

extracted from the peasants cultivating Amiri land, the state decided to introduce legal changes aimed at the extraction of more surplus directly from the peasants. The most important pieces of land legislation introduced here were the "1856 Ottoman Land Code" and the "1876 Land Law". The 1856 Land Code strove to establish a direct relation between the cultivators and the state in an attempt to maximize surplus extraction. As explained earlier in the chapter, Amiri cultivators were dependent on the head of their village or Hamula for their social and legal affairs. It was through this mediating party that the state received a share of the surplus produce. The 1856 law placed full responsibility over production and the right of land possession on the individual cultivator. According to the law, each landholding family had to register all land under its possession and pay a registration fee, known as "Tabu", as proof of title ownership. Tabu fees were to be paid at each and every title transfer transaction (Owen, 1981:21). Tabu fees imposed in cash were extended to all land put under use, including the Matruka land previously exempted from dues.

In a measure to further enhance this law, the state restricted the right of Amiri land holding to peasants who would continuously cultivate the land. One article stipulated that failure to cultivate the land for three consecutive years would deprive the cultivator of the right of possession, and could result in the state's appropriation of the land. Through this, the state hoped to extract more surplus through more intensive use of the Amiri land.

However, the most important aspect of this law was the land individualization it aimed at achieving. Article 8 of the Land Code