

THE STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
OTTOMAN CITY -
AN INTERPRETATION OF THE MULTIFACETED URBAN RELATIONS

A Master's Thesis

by
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Ankara
January 2015

To Dora

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Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

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In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

January 2015

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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ABSTRACT

THE STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OTTOMAN CITY - AN INTERPRETATION OF THE MULTIFACETED URBAN RELATIONS

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This work is a two part inquiry into the nature of the Ottoman urban settlements in a certain context. In the first part a broad classification of three important functional and structural characteristics of the Ottoman city are evaluated. In the second part follows a discussion regarding the urban relations experienced both internally and externally. While considering these relations grouped under some general headings, an interpretation of certain correlations between them and the previously examined urban characteristics is provided taking different cities of the Ottoman geography as examples. Original Ottoman documents from especially the Court Registers provide additional insight into the various administrative, social and economic mechanisms within towns and cities. They also shed light into a number of issues associated with some of the internal relations of cities as well as external ones which develop in conjunction with the socio-economic and geographic qualities of the near and distant environment.

Keywords: Ottoman City, Timar, Sancak, Eyâlet, Geographical Environment,
Spatial Organization

ÖZET

OSMANLI ŞEHRİNİN YAPISAL VE İŞLEVSEL NİTELİKLERİ – ÇOK BOYUTLU ŞEHİRSEL İLİŞKİLERİN AÇIKLANMASI ÜZERİNE BİR DENEME

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Ocak 2015

Bu çalışmada Osmanlı şehir yerleşimlerinin belli bir kapsam içindeki nitelikleri üzerine iki bölümlü bir araştırma öngörülmüştür. İlk bölümde Osmanlı şehrinin geniş kapsamlı bir sınıflama içinde düşünülmüş üç temel yapısal ve işlevsel niteliği incelenmiştir. İkinci bölümde ise şehrin iç ve dış ilişkileri mercek altına alınmıştır. Belli ana başlıklar altında toplanabilen bu ilişkilerin, daha önce incelenen şehrsel niteliklerle olan bazı bağlantıları üzerine, Osmanlı yönetiminde bulunmuş olan birçok şehirden örnekler alınarak bir yorum geliştirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Özellikle Şer'îye Sicilleri'nden alınan orijinal belgeler, Osmanlı şehirlerinde ortaya çıkan pek çok idarî ve sosyo-ekonomik süreçle ilgili bilgi vermektedir. Bu belgeler ayrıca şehirlerin iç dinamikleriyle gelişen bazı ilişkilere olduğu kadar, yakın ve uzak çevrelerinin coğrafi ve sosyo-ekonomik niteliklerine bağlı olarak oluşan bir takım dış ilişkilere de ışık tutmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı Şehri, Timar, Sancak, Eyâlet, Coğrafi Çevre, Mekân

Organizasyonu

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The broad subject of urban history has been of interest to me since I decided to go for a graduate study in Ottoman history. In that respect, finding the opportunity to write my master's thesis under the supervision of a leading expert of this subject was a true blessing. The style of Prof. Ergenç in dealing with his students is in the nature of a master-apprentice relationship which has been extremely useful to me in understanding the essential issues of the relatively broad and theoretical topic that I chose for my thesis. Even in the shortest of our meetings, the crucial remarks that came from Prof. Ergenç made it possible for me to make meaning from the vast amount of literature that lay in front of me and to concentrate on the essential points.

Listening to music has been an indispensable inspiration to me all my life regardless of my engagement. Throughout the preparation and writing stages of this work, a constant flow of music accompanied me and made many an obstacle easier to deal with. The challenges of history nurtured my intellect while music sustained and kept my spirit high.

My wife never ceased to give her support since the beginning of my history studies and the constant joy that my daughter breathed into our lives was the fuel to undertake any possible task in life. Even the date set for my presentation to the thesis jury has coincided with the second birthday of Dora to whom I have dedicated this most humble work. What happier sign than this could possibly be?

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study deals with urban settlements above a certain population level that are distinguished by their specific social and economic functions and characteristics. Many historians have been drawn to the idea of developing some criteria to classify cities and towns according to these functions and characteristics. It has been a popular approach among urban historians to apply such criteria with the aim of observing cities within a hierarchical configuration and to show their geographic impact, economic and historic significance through these characteristics.

It is obviously quite difficult to specify general characteristics that will be valid for a wide range of cities and to make comparisons over such an abstract model. An exhaustive list of possible characteristics attributed to cities would be difficult to attain and it would not be applicable to every city either. A different subset would be relevant to each city according to its own geographic and ecological environment. Moreover, even for the same city, these characteristics would take

different forms as socio-economic and ecologic conditions change over time. In that regard, it seems to be a rather challenging task to develop a theoretical framework that will apply to all cities on equal terms. In this study, I will try to determine which structural and functional urban characteristics come into prominence in the Ottoman city by referring to some urban examples in accordance with the specific characteristics in question. I will then examine a number of administrative, economic and social relations that are formed in conjunction with the processes during which these functions and characteristics are created and have evolved. In this way, I will try to interpret how these relations help to shape the various identities of cities in general and I will argue that through the nature, volume and intensity of these relations, a city can really find its own peculiar character and image. In that regard, certain abstractions and generalizations will not be valid or useful for the identification of cities from my point of view.

While dealing in this way with the cities, it will be appropriate to refer to a few critical approaches developed by a number of historians working in the field of urban history. The rather aged theories of Max Weber still have reference value in constructing a framework in any urban history related research. Weber (1958) has focused on the European city as the cradle of capitalism, and has distinguished it from an Islamic city based on an essential cultural difference. He has accepted the European or the Western city as the basic norm of the definition of a city and perceived the cities outside this norm not as true cities but rather as a cluster of dense settlement components lacking administrative elements.

Lewis Mumford (1961), on the other hand, defines a city as the co-occurrence of sacred or religious elements with a secular administrative authority. While the nucleus of the city may be a sacred space, cities are mainly centers where basic human necessities like food are provided along with cultural needs and where military or political powers dominate. The city also nurtures a process of continuous and dynamic change as a center where material and cultural heritage is collected and transferred through communities. Such a process taking place through institutional and social structures not only helps to protect the cultural heritage but also shapes the city's structural characteristics and transformation.

It was to be expected that in later years some critical response came from other historians to these efforts to categorize cities regarding certain characteristics and to put them into an abstract context by generalizations. According to these new approaches (Abrams / Wrigley (eds.), 1979), it was not possible to speak of a concept of "city" because the cities did not have enough common characteristics to place them into an abstract model. Every city evolved in distinct fashion according to the peculiar and individual socio-economic and political circumstances it was in. In that regard, cities were forged by external elements rather than their internal dynamics and urban characteristics. Consequently, it was not possible to define the city in any realistic way.

Von Grunebaum (1969) also tried to define the Islamic city based on the definitions for the European or Western city like that of Weber. He developed his ideas on the premise that the Islamic city did not have the traditions of the precursory Roman

institutional structure and the residential quarter was its basic entity. It was a loose clustering of groups and individuals without any proper administrative authority over them. In that sense, the Islamic city could not become truly autonomous and it would be subject to a central authority. This lack of autonomy could be associated with the absence of a bourgeois class under a central authority and the lack or underdeveloped state of the corporate institutions in comparison to those of Medieval Europe. In contrast to Von Grunebaum's typological approach, Lapidus (1967) has focused on the social structure of Islamic urban settlements and described them as a coalescence of communities functioning through not institutions like in Europe but rather non-institutional social networks. Raymond (1985) on the other hand, in his study of Arab cities during the Ottoman period, does not suggest an urban typology that the Islamic cities have to conform to. He rather examines through a model that propounds the impact of elements forming the city to its general structure.

The above mentioned approaches to defining the Islamic city have been mostly influenced by the orientalist outlook that has become popular after the early nineteenth century. The image of the Ottoman cities in the nineteenth century has been significantly altered due to the deliberate policies of historiography developed by the newly independent states following the nationalist movements in the Arab and Balkan territories, as well as the efforts to integrate what was left of the Ottoman Empire into the global economic order (Eldem, Goffman and Masters, 1999). Because of the modernization, nationalism and peripheralization that took place in this century, the diverse character of the Ottoman cities prior to the

nineteenth century has been masked and a misleading image with subsequently developed commonalities has prevailed. In that regard, in order to better assess the image and characteristics of the Ottoman cities, it would be more useful to observe the middle period, namely the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of the Ottoman Empire rather than its early period or the nineteenth century.

Many efforts to define the cities according to their historical geography or to insert them into a specific typological framework have stemmed from prior theories that are mainly European in origin. However in recent years textual sources have diversified to support and diffuse the idea that cities cannot easily fit into monolithic definitions. On the other hand, the said discussions and theoretical comparisons between the Western / European and Oriental / Islamic cities are not within the scope of this study. Primarily the concept of the Ottoman city and the characteristics that make up the Ottoman city will be put into scope. I will examine which structural or functional characteristics can be principally observed in an Ottoman city and which characteristics come into prominence under different circumstances. It is no doubt that such characteristics will coincide with those belonging to some of the above mentioned definitions and types of cities. Nevertheless, there will not be any need to subscribe to any particular definition.

In addition to the characteristics of many cities arising from their particular geography and history which draw them closer to each other categorically, they can also carry similar characteristics due to their commercial institutions, the social layers and cultural aspects that they develop in their own geographic locations and

through relations with their hinterlands or further away. Therefore it is possible and may be meaningful to categorize cities based on some of their geographic or structural characteristics and speak of typological distinctions like trade cities or port cities. On the other hand, it is still not an aim of this study to specify these categorical distinctions, but the interest lies rather with an examination of the functional and structural characteristics from which such typological possibilities and limited categories might emanate. While evaluating these primary functions and characteristics that give a city its true identity, it will not be sufficient to evaluate cities just structurally and institutionally, but it will be worthwhile to take a closer look at relations that emerge both inside and outside the city. In this way we can incorporate the human factor into our observations and evaluations as the main agent that shapes all structural and institutional elements.

Consequently, in this study a two layered approach is planned in examining cities. First, it will be possible to take a look at institutional structures and socio-economic processes through an evaluation of the city's main functional and structural characteristics. Secondly, it will be appropriate to examine the internal and external relations of the city which bring together these characteristics with the human element. In such an approach, it will be meaningful to have our observations and evaluations through the spatial organization of the city as well as its close and distant geographical environment within the broader Ottoman realm and beyond. The hierarchical arrangement of different sized urban settlements as well as their mutual positions and relations in such an arrangement will also be taken into consideration.

