

servant or slave.¹⁶⁰ In almost every Hebron village there were households (*hanes*) with as many as seventy members.

Ottoman researchers have long debated how many people were represented by the Ottoman category of “hane”. The question is of no small importance, since the household was the basic fiscal and counting unit until the mid-nineteenth century, when it began to be replaced by the individual. A number of important and still-influential studies over the past half century have assumed the *hane* was a nuclear family and ascribed to it five, sometimes six members.¹⁶¹ Thus, a village of ten *hanes* was assumed to have a population of fifty or possibly sixty individuals. Without any way to translate early-Ottoman *hane* numbers reliably into numbers of individuals, however, this evaluation was merely theoretical. Recent studies

¹⁶⁰ There was a *khādim* or *‘abd*, male or female, in a small percentage of village households. If black, the color of their skin is also noted. This information is based on my research of the 1905 population registry for Hebron and its villages (ISA RG39 NT).

¹⁶¹ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, the pioneer of demographic studies, used the number five for *hanes* in his calculations. Kemal Karpat was initially unpersuaded by Barkan’s argument in his 1985 study but two years later came to agree with Barkan’s calculations. See his “The Ottoman Family: Documents Pertaining to its Size”, *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4/1 (1987): 137-145. Amnon Cohen and Bernard Lewis defined the *hane* as “a married man with his family, constituting a fiscal unit.” They used the coefficient of six per hane in their co-authored study, *Population and Revenue in the Towns of Palestine in the Sixteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 14-15, quotation on p. 14. Ehud Toledano has also used six as a coefficient, in his study “The Sanjaq of Jerusalem in the Sixteenth Century: Aspects of Topography and Population”, *Archivum Ottomanicum* 9 (1984), 309. The coefficient of five was adopted by Hütteroth and Abdulfattah in their foundational study (1977). Haim Gerber likewise estimated five people per *hane*: “The Population of Syria and Palestine in the Nineteenth Century”, *Asian and African Studies*, the journal of the Israel Oriental Society, 13/1 (1979), 62. David Grossman has also calculated *hane* size by using five as an equivalency. *HaKfar Ha’Aravi ve Banotav: Tahalikhim ba-īshūv Ha’Aravi b-Aretz Israel ba-Tkufa Ha’Othmanit* (The Arab Village and its Daughters: Processes of Arab Settlement in the Land of Israel in the Ottoman Period) (Jerusalem: Yad Itzhak Ben Zvi, 1994), 15. More recently he has applied the coefficient of six as a possibility alongside five. *Idem.*, *Rural Arab Demography and Early Jewish Settlement in Palestine*, trans. Marcia Grossman (New Brunswick and London: Transaction, 2011), 111, 114-115.