 and with a very different hand. It deals with the *emlak* of the Grand Vizier Kemankeş Mustafa Pasha, who had a considerable property in the Atalanta region. I hope to include this *defter* in the work announced in note 1.

taken into account, the fiscal increase is high. Besides, according to the same register, a yearly *avariz* of 80 *akçe* per household was added to the tax. More and more, the peasant had to borrow money to pay his taxes, at an interest rate of 30 to 40%, as the Petrake Papers tell us. There was no land to increase his wheat production, the staple food throughout the ages, and the only alternative was death, rebellion or emigration. In the case of Attica, most seem to have resorted to emigration.

The city of Athens, disproportionately large as compared with the rural population, and thus very vulnerable, with no transit trade as an extra source of economic activity, declined together with the villages on which it depended so closely.

In the 18th century, the population of Attica seems to have somewhat recovered. The *Cizye hane* entries of nine different years between 1130 (1717/8) and 1236 (1821, the beginning of the Greek war of independence), show that the number of those liable to pay tax had gone up from 2.263 *Cizye hane* to 3.094¹³ (it cannot be determined whether at that time the *Cizye hane* indicates a "household", or whether it was simply a fiscal unit).

For the last decades of Ottoman rule (1795), Pouqueville¹⁴ gives detailed information, based on local Ottoman administrative sources, copies of which I was unable to find in the Istanbul archives. According to Pouqueville, the total rural population of Attica was 15.000, roughly the same as in 1570.

Another indicator, pointing in the same direction as Pouqueville, is the first census carried out by the independent Greek administration in 1879, half a century after independence¹⁵. Of five of the six villages which we took as an example (Nikola Kukli [Kokla] not being included) the total number of inhabitants was 5.910, approximately 1182 households if the commonly used multiplier of five people per household is applied (as was done by Pouqueville). The number of 1182 households is relatively close to that of the same villages in 1570, namely 905. This suggests that the number of rural inhabitants of Attica in 1570 indicates more or less the maximum which the district could support. The high number of the rural population in the second half of the 16th century is the result of a prolonged period of peace and order. When economic and financial crisis, in combination with increased fiscal pressure, disturbed the feeble balance, regions

13. In the Kepeci Tasnifi in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul, n° 3559 from 1130, n° 3648 from 1196 (2481 *Cizye hane* for Athens *ve tevabiha*), n° 3668 from 1204 (2797 *hane* for the Athens district) and n° 3746 for 1236 (with 3094 *hane* for Athens), etc...

14. F.C.H.L.Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, second edit., Paris, 1826.

15. *Plithismos tis Ellados, kata to etos 1879*, Athens, 1881, p. 3-5.

like Attica were the first to suffer. On top of this came piracy, which increased in the 17th century when Ottoman naval power declined, climatic changes, noticeable all over the world in the 17th century (the so-called "Little Ice Age" with average temperatures falling some degrees, causing the growing season to be shortened by three weeks to a month and leading to much smaller harvests)¹⁶, and the financial burden, imposed upon the Ottoman subjects by the seemingly endless Cretan War. This led to the situation described by Spon and Wheler and the *defter* of 1677. But, at the root of all this, there was the impossibility of increasing the grain production, largely caused by the "thin soil of Attica" as the ancient writers put it.

Modern Greek historiography usually presents the 16th century as the nadir of Greek demography in which the plains were left for the mountains in order to escape Ottoman oppression. This picture is not confirmed by Ottoman fiscal and census records. On the contrary, they show the 16th century as an unusually long period of recovery. The case of Attica demonstrates how risky it is to project circumstances of a later, better known period back into an earlier one about which much less is known. From the records preserved in Istanbul and Ankara a more realistic picture of the 16th century is slowly emerging. The case of Attica suggests also that, when reverses occurred, the responsibility did not lie solely with the Ottoman administration, but has to be sought in a combination of factors, most of which were outside the control of that administration.

M.K.

16. For these aspects, see in detail: Geoffrey Parker and Lesley Smith (edit), *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1978, especially Parker's Introduction and the specialist article of John A. Eddy, "The 'Minimum of Maunder': Sun Spots and the Climate during the Reign of Louis XIV", at the end of the mentioned work.