CHAPTER 2

THE STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OTTOMAN CITY

While trying to determine the nature of the Ottoman city through the classical and post-classical periods prior to the nineteenth century, we need to be reminded of three important points in order to understand the functional aspects of these urban settlements and their roles within the transportation networks. First, we know that the production and transportation during the said period relied upon human and animal power. Such a technological level not only determined the production organization and volume, but also shaped the “space” perception of that specific era. Due to the universal policies that the Ottoman Empire ideologically pursued, the political space for the state was the whole world. On the other hand, for the individuals living in the Ottoman *Memâlik-i Mahrûse* (Protected Domains) which was dominated by this political structure, space was rather limited. For example, during this period *vatan* (homeland) was defined as “the environment where one was born and spent most of his life”. This environment was mostly limited to the

village or quarter (Ergenç, 2014). The city on the other hand was in a way a conglomeration of quarters (Ergenç, 1980). Secondly, we have to explain how the state organized and administered the provinces based on this perception of space. The Ottoman state implemented the *timar* system in the provinces during this period. The most important characteristic of the *timar* system was that it created a relation based on tax among the state, the administration cadre and the *re'âyâ*. In this implementation, from among the state taxes only those allocated to the Sultan were transferred to the *Hazîne-i Âmire* and the rest were left in their entirety to the state officers providing some services to the *re'âyâ* (Inalcık, 1973 : 111). Consequently, the state formed the cadres to supply the services to the *re'âyâ* in its stead without paying any salaries from the state treasury. The main characteristic of the members of these cadres was that they received the compensation in return for their services directly from the *re'âyâ*. Thirdly, the city from the viewpoint of the *timar* system was the center of the *eyâlet-sancak* and *kazâ-nâhiye* administrative units formed over the tax and administration areas called *dirliks* within the provincial organization. In light of this, the city has to be evaluated according to its internal structure as well as residents, and it is to be examined as the space where the centrally appointed administrative officials executed their duties. Based on these explanations, when we consider the evolution processes of cities within Ottoman history, we can evaluate some of the foremost structural and functional characteristics forming the cities under three headings.

2.1 The City as the “Center of Administration”

The evolution of the cities in different parts of the Ottoman lands is without doubt closely related to the relations between the central government and the various administrative regions which were created according to how the *Pây-i Taht* perceived the provinces. The administrative system implemented in these regions was of major significance. Within the Ottoman lands called the *Memâlik-i Mahrûse*, there were regions with different administrative characters based on different implementations. These were:

- i) *Sâliyânesiz Eyâletler* (the provinces without any compensation paid to local administrative officials) which were under the direct implementation of the *timar* system by the central government.
- ii) *Sâliyâneli Eyâletler* (the provinces with compensation paid to local administrative officials) which were geographically distant from the center and enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy.
- iii) *Özel Sancaklar* (Special *Sancaks*), also called *Hükûmets*, which were formed to propagate the *yurtluk* and *ocaklık* implementations of earlier periods.

In addition, we have to point out to the *Tâbi' Beylikler* which were outside *Memâlik-i Mahrûse* but still recognized the Ottoman sovereignty (Ergenç, 1986).

Memâlik-i Mahrûse was divided into two main parts named *Rumeli Cânibi* and *Anadolu Cânibi* and within those regions under the implementation of the *timar* regime, a binary system was formed. These regions were on the one hand

incorporated into an *askerî- idârî* system with administrative units called *Beylerbeyilik (Eyâlet)* and *Sancak (Liva)*, and on the other hand they were divided into units called *Kazâ* under a *şer'î-idârî* system (Ergenç, 2012 : 71). In the provinces, *kazâ* and *sancak* were the two basic units. However, in the first system there was one higher unit of administration above the *sancak*, namely the *eyâlet* (Figure 1). Until the middle of the seventeenth century, the head of an *eyâlet* was an *örf* officer with the title of *Beylerbeyi*. After that time and especially in the eighteenth century, due to the changing conditions as Ergenç (1986) notes, officials with the rank of *Paşa* started to be appointed to the *eyâlets*. The *Beylerbeyi* or *Eyâlet Vâlisi*, in addition to the whole *eyâlet* being under his government, also took over the administration of one of the *sancaks* in that *eyâlet* which was duly called the *Paşa Sancağı*. All cities forming the centers of the *sancaks* and particularly the city which was the center of the *Paşa Sancağı* were important centers of administration. In all these cities there were administrative officials sent directly by the central government. The percentage of these officials within the city population could range from fifteen to twenty percent, depending on the functional characteristics of those cities. Especially, the city forming the center of the *Paşa Sancağı* hosted the highest number of officials since the *Eyâlet Vâlisi* had a small-scale version of the administrative organization the Sultan had in the capital. For example, the *Eyâlet Dîvânı*, a small-scale local counterpart of the *Dîvân-ı Hümayûn* (Imperial Council), was an important provincial administrative authority for appeals before going further to the *Dîvân -ı Hümayûn*. In similar fashion, there were a group of officials around the *Vâli* called the *kapı halkı*, each of whom was appointed by the *Vâli* himself.

run various operations in the provinces and they also appeared as additional members of the above explained cadre due to their financial and administrative capacities and duties (Ergenç, 1986).

A document from the Konya *Şer'iyeye Sicili*¹ sheds some light to the process of provincial government and we can extract some useful information. In the document, *El Hac İsmail Ağa*, the *Rahtvân Ağası* (chief equerry) of *Hacı Mehmed Paşa*, the *Vâli* of Karaman, is mentioned to have given one of the *Paşa's rahts* (trappings of a horse) to the *sarrâc* (saddler) for repair and we are told that in order to repair the silk fringes of the *raht*, the *sarrâc* cooperates with the *kethüdâ* (warden) of the guild of the *kazzâz* (silk-mercier). Though at first look this information might seem as somewhat irrelevant, what it shows rather interestingly is that the *Vâli* lives in his own province in quite an extravagant lifestyle worthy of his grandeur albeit naturally inferior to that of the Sultan. The *raht* is made of valuable materials and decorated with symbols showing the status of the administrative officials and rulers. The Sultan's *raht* is embroidered in gold and precious gems. Such a decorative style is also used in the provinces as a sign of high rank. From the document we can understand that the *raht* of the *Vâli's* horse is adorned with fringes made of silk.

As mentioned earlier, centrally appointed administrative officials were at the head of the provincial administrative units. *Beys* were appointed to the *eyâlets* and *sancaks* as representatives of the executive power and *Kadı*s were appointed to the

¹ Konya *Şer'iyeye Sicili* 58, p. 14 (15 *Cemâzû'l-âhir* 1177).

kazâs to execute the judicial power. While these officials could exert their authority in their own spheres, it was essential that they worked together without overlapping and conflicting each other's jurisdiction and duties which their respective system vested in them. In this way, the two administrative systems were designed to check on each other. The *şer'î-idârî* organization forming the judiciary system applied to the whole extent of the Ottoman realm including those *eyâlets* outside the *timar* system. The *askerî-idârî* organization on the other hand was implemented according to the different administrative characteristics of the *eyâlets* and *sancaks* the types of which were explained above. By taking into consideration the functioning of this binary administrative system where each part not only checks on the other but also works together at the same time, we can better understand the position of the cities in relation to it.

It can be deduced that a city's function as the administrative center of an *eyâlet*, *sancak* or *kazâ* influences significantly its development as a city. For such cities forming the centers of the two aforementioned systems, one may also observe a relatively higher rate of development moving from the lower to the higher echelons of the system. To distinguish the urban settlement forming the center of a *kazâ* or *sancak* from its surrounding rural area, it was called *nefs* (Figure 1). In most cases these are also the historic settlements in those particular regions and they duly boast historic and sacred sites located within. These settlements' assuming of an administrative function has no doubt something to do with their already evolved characteristics based on their historical and cultural qualities. As a result, we can speak of a cyclic cause and effect relation for a city where historical significance

emanates as a result of being an administrative center and yet an administrative function is often acquired due to an earlier historical evolution as well.

Some Western historians have claimed that to a great extent the Oriental and accordingly the Islamic city have not developed the institutions associated with municipal administration. When we consider the Ottoman city, we can see that the groups called *eşrâf* and *â'yân*² assumed an intermediate position in establishing an administrative relation between the central government and the *re'âyâ* as well as representing the communities. The members of these groups were indeed the effective administrators of the city (Ergenç, (1981)2013 : 98-99). Insofar as the *eşrâf* related their origins to the prophet Mohammed, they not only enjoyed a high social and religious status through the administration of institutions like *vakıfs*, mosques, *tekkes* and *zaviyes* but they also had a high degree of involvement in their cities' government due to such institutions. It is possible to observe such an element of *â'yân* or *eşrâf* in both large and small scale urban developments of most of the Ottoman territories. For example, in Syria, one of the leading Arab *eyâlets*, the relatively smaller city of Hama, like its larger neighbour cities of Aleppo and Damascus, experienced the significant power and influence of certain families. For example, the 'Azms belonged to the military elite whereas families like the Kaylanis and 'Alwanis were of the *eşrâf* group. Among them, the Kaylani family was able to continue their administrative power from the eighteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth (Reilly, 2002 : 26-27).

² For a brief introduction to the *â'yâns* and especially their significant position in the social and administrative aspects of the provinces, see "18. Yüzyılda Merkeziyetçiliğin Zayıflaması, *Â'yân-ı Vilâyet*" in Inalcık (2009), 333-337. For a detailed interpretation of the *â'yâns* and the institution of *â'yânlık* in the Balkan territories of the Ottoman Empire, see Sadat (1972).

An important socio-economic indication in the lives of the *eşrâf* and other religious leaders of the society was the sizeable residences and large households they owned in their urban lives. It is worth noting that the slaves who were subject to a separate legal arrangement among the other members of the household were of a significant number within the Ottoman-Arab geography of especially the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is possible to emphasize that the families with a prominent position in the society due to their religious status also enjoyed a certain degree of security regarding their property especially through organizing them into pious foundations. On the other hand, the material acquisitions of the members of the military class were prone to scrutiny of the Treasury accountants as well as confiscation in cases of death or dismissal from office. It would be fitting to say that this would have created an administrative weakness and a serious element of political pressure on the officials belonging to the military class (Reilly, 2002 : 37-42).

In addition to the above mentioned elements of administration, we can also observe that the guilds running the production processes of a city also formed a kind of institutional organization that contributed to the municipal government through their own representatives. This organization which implemented the production related policies and regulated the relations between the producer and the consumer emerged as an important element of local administration. These men of trades and crafts who established crucial relations with the military officials and urban notables formed without doubt the biggest of the urban social networks. Insomuch

as the production of the *esnâf* provided for the services and commodities required by the military elite and notables, they in return supported the production through loans and tax remissions. An important buyer of this production was the palace of the *Bey*. *Eşrâf* and *â'yân* also assumed an important position of patronage through financial support to the *esnâf* organizations and by being mediators and facilitators in the relations of the *esnâf* with the military elite³.

In addition to the centrally appointed officials of the municipal administration and the leading power houses of the urban demographic composition like the *â'yân* and *eşrâf*, the ordinary residents of the city could also take part in the local administration by way of the quarters they lived in and they could constitute their own representational capacity before the centrally appointed officials through the representatives they elected. The social organization of the quarter markedly formed an administrative unit in the city through people like the imam of the quarter's mosque or *mescid* and institutions like the '*avârız akçası vakfı* (Ergenç, (1981)2013 : 100-103). The notables were also representatives of their quarters before the local officials and they not only conveyed the requests of the residents to the local authority but also supervised the quarter in carrying out its responsibilities and duties towards the state. For example in Syria, the administrative and financial functions of the quarter were run by the assemblies called the *ahl-al-mahalla* [sic] and the *ikhtiyariyyat-al-mahalla* [sic] along with the sheiks of the quarter. These assemblies were on various occasions in close organic link with the religious

³ For a survey of the relations between the craftsmen's guilds and the *kadı*s in the Ottoman towns of the Balkans, during the period 1500-1800, see Zdenka Veselá-Přenosilová (1974). The article interprets the role of the *kadı* and also points out to the political power and financial means of local notables stemming from their estates, commercial enterprises and their involvement in tax-farming.

notables of the quarter through its *vakif* institution. For instance, when a property within the quarter was sold, a land fee named *hikr* was paid either to the *ahl-al-mahalla* or the *vakif* (Reilly, 2002 : 56 ; Leeuwen, 1999 : 156).

Based on all of these, we can deduce that there was a particular accord between the central government and the elements representing the local population. Certain institutions peculiar to the Ottoman city were formed as a result of this. Such an association is one of the most important phenomena characterizing the Ottoman city.

2.2 The City as the “Center of its Geographical Environment”

The cities due to their dense population and the co-existence of a multitude of economic activities have formed close ties with their close geographical environment and have become the regional center of this environment. The cities being the economic centers of the rural areas surrounding them have supplied their own food demand (*me’kûlat*) mostly from the production of these areas. Besides enabling all types of production in their region to enter into commercial circulation, they have also realized the provision of all the required commodities and products (*sinâî emti’a*) within their region thanks to their central positions (Figure 2). The ecological character of the environs of the city has been a determining factor for the production of various food materials and grains and it has also greatly influenced commerce through this production. For example, the abundance of mulberry orchards around Bursa has brought about the silk production and trade, whereas the

extensive rearing of angora goats around Ankara has maintained the production and trade of *sof* textiles (mohair).

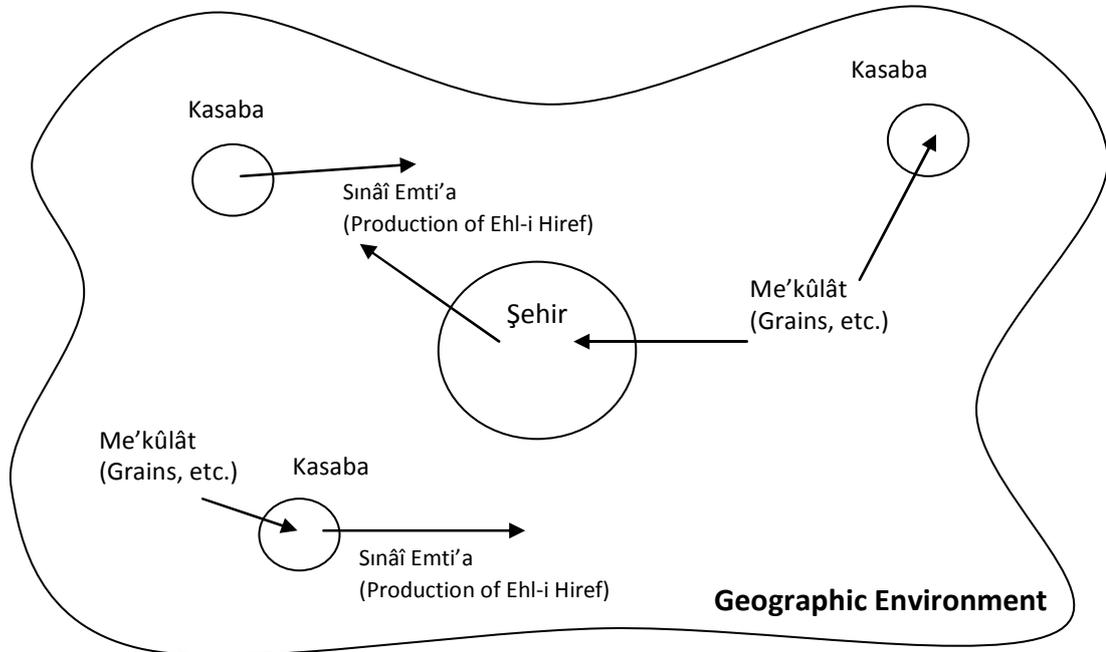


Figure 2: Urban Settlements and Their Geographical Environment

When dealing with urban settlements, we can speak of a geographic network. Since urban historians generally focus on individual cities, research work involving relations among these cities or between the cities and their rural environment has been mostly neglected (Faroqhi, 1984 : 12). While the major cities and towns have formed their own network structures in Anatolia and likewise in the other important regions of the Ottoman lands, they have also established long distance ties with farther regions and even cities abroad through a road network. Thus, we can speak of a close link between such an urban network and a road network. It is possible to observe that the road network around major cities is also developed and extensive. The cities have been connected to both their long distance and short distance

counterparts through the road network they are a part of. Since geographic conditions have an impact on the formation of the road network, both the location of the cities on this network and its effectiveness are closely related to the geographic configuration of the region. Cities of similar size and importance have been formed in relatively close proximity in regions with favorable geographic conditions like river valleys and plains well-suited to agriculture. On the other hand, a considerable number of fairly large cities were not likely to appear in regions with difficult geographic conditions like mountainous areas. In geographically favorable areas, the easier development and operation of the road network has naturally made it possible for cities to grow in size and number in these regions. Connectivity of cities by road was one of the most important factors in their development. The cities with poor connectivity inevitably restricted their relations to a limited area. On the other hand, cities with the advantages of their geography and position on transit routes could easily establish much farther distance relations.

While the production and trade activities taking place under the influence of geographical environment help shape the structural and institutional appearance of the city, its function as the center of that natural environment also renders it the center of the surrounding sphere of human life. Therefore, this function of the city might well be accepted to be the one where human factor and human relations stand out the most. This is no doubt a consequence of not only the economic ties the city forms with its surroundings but also its cultural relations. Similar to the case for today, the city in the past also served as the most suitable place for marketing the

surplus production of those involved in agriculture. In many regions of the empire, village and town markets constituted networks that served both the local and inter-regional trade. These markets were authorized by the central government and were perceived as important sources of tax revenues for the state in addition to their performing a crucial function in the local and regional economic relations⁴. Those who came to the city markets from near or far to sell their produce or get provisions stayed for a day or two during which they used the social venues and accommodation facilities offered by the city. Since the city was also the center of cultural life in addition to its position as political and economic center of a region, it was quite natural that it would draw many visitors from its surroundings. The religious sites of significance like mosques, madrasahs, tombs and shrines were important places of visit. In addition to these, the baths were a social attraction. Especially during festivals and the month of Ramadan these visits increased.

In the Ottoman lands, a major part of the population was made up of nomadic (*konar-göçer*) and pastoralist groups. At the end of the sixteenth century, these accounted for about one sixth of the total population, while in certain provinces their ratio to the sedentary population could be as high as one to two or even two to three (Murphey, 1984 : 5-6). According to the information that can be extracted from *tahrir* documents, the urban population and life could be viewed as marginal in comparison to the sedentary and nomadic populations and their way of life in the rural areas. In that regard, the dependence of the cities to the agricultural production of their rural environment and the cities' position as mainly a marketing venue for

⁴ For a discussion of the market network, see Faroqhi (1979).

this production may well be accepted as an indication to the city's position as a marginal extension to the rural environment which emerges as the real producer.

In both Anatolia and the Arab provinces, there were nomadic groups within many *sancaks*' territories. For example, within the *sancak* of Ankara, the wide area extending to Sivrihisar in the West and the *eyâlet* of Karaman in the South was a *Yörük* land (Ergenç, 2012 : 73). Since they were involved in the rearing of angora goats, the nomads had a greater significance in Ankara region compared to the other parts of Anatolia. Similar groups which were spread to different parts of the Ottoman lands needed the urban bazaars to sell livestock and animal products as well as to acquire the merchandise and articles they could not produce themselves. Consequently, in addition to their peculiar lifestyle and relatively autonomous characteristics in the rural geography, the relations and connections that the nomads formed with the city in the economic and cultural realms were also quite diverse. Especially their occasional oppositional stance against the state regarding the tax policies and various regulations could result in the escalation of political turmoil and conflict.

2.3 The City as the “Center of Economic Activity”

The cities create a medium of interaction in a multitude of levels due to their geographic locations, the structures and institutions they possess and the human population they sustain. Before examining certain impacts and relations created by

the production and trade activities that are relevant to this work, it will be useful to build a general framework.

The production activity in the city included all types of commodity production except the agricultural products which belonged to the rural sphere. The primary objective of this production was to meet the needs of the population in the city and its environs. When some surplus occurred, they became commodities in the market. The urban production activity was implemented mainly within the guild organizations. It was monitored under strict control not only by the officials appointed according to the laws of the state but also by the staff ordained within the guilds themselves according to the rules that evolved in these time-honored organizations of craftsmen. The production of the *esnâf* was monitored by their own organizations based on a body of rules and regulations called *hisba* and when the commodities were offered to the market for sale, they were observed by the *muhtesibs* appointed by the state. It was an essential concern of the central and local governments to protect the consumer against excessive prices. To achieve this goal the state established a system of fixed prices called *narh*. Due to the strict control of methods of production and profit margins, the craftsmen could expect only a modest profit (Inalcık, 1969 : 98, 106).

It is possible to say that the fundamental structure of the physical environment or spatial organization where commercial activity took place was the road network and the cities that have flourished on it due to various reasons. While such a network has been connecting places within a broad geography throughout history, it

has also allowed mobility of people. This has helped settlements to grow and has enabled the circulation of products and commodities, thus bringing about commercial activity. Certain cities with particular geographic and demographic advantages have stood out within commercial activity as centers of both production and consumption. In these centers, the production and industry have specialized in certain fields. For example, due to the favorable geographic conditions for rearing angora goats in its surroundings, the city of Ankara has become a major producer of mohair starting from the fifteenth century. In addition to shipping this production to domestic centers like Istanbul, Bursa, Aleppo and Damascus, textiles have also been exported to various countries including primarily Venice and Poland (Ergenç, 2012 : 153-158). In the eighteenth century, the textile production has declined and as dictated by foreign demand, the export of angora yarn has replaced the textile export. England, France and Holland were the primary importers of this yarn and most of it was exported through the port of Izmir. This has contributed significantly to the identity of Izmir as a prominent port of export during this period (Ergenç, 2013 : 299-308).

Another example of a city to which commerce and specialized production has given its true characteristic was the city of Bursa. Bursa was the center of silk production in the Ottoman Empire due to the advantages of its geographic location and ecological conditions⁵. This function as a production center stemmed from the abundance of mulberry trees that the silk industry requires and this abundance was due to the favorable climatic conditions and topography of Southern Marmara

⁵ For a deeper insight into the silk industry of Bursa, see Inancık (1960) and Çizakça (1987).

region. Moreover, Bursa enjoyed the advantages of being part of a road network which allowed its goods to be easily transported not only to the *Pây-i Taht* Istanbul which received most of Bursa's production but also to a great port of export like Izmir. Further examples of production in certain cities which have become important specialized centers of production and commerce due to their specific ecological characteristics and geographic advantages may be cited as silk in Aleppo, felt and woolen cloth in Salonica ⁶ and cotton fabrics called *bez* or *bogasi*⁷ in the *sancaks* of Konya, Aydın, İçel and elsewhere.