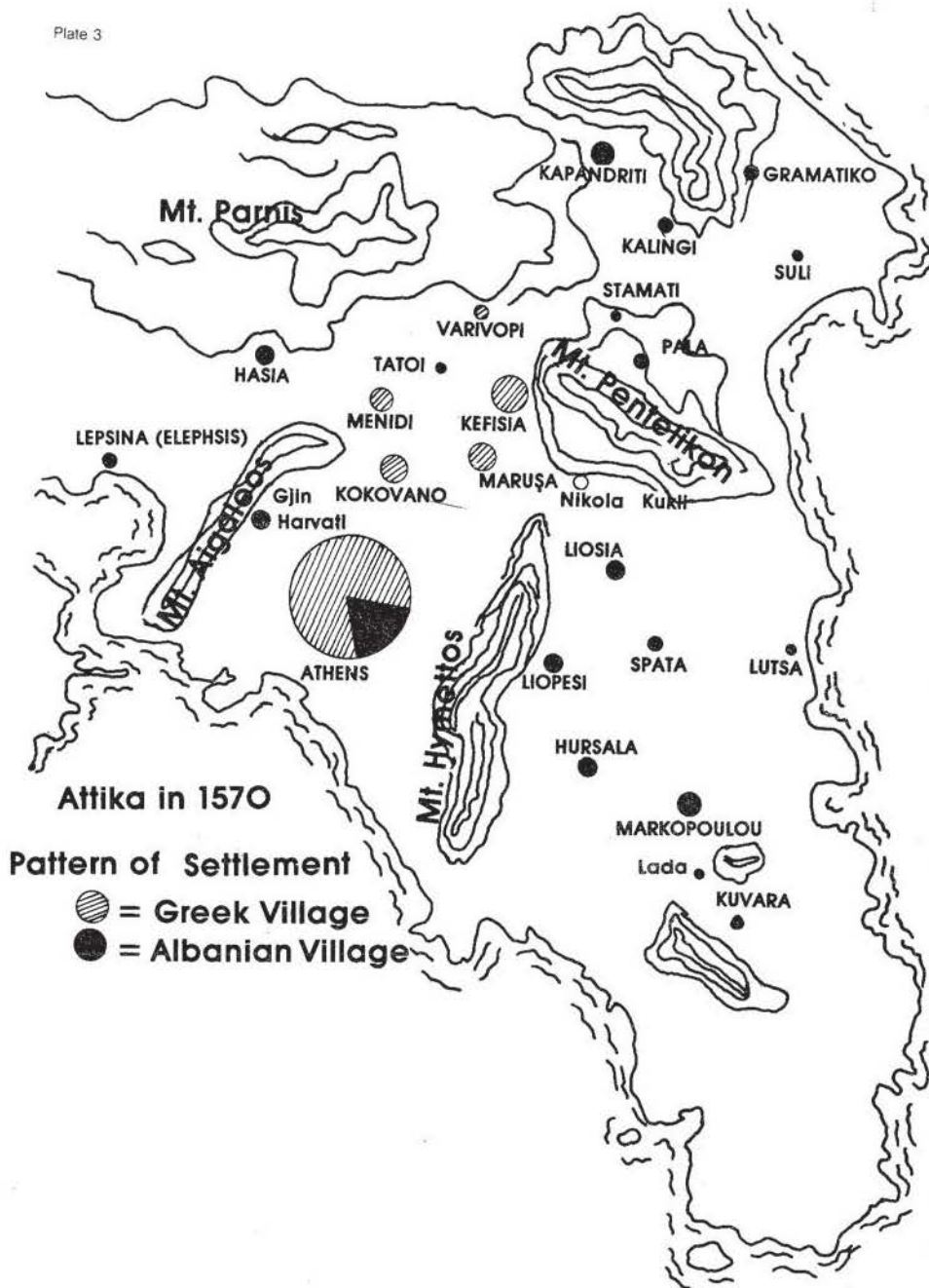


Plate 2

Administrative Division of the Sandjak Egriboz



Plate 3



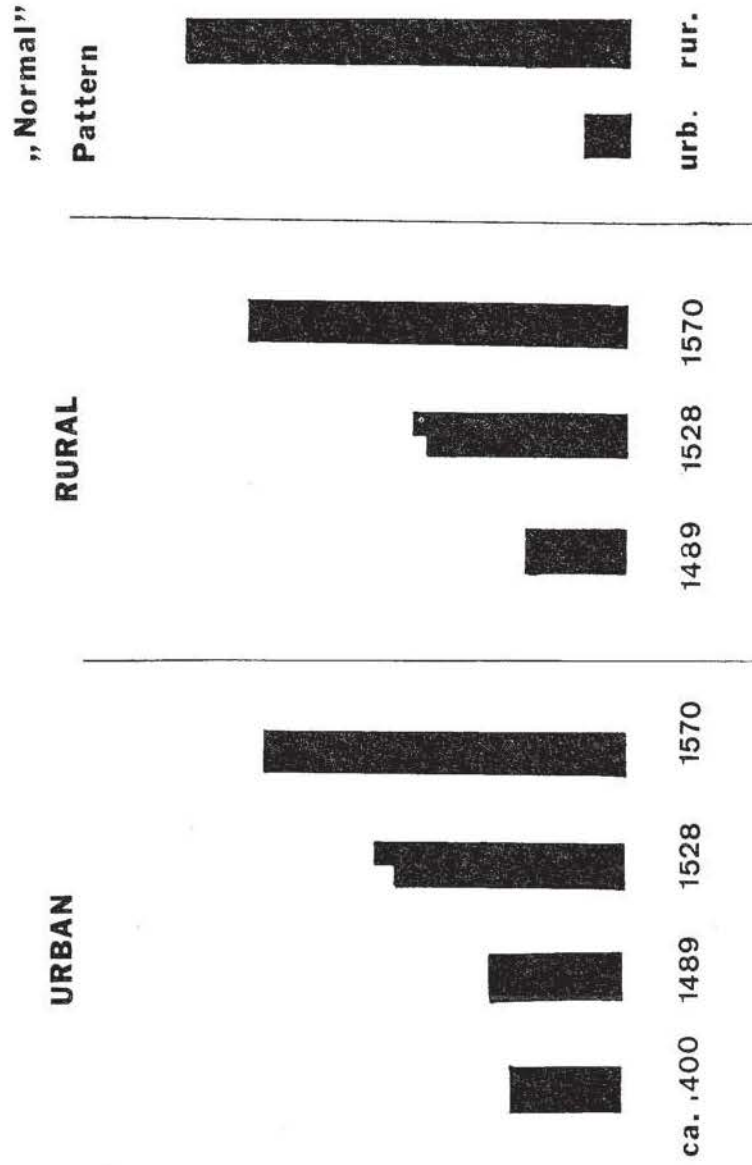


fig.-5. Village: Kefisia

Households:			
1506	138		
1528	181		
1540	324		
1570	343		
Wheat production	Kg.	Kg. per household	Money per household
1506	134.400	974	163
1540	12.800	39	15
1570	32.000	92	25
Barley			
1506	91.200	660	42
1540	142.400	786	44
1570	242.000	699	132
Sheep	Head	Value in akçe	Value per household
1506	2.700	48.600	352
1540	310	7.440	23
1570	600	16.800	49
Wine	Medre		
1506	—	12.000	87
1540	—	37.650	116
1570	—	99.360	290
Olive Oil			
1506	—	33.500	217
1540	—	—	—
1570	—	124.320	362

fig.-6. Village: Maruša

Households:			
1506	101		
1528	126		
1540	177		
1570	255		
Wheat production			
	Kg.	Kg. per household	Money per household
1506	118.320	1.171	197
1540	172.600	975	234
1570	104.400	409	118
Barley			
1506	167.040	1.635	119
1540	44.544	251	29
1570	187.920	737	159
Sheep			
	Head	Value in akçe	Value per household
1506	928	16.740	165
1540	200	4.800	27
1570	5.000	140.000	549
Wine			
	Medre		
1506	—	10.040	99
1540	—	9.200	52
1570	—	32.000	125
Olive Oil			
1506	—	38.461	380
1540	—	55.384	313
1570	—	80.000	314