In addition to the above mentioned cities which have aptly used their geographic opportunities for production and commerce, some cities have taken advantage of their locations on major trade routes as important centers of transit trade. The evolution and progress of international commerce has contributed significantly to the growth of ports and cities located on the road networks that were associated with this type of long distance commerce. For example Tokat is such a center of transit trade on the silk trade route from Iran to Istanbul and Bursa. Being developed as a result of its advantageous location, the city has also grown into an important center of textile production in its own right. However, it may be stated that long distance and international trade have had a limited impact on certain cities like Konya and Kayseri that have experienced major growth otherwise. These cities have managed to gain their own dynamics of progress with activities other than international commerce (Faroqhi, 1984 : 2).

⁶ Some detailed observation of the wool cloth industry in Salonica during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is given in Braude (1979).

⁷ A research on the production of cotton and cotton cloth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries based primarily on the tax registers is presented in Faroqhi (1987).

It would be worthwhile to take a look at the structural and human related elements of the spatial organization of the road networks that permitted the long distance transportation of commercial goods. The services of hospitality and security may primarily come to mind. Caravanserais in rural areas and Hans in cities were the lodging facilities offered by the state to the trade people. The security services on the other hand were organized through the networks of *derbend* and *menzil*. The state imposed on the merchants the use of certain routes for transportation. Such a measure was taken to make the tax collection process easier for the state appointed officials. Nevertheless the collecting of taxes by *mültezims* who received their authority from the state has not always been an easy task, since the merchant was often in search of alternative routes to evade these compulsory taxes.

The human relations that emerged due to commercial activity were diverse and multi-faceted. It would be useful to mention some of the participants of such activity prior to evaluating the factors determining these relations. Firstly, the merchants were divided into two groups based on the distance covered by the commercial activity they were involved with. Those who travelled long distances by caravan or marine voyages were called *tâcir-i seffâr* and those who ran their business from the centers where they resided were named *tâcir -i mütemekkin* (Inalcık, 1969 : 100). Another important point was that although the merchants were not subject to the same *hisba* regulations that applied to the craftsmen, they were still under close scrutiny of the state regarding especially the trade of certain necessary articles of consumption. On the other hand, despite the measures taken by

the state preventing competition that restricted the profit margin of the producer, the wholesale merchants were the only privileged group who could act within a capitalist framework enjoying certain exemptions from these restrictions (Inalcık, 1969 : 98).

The merchants had to run their activities in connection with certain categories as defined by the state. In addition to the Muslim and *zimmî* (non-Muslim) merchants who were Ottoman citizens, an important category was that of the foreign merchants who enjoyed certain privileges given by the state to reside and trade within the Ottoman territories for a temporary period. Members of this latter group were called *müste'min* merchants and in the cities of their commercial activity they formed colonies with populations proportional to the volume of trade. For example, the *sof* textile export from Ankara was realized not only by virtue of the local merchants but also by the foreign merchants residing temporarily in Ankara with the *müste'min* status. Among these were especially the Venetian, Polish and English merchants as attested by many records (Ergenç, 2012 : 153-158). In Edirne, there was a relatively smaller number of foreign merchants among which the French *müste'mins* constituted a majority (Allahverdi, 2012 : 170). As the international relations between the Ottomans and other states grew in scale, this was accordingly reflected on trade and resulted in the growth of foreign colonies formed in the cities. Besides, as the duration of stay of these foreign merchant groups in the Ottoman cities was extended, not only the economic relations but also the social and cultural relations increased and diversified⁸.

⁸ For an in-depth study of foreign merchants' lives in some major Ottoman cities, see Mather (2009).

The regulations of the state no doubt had a big impact on the relations formed by the people in the trade activity. In addition to the earlier mentioned legal aspects of the merchant status, another noteworthy factor that governed the relation between the state and the merchant was the community (*teba'a*) that the merchant belonged to. Merchants experienced various gains, rights and restrictions before the state depending on the different communities they belonged to. Inevitably, this situation closely affected the relations of the merchants in various ways not only within the merchant community itself but with the townspeople and the state as well. The merchants who were subject to certain restrictions due to the regulations resorted to various expedients to eliminate them. Such actions inevitably created a certain degree of tension between the state and the merchants.

CHAPTER 3

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE OTTOMAN CITY

The functions and activities of an Ottoman city based on the above mentioned characteristics extended into further scopes of geographic and spatial significance regarding their influence and the relations they created. The relations brought about by the administrative function affected the spatial configuration of the city by forming the institutional structures relevant to this function. This in return shaped the social networks and relations within the city. Additionally, short distance relations emerged between neighboring cities within the same *eyâlet* or *sancak* and middle or long distance relations formed between a city and its counterparts in different *eyâlets* or in other countries (Figure 6). The function of the city as the center of its geographical environment generated relations with both the neighboring urban settlements and the surrounding rural areas. On the other hand, the geographic position and conditions of the city, by way of shaping the road network particularly, not only activated relations with the nearby areas but also

enabled longer distance relations, thus spreading the geographic reach of the city to much farther distance. The function of the city as a center of economic activity naturally influenced the city's internal relations but also formed the basis of many complex relations, be they short, middle or long distance. On the other hand, it would not be true to say that all the above mentioned relations were the result of the city's functions through a unidirectional relationship. We can state that both the internal relations within the geographic and administrative limits of the city and the external relations with their range of short, middle or long distance all helped in shaping the structural and functional characteristics of the city in return. Consequently, there was a continuous interaction between these characteristics of the city and its relations within or without.

3.1 Internal Relations of the City

The internal relations of the city from a spatial perspective may be thought to develop around certain core elements or nuclei (Figure 3). One of these nuclei is the power core formed around the administrative authority serving within the function of the city as an administrative center. Another nucleus may be a sacred site and the center of attraction that grows around it which is a common founding element in many an ancient city. A third nucleus is the commercial core which economic activity dominates. This particular core where participants of commercial activity gather and interact is made up of *Hans* and Caravanserais for the lodging of merchants and the storing of merchandise, as well as bazaars incorporating a diversity of stores. In addition to these three, the city's residential quarters that

constitute the living space of the city may be accepted as the remaining nuclei. The bulk of the social life of residents takes place there and the internal relations of the city take shape. As these nuclei develop in quality and quantity, the city naturally grows in regards to its volume and structural characteristics.

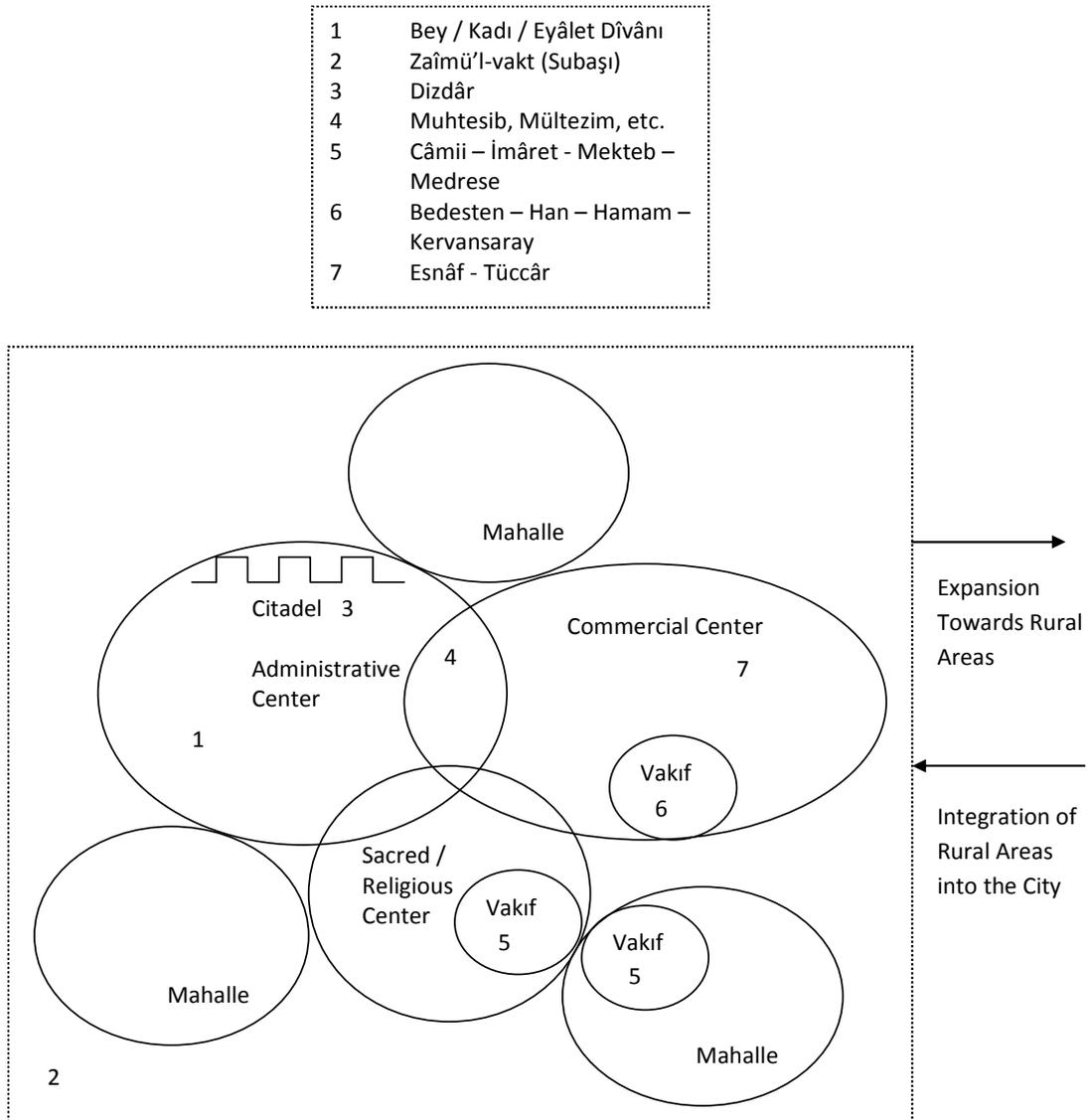


Figure 3: Nuclei Forming the City

Beside the relations forming within each of these nuclei, one can also observe a network of relations among the nuclei. These relations mobilize the city residents in a number of ways and create a dynamism that triggers movements among spaces. In addition to the relations within the quarters themselves, there are parallel movements back and forth from the quarters to the administrative center, to the religious center and to the bazaars of the commercial center, all happening concurrently. There are also various relations that emerge between the administrative center and the religious center as well as the commercial center.

It would be useful to evaluate the above mentioned nuclei by taking into consideration the functional characteristics of the city. In this way, we can also embark on a spatial analysis of the city. Moreover, it would also be possible to distinguish certain administrative, economic, social and cultural elements based on the relations developing inside and among these nuclei.

3.1.1 Administrative Relations

In Ottoman cities, it was not possible to speak of physical structures serving as an official center of administration or a court like those in the Western cities. Officials like *Bey* and *Kadı* carried out their executive and judiciary public duties within their residences which were examples of civil architecture (Ergenç, 2012 : 17). Accordingly, there were no pre-defined working hours. These public officials ran the business related to their field of responsibility only when required and the rest of the time they continued their own daily lives. The implementation of public

services in the cities and rural areas was realized by the granting of *timar* to public officials or by the process of *iltizam* (tax-farming). In accordance with the *timar* system, high ranking public officials were allocated the authority to collect taxes to their own account. In return, they provided certain public services for which they were accountable. In the simultaneously existing *iltizam* system, it was the *mültezims* who were authorized to collect certain taxes and fees associated with land and services. For this endeavour, they had to make an advance payment in cash as determined by an auction and this payment was transferred to the state treasury. An important point here was the fact that the *mültezims* were not only authorized to collect the taxes from a certain group of people but they could also oversee these people regarding their economic activity. In that respect, relations similar to those between the *re'âyâ* and the high ranking public officials implementing the *timar* were also in existence between the *re'âyâ* and the private individuals authorized to collect taxes within the *iltizam* system. In addition to the occasional acts of injustice of the public officials, the *mültezims'* efforts to collect excessive amounts of taxes to maximize their revenues were also an issue of public discontent.

The primary buildings that stood within the areas and the axes that constituted the religious and commercial nuclei of the cities were developed within the scope of the *vakıf* system (Figure 3). This system was adapted by the Ottomans themselves from primarily the Islamic law but also the institutional and legal foundations of other states within the Islamic realm. The *vakıf* institution was predominantly a system used by the officials of the military class to keep their wealth within their

families and pass it to younger generations. It was an important setback for these officials not to be able to maintain their economic wealth acquired during the time they had title and authority. At the end of their office, in the case of death or dismissal, that wealth had the risk of being returned to the treasury and could not be passed to the family members through inheritance. It was necessary to take advantage of the *vakif* institution to maintain a lasting income for the family members. As organized by the *vakif* charter, the positions like that of the *vakif* administrator (*mütevelli*) provided a flow of income that could ensure the affluence of future generations as well. The *vakif* was also a vehicle for the ruling class and the notables of the city to boost their prestige in the eyes of the public and enhance their influence.

The part of the *vakif* establishment that was put together for services with the intent of public good included the mosques, the public baths, the schools, the libraries and the coffee houses. The part that aimed at pooling of the revenues to finance these services generally included the commerce and industry related buildings like caravansarais, *hans* (*qaysariyya*), stables, workshops and stores. The *vakif* establishment mostly created spaces for the public use and benefit but their administration was generally in the hands of the state. Moreover, the revenue generation for the services aiming the benefit of a city was not limited to the resources of that city alone. By taking advantage of the vast territories of the Ottoman Empire, the revenues generated from a commercial establishment at one part of the empire could be directed to the financing of a charitable institution at some other part.

The *ulemâ* class also held a crucial position within the multi-faceted functions and institutional structure of the *vakif*. The *vakifs* were suitable means to appropriate a certain part of the surplus production in order to benefit the members of this class and get them involved more closely with the state apparatus. The bonds of common interest between the networks of the ruling class and the *ulemâ* closely affected the constructing of ideology and values as well as the progression of law. Moreover, the *vakif* strengthened the control mechanism of the state over the people through various means. These were the organization of the educational system, auditing of the economic infrastructure, the use of charitable endowments to sustain economic development and the establishment of administrative and legal control over property through state inventories (Leeuwen, 1999 : 205-206).

3.1.2 Economic Relations

The commercial center of the city was where the most complex and multi-faceted relations were encountered. *Hans*, caravansarais, workshops, stores and bazaars were spaces with people from all nationalities and social levels. Nowhere else in the city could one encounter a community with such diversity. The foreign merchants stayed in the *Hans*, the Western missionary agencies also had their activities in this part and very few real residents of the city lived here. The appearance of diversity and openness brought about at the commercial heart of the city by the benefits of economic activity was certainly contradictory to the image of the other quarters in the city. These were more attached to the traditional social identities and they

experienced a rather inward oriented economy. It was possible to observe in many cities a main artery where commercial activity took place. For example in Ankara's citadel area, an artery called the *Uzun Çarşı* ran down from *Çukur Han* and *Çengel Han* where merchants stayed and by *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* where they bought and sold their goods. This artery continued towards today's Ulus area and the stores of all types of craftsmen were found here. In the case of Bursa, the bazaar complex which has maintained its vigorous activity to this day also constituted the most important part of a commercial center side by side with a religious core developed around the Grand Mosque that was one of the landmark buildings of the Ottoman age. In accordance with the significant place of the production of silk and silk textiles in the commerce of Bursa, a building specialized in this trade, the *Koza Han*, also stood in this area. In Aleppo, there was a big commercial center that formed on the main axis extending from the skirts of the citadel hill to the Antakya gate. Along this axis, numerous Hans and bazaars formed side by side with many religious structures. The term *Mdineh* [sic] which meant city in Arabic was used to define this commercial area in the city center and it virtually referred to a city within a city (Watenpaugh, 2004 : 237).

A document related to the Hans at the commercial center of Ottoman Ankara and the merchant activity there, gives us a good deal of information regarding the relations that took place inside the city as well as those that formed due to its middle distance trade. According to the document from the Ankara *Şer'iyeye Sicili*⁹, a non-Muslim resident of Ankara (*Medîne-i Ankara'da Makramacı Mahallesi*

⁹ Ankara *Şer'iyeye Sicili* 135, no. 102 (10 Muharrem 1165).

mütemekkinlerinden bâ'is" hazi's-sufr Uzun Yovakim veled-i Mihail nâm zimmî)
has filed a court case against two non-Muslim merchants (*Medîne-i mezbûrede sof ipliği meta'ı tüccarlarından Koyunoğlu Minas ve Papasoğlu Evhanis nâm zimmîler*). The personal details of the defendants along with the complaint and the claim forming the bases of the court case are reflected in the document in the words of the plaintiff as follows:

...mesfûrân medîne-i mezbûrede kâ'in Kurşunlu Han dimekle ma'rûf kârgîr han derûnunda mütemekkinler olub sof ipliği iştirâ' itmeleriyle han-ı mezkûrun derûnunda vâki' havlu ta'bir olunan 'arsa ve 'arsa-ı mezkûrede muhtefî ve ahurlarda ve ba'zı nazardan muhtefî köşelerde nâtik ve sâmit meta' vaz' idüib tahammülüne göre ücret alınmak üzere işbu yedimde olan mütevellî temessükü nâtik olduğu üzere icâreteyn ile tasarrufumda olup ve han-ı mezkûr derûnunda sâkin ve mütemekkin olan tüccar tâ'ifesi diyâr-ı âhere nakliçün metâ'ların han-ı mezkûrdan huruclarında beher iplik yükünden dörder para ahz olunmak kadîmden mu'tâd olub ve medîne-i mezbûrede kâ'in sâ'ir hanlarda sâkin ve mütemekkin olan tüccar tâ'ifesi ber-minval-i muharrer hareket ve beher iplik yüküne ber-vech-i mu'tâd dörder para edâ iderlerken hâlâ mahmiyye-i İzmire nakliçün mesfûrân iplik yükü ihrâc ve ber-vech-i mu'tâd dörder parayı edâda mümâna'at itmeleriyle medîne-i mezbûrede kâ'in Sulu ve Küçük Hanlarda sâkin tüccar tâ'ifesinden olub hâzırûn-ı bi'l-meclis olan tüccârdan ba'de'l-istihsâr ve mu'tâd-ı kadîm üzere harekete savb-ı şer'den mesfûrâna tenbih olunmak matlûbumdur.

The plaintiff's complaint is directed towards the said merchants claiming that despite their commercial activity at the Kurşunlu Han buying and exporting angora yarn, they refrain from paying his fee, well-deserved and long-established according to a *vakıf* document he is in hold of. When the defendants deny the accusation, the court calls for the testimony of *sıkât* (reliable people) who are members of the merchant community and they testify that the fee charged for the dispatched angora yarn is in accordance with the longstanding practice:

...fi'l-hakîka medîne-i mezbûrede vâki' hanlar derunlarından diyâr-ı âhere bey' için irsâl olunan sof ipliği yüklerinden beher yüke dörder para vermek mu'tâd-ı kadîm olduğu ma'lûmumuzdur.

Upon testimony and confirmation of the respected and reliable members of the merchant community, the court rules in favour of the plaintiff and a court injunction (“*mesfûrâna tenbîh*”) is issued as recorded in the document.

This document gives us a number of useful points regarding the activity of angora yarn merchants and certain aspects of the trade practice during the Ottoman post-classical period in Ankara, as well as the physical space where such activity took place. We can deduce that an important center of angora yarn trade was the *Kurşunlu Han* which still stands today in the form of a museum. *Sulu Han* and *Küçük Han* were other locations of this trade. In the document, the plaintiff states that the taxes to be collected from all commodities and livestock traded at the *Han* are at his disposition as a right gained through an *icareteyn* arrangement with the *mütevelli* of the charitable endowment of *Kurşunlu Han*. Through the implementation of this right, a certain fee, claimed to be part of a longstanding practice, is collected from cargoes of angora yarn which are bought by the merchants at the *Han* only to be further dispatched out of the city. We can understand from the document that the defendants are in the process of shipping their cargo of angora yarn bought at the *Kurşunlu Han* to the port city of Izmir but they are not willing to pay the above mentioned fee of four *para* per load. Based on the plaintiff’s statement and the outcome of the appeal, we can deduce that the fees and the taxes that the merchants were subjected to during their commercial transactions were stemming from long-established practices which the merchants generally accepted and acted according to. This document also sheds some light to an economic transition previously mentioned about Ankara and Izmir. The date of

the case is around the middle of the eighteenth century and as mentioned earlier during this time the *sof* (angora textile) production dwindled and the angora yarn export has taken over in its stead. This export has been realized primarily through Izmir. The document's content relates well with these two historic developments.

The economic relations without doubt were not limited to the commercial center of the city. In addition to the social relations among the residents of the quarters most visible at spaces like coffeehouses, public baths and *mescids*, there were also economic relations formed between the residents and the craftsmen of the quarters. In the Ottoman city, most of the craftsmen catering to the needs of the environs as well as to longer distance trade were active in certain centers of production. However a group of craftsmen serving to the daily needs of the urban dwellers had their businesses rather inside the quarters. In that respect, the residential quarters were also settings for the provision of services and other economic relations.

3.1.3 Social Relations

In the past, a widespread opinion from the orientalist perspective of many Western historians was that the Islamic city could be perceived as a conglomeration of social groups and quarters living in separation and disarray, devoid of a local administration. However, more recently new points of view have come into play referring to social networks that nourish relations both horizontally and vertically¹⁰.