fig.-7. Village: Menidi

Households:			
1506	72		
1528	82		
1540	100		
1570	136		
Wheat	Kg.	Kg. per household	Money per household
1506	79.000	1.097	187
1540	67.200	671	161
1570	55.999	412	118
Barley			
1506	143.000	2.000	336
1540	235.200	2.352	231
1570	208.000	1.530	432
Sheep	Head	Value in akçe	Value per household
1506	716	12.888	179
1540	964	23.800	231
1570	2.100	58.800	432
Wine	Medre		
1506	—	—	—
1540	—	—	—
1570	—	—	—
Olive Oil	Subur		
1506	307	3.077	42
1540	—	—	—
1570	461	7.384	54

fig.-8. Village: Nikola Kukli

Households:			
1506	63		
1528	60		
1540	91		
1570	105		
Wheat production	Kg.	Kg. per household	Money per household
1506	128.000	2.032	342
1540	43.200	474	114
1570	96.000	914	263
Barley			
1506	128.000	2.032	146
1540	137.600	1.512	174
1570	128.000	1.219	175
Sheep	Head	Value in akçe	Value per household
1506	1.804	32.472	515
1540	2.642	63.400	697
1540	3.240	90.720	864

fig.-9. Village: Kapandriti

Households:			
1506	94		
1528	102		
1540	—		
1570	110		
1579	382 inv.		
Wheat production	Kg.	Kg. per household	Money per household
1506	187.200	1.991	335
1540	—	—	—
1570	160.000	1.454	419
Barley			
1506	187.200	1.991	143
1540	—	—	—
1570	56.000	509	73
Sheep	Head	Value in akçe	Value per household
1506	3.900	70.200	746
1540	—	—	—
1570	5.000	140.000	1272

fig.-10. Village: Markopoulou

Households:			
1506	23		
1528	27		
1540	54		
150	61		
Wheat production	Kg.	Kg. per household	Money per household
1506	51.200	2.226	374
1540	40.000	740	356
1570	64.000	1.049	302
Barley			
1506	51.200	2.226	160
1540	128.000	2.098	302
Sheep	Head	Value in akçe	Value per household
1506	384	6.912	300
1540	1.600	39.400	711
1570	2.4000	67.200	1.101

fig.-11. Prices of food stuffs in Attica

	1506	1540	1570
Wheat (akçe per load of 208 kg.)	35	50	60
Barley (idem)	15	24	45
Wine (akçe per Subur)		5	18
Olive Oil (idem)	10	12	16

fig.-12. Total Production of the City of Athens

		Kg. household	Akçe household
Wheat	Kilo Gr.		
1540	192.000	58	14
1570	260.799	23	
Barley			
1540	1.836.800	557	64
1570	1.635.200	498	73
Flax	Demet	Value akçe	
1540	12.023	24.026	7.50
1570	9.692	29.076	9
Sheep	Head		
1540	3.508	84.192	25
1570	7.000	196.000	61
Wine	Medre		
1540	9.938	159.008	48
1570	23.076	415.368	129
Olive Oil	Subur		
1540	515	6.184	2
1570	34.769	555.307	173
Cotton	Bales	—	—
1540	—	—	—
1570	770	—	—

fig.-13. Total Production of the villages of Attica

		Kg. per per household	Akçe per household
Wheat	Kg.		
1506	2.371.200	1.773	298
1570	2.544.000	758	218
Barley			
1506	2.369.600	1.772	128
1570	4.243.200	1.264	182
Sheep	Head	Value in akçe	
1506	40.204	723.672	541
1570	82.510	2.310.280	688
Flax			
1506	30.400	60.800	45
1570	5.440	10.800	3
Wine	Medre		
1506	1.331	17.300	13
1570	8.446	135.138	40
Olive Oil	Subur		
1506	1.250	12.500	9
1570	1.654	26.464	8

fig.-14. Total production of the villages of Attica:

In 1506 and 1570 -wheat-barley-sheep-wine-flax-olive oil-

Value of production in akçe per household

1506:	1.034 akçe
1570:	1.140 akçe

Value of production in akçe per household
of three Greek villages-Minidi-Kefisia-Maruşa-

1506:	843 akçe
1570:	996 akçe

Value of production in akçe per household
of three Albanian villages-Kapandriti - Markopoulou -
-Nikola Kukli-

1506:	1.020 akçe
1570:	1.590 akçe