¹⁰ A more detailed account regarding these social networks exists in Reilly (2002), p. 53-55 based on the views of Gibb, Bowen, Abd-el-Nur and Lapidus. Also cf. Leeuwen (1999), p. 14-19, where views of Weber, Mumford and Grunebaum are discussed.

These networks which were both interconnected and overlapping with each other consisted of multifaceted identities associated with residential quarters, religions or professions. The main agents that shaped their corresponding relations were the notables (*â'yân* and *eşrâf*) and officials of the military class (Figure 4).

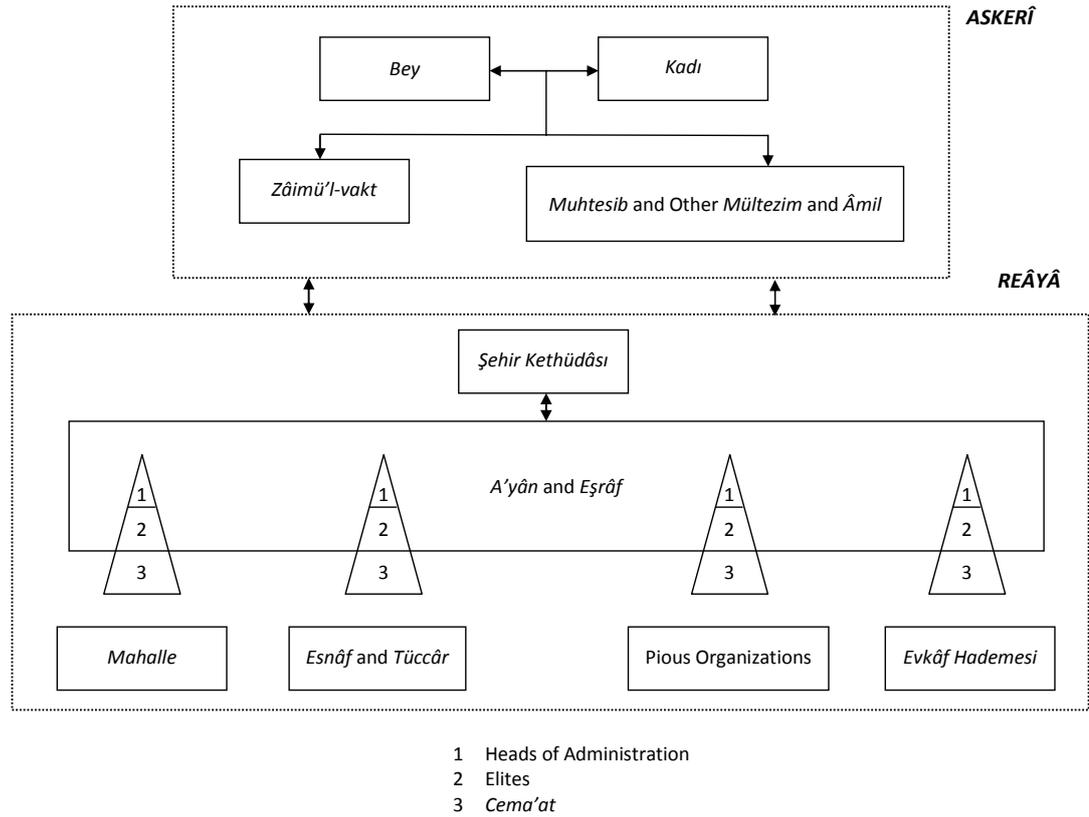


Figure 4: Administrative Relations / Horizontal and Vertical Social Networks

The domestic bonds acted at the core of the communities and internal relations in the quarters relied on them. The basic identity of an individual was determined within the family. It was then shaped at a higher level by one's residential quarter, membership to the institutional structures like the guilds and association with a religion or community. All over the Ottoman geography, these elements of identity

helped form various social networks and this led to the formation of complex relations within the cities. The ethnicity, religion, denomination and tribal ties constituted the layers of identity and an individual's belonging to any of these also determined his role and function within the society. Before the social homogenization brought about by capitalism and industrialization, the complex social structure of Ottoman lands was given its main character by these multi-layered and heterogeneous identities.

In various cities of greater magnitude at different parts of the Ottoman Empire, the above mentioned multi-layered character manifested itself in several forms. For example, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which we can call the mid centuries of Ottoman history, Istanbul displayed a mosaic of cultures and communities. In the three main parts of the city, *Suriçi*, *Galata* and *Üsküdar*, various communities lived in fairly integrated fashion. On the other hand, in Aleppo foreigners existed in their own operational spaces and the *Hans*, which were self-sufficient and to a great extent isolated. In that respect, they could exert relatively less influence to the commercial life of Syria. In the great trade center and port of Izmir, however, the foreigners stood at the center of economic activity and especially in the aforementioned mid centuries the foreign communities showed greater participation in trade in comparison to both Aleppo and Istanbul (Eldem, Goffman and Masters, 1999 : passim). Based on such peculiarities and variations of social relations in different cities, it is quite worthwhile also to notice how the relations between the Ottoman state administration and *re'âyâ* have shown considerably different essential qualities and have evolved in such varied manner.

The residential quarter which was previously evaluated as an entity with its own administrative elements displayed a structure that was mostly self-sufficient and internally well-integrated. Within an area formed by 10-15 small streets around a square or main street, there would be one or two religious buildings, one or two fountains and a few shops to provide for basic needs (Figure 5). In addition to these, some other public buildings like a bath, a primary school or a dervish lodge were probable elements of a residential quarter. The goods and services other than the basic necessities would either be found in the covered bazaars in the central parts of the city or in the district bazaars catering to several quarters at the same time (Behar, 2003 : 4). The residents could most of the time continue with their lives without leaving their quarters. In that respect, the daily activities of residents is a rather interesting subject of research for us for a possible observation of how much the residents needed the state authority and what kind of relations they formed with it. In addition to these, an assessment of how these relations formed according to different characteristics of individuals, e.g. for women and men or for different religions or ethnicities, is also a worthwhile topic for a detailed consideration.

Lying at the heart of the daily life within the residential quarter was no doubt the distinction between the public and the private spheres. Various conflicts between them occurred in a multitude of situations. It was inevitable to have conflicts every now and then between the spatial organization of the domestic environment where most of a family's life was spent and that of the public space outside of home.

These problems were passed to the court and the regulators and executors of law along with the residents experiencing these problems all contributed to the evolution of the policies of the state regarding the domicile (Murphey, 1990 : 118).

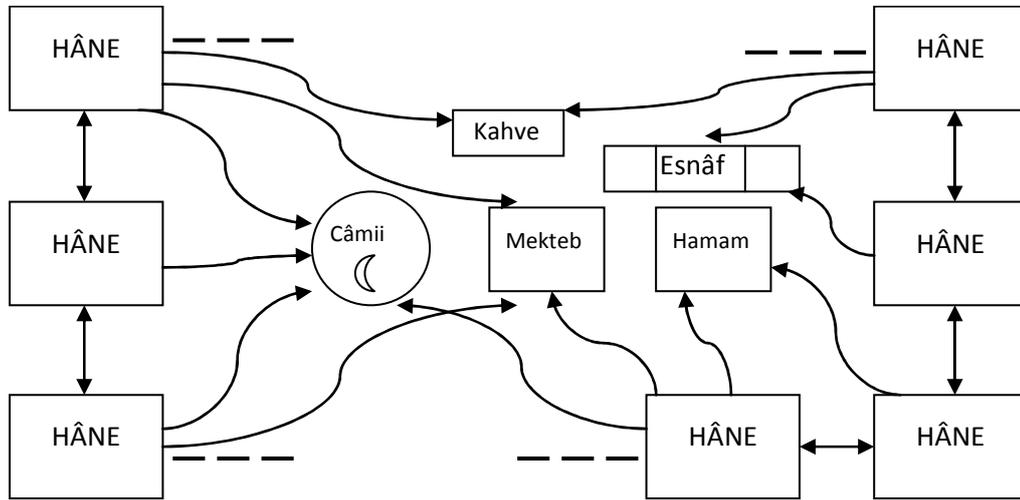


Figure 5: Relations in the Mahalle

A document which provides some information on the occasional social conflicts regarding the spatial organization of the domicile and the public space outside, as well as the way these were transferred to the legal platform comes from the Ankara *Şer'iyeye Sicili*¹¹. Many details from the document shed light on the life in the residential quarters and the internal relations of a city. It provides important social clues regarding the residents' perception of an actual situation which relates to the use of a public space. It also reflects a particular dimension of the relations between the residents of the quarter and the craftsmen who constitute one of the most important social networks within the urban population. According to the document, a complaint is brought to the court by a group of *zimmî* residents of the *Hendek* and

¹¹ Ankara *Şer'iyeye Sicili* 135, no.85 (*Rebiü'l-âhir*, 1165).

Makaramacı quarters against a group of *hirfet* members, i.e. craftsmen, specifically belonging to the crafts of *bostancı*, *mumcu*, *yağcı*, *bezirci* and *ekmekçi*, as quoted below:

Medine-i Ankara mahallatından Hendek Mahallesi mütemekkinlerinden eshab hazi's-sufr Mıgırdıç mütevellî ve Acî Hubyar ve Kapudanoğlu 'İsâî ve Karabet veled-i Kevorkyan ve gayrileri ve Makramacı Mahallesi mütevattınlarından Evakim veled-i Mihail ve Minas veled-i Eremnân ve Acî Tanol veled-i Kirkor ve Evanis veled-i Papas ve sâ'ir zimmîyân meclis-i ma'kûd-ı mezkûrda bostancı tâ'ifesinden olub derûn-ı emr-ı 'âlîde mestûrû-l esâmî olan es-Seyyid İsmâ'il ve Mehmed ve Abdullah ve Veli ve diğer Mehmed ve Berberoğlu Hüseyin ve Karındaşı Mehmed, Mehmed bin Hüseyin ve Mustafa bin 'Alî nâm kimesneler ile mumcu tâ'ifesinden el-Hac Yusuf bin el-Hac Mustafa ve İbrâhim Ağa ibn 'Alî ve Alemdar Ebû Bekir Beşe ibn İbrâhim ve sâ'irleri ve yağcı ve bezirci ve etmekci ve sâ'ir erbâb-ı hiref-i müteferrikadan mahsûrû'l-'aded ve mâ'lûmü'l-esâmî ve'l-eşhâs kimesneler ihzâr ve mahzarlarında her birileri üzerlerine da'vâ ve takrîr-i kelâm idüb

The plaintiffs' complaint is expressed as follows:

Hisarönü dimekle 'arîf 'arsa-ı hâliye 'iyâlimiz sâkin olduğu menzilimiz kapısı kuddâmından olduğundan mâ'adâ turuk-ı beldemizden esvâk-ı erba'a ahâliyelerinin memerr ve ma'berleri olmağla bir vechile tecemmü'en mekse tahammülü yoğiken esnâf-ı mezkûre ashâbı ba'de'z-zuhr 'arsa-ı mezkûreye hilâf-ı mu'tâd-ı kadîm metâ'ların furuht için vaz' ve inbisât ve cemiyet-i nas ve kesret-i ehl-i fevâhişe bâ'is ve bâdî olduklarından gayri ehl-i iyâlimize atâlet ve ricâl ve nisânın mürûr ve 'ubûrlarına şiddet-i müzâyaka ve ehl-i fesâdın cerh ve darbla fesâdına mahal-i revâc ve me'vâ-ı füssâk olmağla ahvâlimiz diğer-gûn olmağın bizler dahi hâl-i perîşânımızı der-i devlet medâra 'arz-ı hâl ve mezbûrların mekân-ı mezbûrda bey' ü şîra' ve cemiyetleri men' ve def' olunmak.

According to the statement of the complainants, there is a vacant lot in front of their houses which is used as a pass-through by some craftsmen on their way to four different bazaars that they are affiliated with and some craftsmen open up stands there in the afternoons which turn out to be a major nuisance to their family lives. In their own words, the transformation of this lot into a place of commerce in disregard of the long standing habits has resulted in the crowding of people and the showing up of prostitutes there, as well as restricting the passage and movement of

the family members through this lot. Since this situation allows the assembling of unpleasant individuals at the lot, occasional jostle and fights occur. The document also states that this claim was previously brought to the attention of the *Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn* whence a *fermân* was issued with a supreme order in favor of the plaintiffs' claim and that the court in Ankara has also ruled in compliance with this order, putting it into record accordingly.

A few interesting points can be inferred from the document. As ordered by the *fermân* from the *Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn*, the problem is resolved in favour of the local residents. It is possible to infer that from a legal standpoint the residents have priority in using the streets and empty lots in their quarter even though they may be defined as public space. An interesting point to note here is that in this particular case the state's judiciary authority has not given precedence to an activity run by the craftsmen towards their livelihood. Instead, the ruling has been in recognition of the rights of the residents regarding their use of the public spaces of the neighbourhood and their freedom of movement through them, also securing the tranquility in their surroundings. Another detail in the document is that all of the complainants who appeal to the court against the craftsmen as the neighbors to the empty lot, are non-Muslims with the status of *zimmî*. The defendants, on the other hand, all belong to the Muslim community as can be told by their names. Based on the identity of the complainants, if we assume that the majority of the residents in the *Hisarönü* neighbourhood where the disputed empty lot is located are *zimmîs* how can we interpret the fact that there are no *zimmîs* mentioned among those who open up stands on the empty lot and sell their goods? Although the problem is

more likely an ordinary dispute between the residents and the craftsmen, still one might be suspicious about a conflict or commercial rivalry between communities as the disputants belong to two separate religious communities. A further point from the document is the nature of the defendant craftsmen's guilds. Since they are specified in detail as *bostancı*, *mumcu*, *bezîrci*, *yağcı*, *etmekçi* and "*sâ'ir erbâb-ı hiref-i müteferrika*", we can deduce that the sales activity at the makeshift bazaar area put together by the defendant craftsmen in the said lot, is not limited to one or two professions of craftsmen. Instead, many goods and services that cater to the needs of the residents within a wide spectrum are marketed here. Based on the document, it is not possible to tell how much the rest of the residents were involved or gave support to the complainants regarding the court decision to get rid of the bazaar that has indeed come so conveniently into the neighbourhood itself. However, it may be possible to conjecture that when a discomfort arose for some of the residents regarding a bazaar formation that could otherwise be thought as utile for the neighbourhood, the other residents also acted in solidarity to resolve the problem.

In the Ottoman cities, the privacy of family and domestic life carried great significance. The families lived mostly in extended form as part of the same household. Considering the fact that the women spent most of their time in the house, a hierarchical organization within a populated family environment would be expected. For example a newlywed bride in such an environment would have an inferior status compared to her sisters-in-law living in the same household and would have to be in their service when necessary. Despite all the privacy of family

life and living space, a contradictory situation that we encounter during the Early Modern era is the physical coexistence of the domicile and a workplace that was mostly run by the family members. A workplace that mostly shared the ground floor of the same building as the domicile or sometimes occupying an adjacent building was also bringing the private and the public space much closer to each other. Even the occasional cohabitation of employees from outside the family with the members of the household was quite an ordinary situation like the case for the servants living in the same house. All these details of domestic life display a noteworthy contradiction between the Early Modern period and today's life regarding the distinction between private life and work environment (Murphey, 1990 : 120).

Another interesting fact that comes out of the court records is that private life and privacy of the household did not always take precedence before the law. When necessary, jurisprudence gave priority to public good, the running of a business for livelihood or shared rights of use over the concerns of the household regarding their privacy or personal preferences. In addition to these considerations about the social relations and economic activity, another important conclusion that can be derived from the court records is that despite the religious, ethnic and socio-economic differences among the residents of a quarter, a high level mechanism of tolerance was at work and the judiciary system generally ruled in support of this mechanism (Murphey, 1990 : 121-128).

Among the various relations formed within the residential quarter, one of the most concrete was no doubt that of neighbours. Many problems could possibly lead to legal disputes between two neighboring households and a frequently occurring one was related to the need to leave some space between the houses for shared use and also to determine the limits of this usage by the two households. A document from the Konya *Şer'iyeye Sicili*¹² deals with such a problem at court. The record on the document regarding a disagreement taking place at the *Sahibyakası* quarter of Konya is as follows:

mahalle-i mezbûre sükkânından bâ'isiyyü'l-kitâb İbrâhim ve Mehmed ibnâ İbrâhim nâm kimesneler meclis-i ma'kûd-ı mezbûrda câr-ı mülâsıkı olan Hüseyin bin Şa'bân mahzarında üzerine her biri da'vâ ve takrîr-i kelâm idüb mezbûr Hüseyin ile bizim menzillerimiz arasında işbu mu'âyene olunan 'arzen iki adım ve tûlen yirmi adım mevzi' merkûm Hüseyin ile bizim tâbhâne ve menzilizden bağ ve bostân ve tarlamıza müşâ'an şirket üzere mürûr ve 'ubûr idicek tarîk-i hâssımız olub bizim her birimizin hakk-ı mürûrumuz olmağla altmış yetmiş seneden berü babalarımız ve biz mürûr ve ubûr ide gelmişiken hâlâ merkûm Hüseyin müceddeden divar binâ idüb tarîk-i mezbûru kendüye tahsîs ve bizi mürûr ve 'ubûrdan men' itmişdir su'âl olunub divar-ı merkûmun kal' ve kam'ına tenbîh olunması matlubumuzdur.

What causes the complaint is a narrow alley between the two neighbouring houses that has been used for two or three generations as a shared pass-through by the two households on their way to and back from the orchards and fields. One of the neighbours has built a wall which now blocks the passage of his neighbours and due to the disagreement caused by this wall, the issue is taken to court. The litigants demand the taking down of the wall. In response to the statement of complaint from the plaintiff, the defendant responds by denying the complainants' right to pass through the said alley (*mevzi'-i mezkûrdan merkûmânın tarîkleri ve hakk-ı mürûrları olduğunu inkâr*). Consequently, to resolve the dispute the court appeals

¹² Konya *Şer'iyeye Sicili* 38, no. 57-2 (29 Şevvâl 1103).

to the testimony of a few reliable (*'udûl-ı müslimînden*) people, presumably residents of the quarter. Their testimony in support of the plaintiffs' claim has been accepted by the court which rules in favour of the complainants as recorded in the document.

The issue of dispute is centered on the right of passage through this alley and as can be inferred from the document, neither of the sides have a document of ownership for the disputed pass-through. In this case, the court ruling was based on the fact that this alley has been a shared space due to a long-continued practice. The decision to continue this de facto function of the alley has been taken in accordance with the collective memory of the quarter and its residents. It is possible to observe in this example the will of the quarter residents to maintain and carry on the long accepted patterns of conduct. The court has also ruled in agreement with this will and by preventing an arbitrary act of one of the residents, it has set an example against this type of conduct which would otherwise cause discomfort among neighbours and disrupt the balance of internal relations within the quarter.

As mentioned earlier, the quarters used to have an integrated character and the residents spent most of their day in this self-sufficient environment. This medium where the residents carried on with their family life, religious practices and neighborly relations was the most important cultural environment for them. The masjids and baths functioning as public spaces were the most important places of gathering and communication. Up to the *Tanzîmât* period's reforms the imams were virtual officials of local administration as mediators between the authority of the

kadı and the local residents. The imam acted like an official of the state in the process of partitioning and collecting of the ‘*avârız*’ taxes. He also was the surety of all the residents to the state. These responsibilities were transferred to the elected *muhtars* later with the said reforms (Behar, 2003 : 6-7).

The neighbourhood coffee house was one of the places where life outside of home was most intensely experienced. Especially following the beginning of the nineteenth century, the coffeehouses which were up to that point limited in number and mostly located at the city center, started to spread into the residential quarters. These constituted a rather important social medium as they represented a space where the public and private spheres got closest to each other. Being one of the physical social environments where the complex and multi-layered structure of urban society was best reflected, the coffeehouses stood out as very important social institutions in the ever-changing spatial organization of the city along with the baths and barber shops which also had similar variety of functions and identities (Mikhail, 2007 : 133-138, 170). The coffeehouse was not just a space where neighbourhood residents met with each other but it was rather a social platform for the residents to communicate with not only the administrative and military officials but also the merchants staying in the city for a short or long time. Here, social and economic relations were formed and political events of a local and national scale were discussed. In that respect its significance in the last three hundred years of the Ottoman Empire cannot be underestimated.

3.2 External Relations of the City

The relations of the city with the outside world developed in various ways and directions. It may be a worthwhile approach to evaluate these utterly complex relations from a distance point of view (Figure 6). In that regard, the short distance (*mesâfe-i karîn*) relations may be thought to include those between the city and its close environment comprising the rural areas as well as the smaller scale settlements. The relations with the other urban centers in the neighboring administrative regions as well as other relatively close provinces of the Ottoman land can be considered as middle distance (*mesâfe-i vustâ*) relations. Lastly, those with the farther provinces of the empire and foreign territories (outside of *Memâlik-i Mahrûse*) can be evaluated as long distance relations (*mesâfe-i ba'ide / mesâfe-i gâyet ba'ide*).

3.2.1 Short Distance Relations

In the core of the short distance relations of the city lay the purpose of feeding the city population by the agricultural production of the rural area surrounding it (Figure 2). Based on the size of the city and the *me'kûlât* (grains and other food produce) needs of its population, the area required to feed that particular city was determined and administrative borders to cover this area were established. A good example of this case is the forming of the *sancak* of *Hüdâvendigâr* whose territory was intended to cover a wide area spreading to a great extent out of the borders dictated by the natural geography in order to feed a large city like Bursa. For this

reason, the *sancak* of *Hüdâvendigâr* extends into areas with very different conditions of terrain and climate and the appearance of its borders on a map is rather irregular. Only by allocating such extensive land has the state assured the sufficient sustaining of a city at the scale of Bursa.

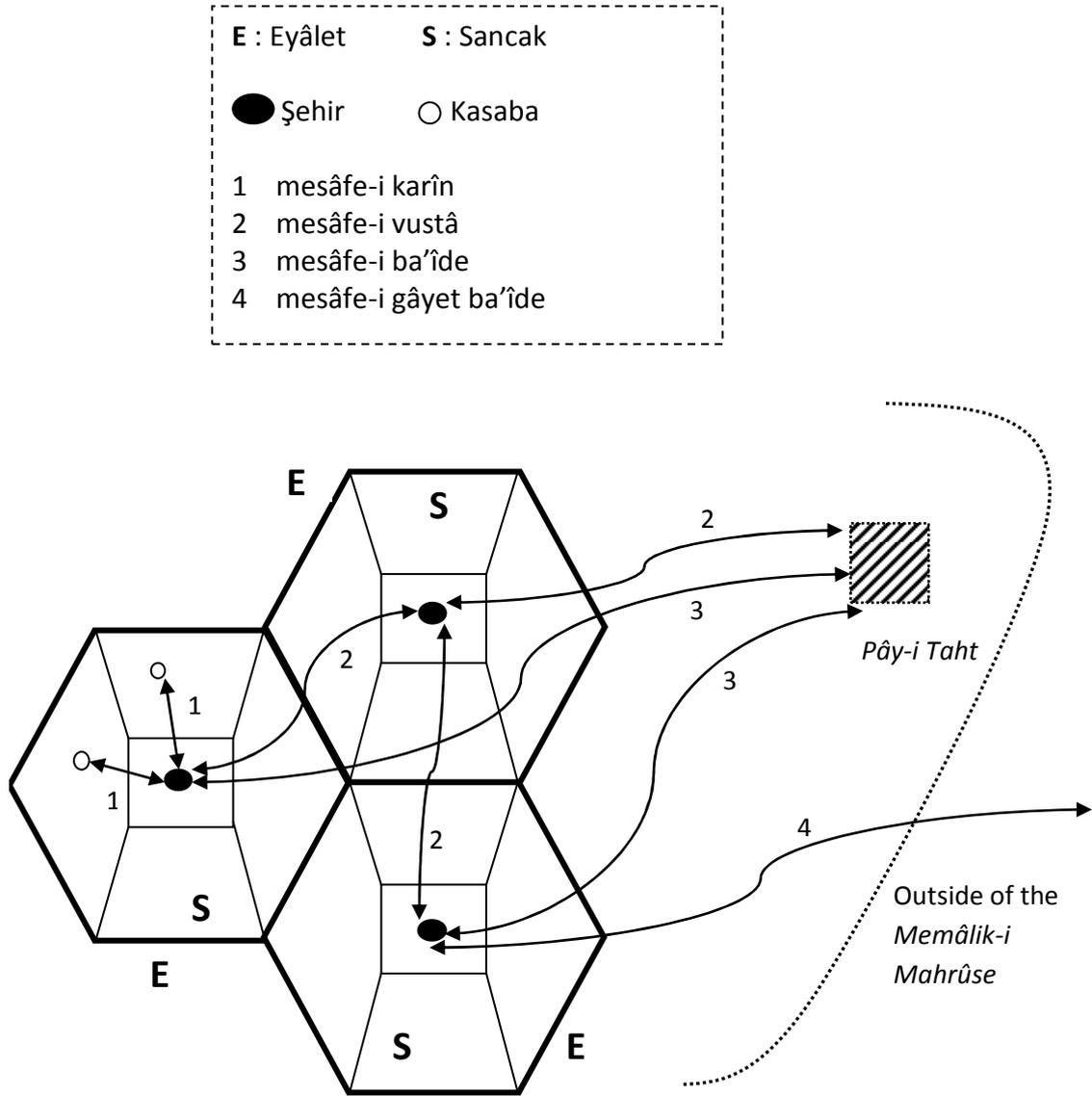
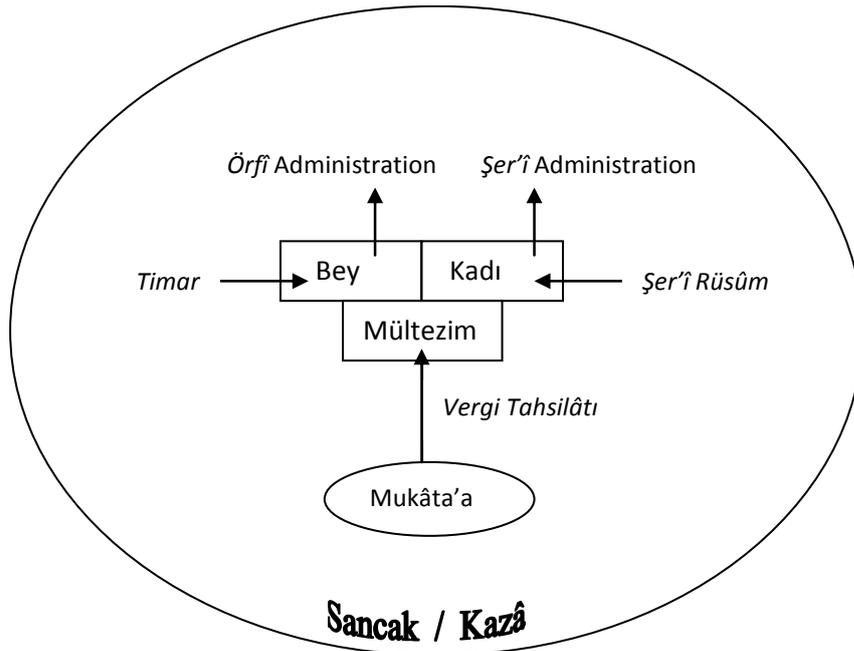


Figure 6: Short, Middle and Long Distance Relations

The administrative relations of the city with its environs were also closely affiliated with the city's demand of agricultural production and the rural areas around it which supplied this *me'kûlât*. As shown in Figure 7, the *Bey* of a *sancak* dispensed his administrative services in accordance with his duties and authority (*örfî yönetim erki*) from the *sancak* capital to the urban centers and rural areas within the territory of his *sancak*. In return for these services he was allowed to collect the taxes within the *timar* system. The *Bey* was also vested with certain military duties and requirements brought upon him in accordance with this system. In the accompanying *şer'î-idârî* organization of the provincial administration, the main representative at the *kazâ* level was the *kadı*. He was responsible of dispensing the judiciary services as dictated by his rank and authority (*şer'î yönetim erki*) to the residents of his *kazâ*, both in the urban centers and rural areas. The *kadı* collected certain legal fees (*şer'î rüsûm*) in return for his services.

Figure 7: Administrative Relations of the City with its Environs



Other officials within the *askerî-idârî* organization were also entitled to act according to the *timar* regulations in those parts of the empire where the system was in use. Certain officials used their titles and the rights vested in them to maximize their own profits and strengthen their official positions. This inevitably created tensions between them and the local populations. Often, the local notables also came into the picture in close collaboration with these officials, using their relations to boost their own economic benefits and consolidate their social positions. Especially in the seventeenth century and afterwards, when the state was in dire need of cash to finance the ongoing wars, it transformed many of the *timar* lands into *mukâta'a* areas and offered them to the highest bidding tax-farmers (*mültezim*) within the *iltizam* system.¹³ Even some of the *timar*-holding *sipahis* took advantage of the system and started subletting their *timar* lands in the *mukâta'a* fashion. The primary tax-farmers that stepped in were the local landlords and leading notables. The Karaosmanoğlu family of Izmir-Manisa area were a good example of the *â'yân* families who often abused their power in their official capacities as *mütesellims* (deputy governor and tax-collector) and *emîns* (chief cashier) of *mukâta'as* in their regions. They were often removed from office or even executed due to their misconduct and the popular complaints arising from it (Frangakis-Syrett, 1992 : 3-4, 38). At the end of the seventeenth century the right to farm the *mukâta'as* became a grant for life in the new *mâlikane* system where the state could secure cash payments for a much longer period of time without the

¹³ For a very detailed interpretation of the *timar* and *iltizam* systems and the later abuses and conflicts stemming from them, see Inalcık, 1980.

frequent change of hands as in the past. This also made it possible for land to be passed to younger generations as family property.¹⁴

The taking of any measures to ensure a sufficient food supply for the city was strategically vital in developing the economic life of the city as much as it was crucial for the wealth of the city population and thus for establishing the authority of the central administration with more assurance. Ankara's great development in production of angora yarn and mohair no doubt relied on the presence of vast wheat production areas around it and its capacity to comfortably sustain a large population. The *re'âyâ* had the obligation to put aside one tenth of their grain production in accordance with the tithes they had to pay to the state and also to bring that grain to a collection site called the *akrab bazar*. This place was arranged as a location not farther than a day's distance for the *re'âyâ* (Barkan, 1943 : 131,175). In a document from the Konya *Şer'îye Sicili*¹⁵, the complainant's identity and his issue of complaint about two members of the *re'âyâ* are recorded as follows:

Mahmiye-i Konyada vâki' [...] Sultân Selîm Hân [...] hazretlerinin 'imâret-i 'âmireleri evkâfının mütevellisi olan [...] es-Seyyid Mustafâ Ağa ibn 'Alî Efendi meclis-i şer-'i hatîr-ı lâzîmü't-tevkîrde evkâf-ı merkûmeden Bayburd Kazâsına tâbi' Kayı nâm karye sükkânından 'İzzeddîn bin Yûsuf ve 'Âşîr bin Piyâle ve Halîl ibn el-Hâc Burhân ve 'Âbid bin Yûsuf nâm kimesneler mahzarlarında bi't-tevliye da'vâ ve takrîr-i kelâm idüüb mezbûrlar vakf-ı mezkûrun arâzisinden zirâ'at ve hirâset eyledikleri mahsûllerin 'öşrünü akrab bazar olan mahmiye-i Konyaya getirüvirmek vakf-ı merkûmun sûret-i defter-i hâkânîsinde mestûr ve mukayyed olmağla hâlâ yedlerinde olan 'öşrlerini getirüvirmeyüb 'inâd ve muhâlefet üzerelerdir su'âl olunsun.

¹⁴ For a detailed explanation regarding the transformation into the malikane system see Genç (1975).

¹⁵ Konya *Şer'îye Sicili* 38, no. 13-1 (27 *Şa'bân* 1103).

The complainant is the administrator of a *vakıf* in Konya and his complaint is about two members of the *re'âyâ* who farm some village land belonging to that *vakıf*. The administrator claims that the two villagers have not brought their tithes to the *akrab bazar* in the city of Konya though this is their obligation as recorded in the imperial register of the *vakıf*. The defendants on the other hand plead as follows that they had no knowledge of such an obligation recorded in the register:

[...] *biz vakf-ı merkûm toprağını zirâ'at ve hirâset idüb hâsıl eylediğimiz mahsûllerimizin a'şârı yedlerimizde mevcûdedir lâkin vech-i muharrer üzere sûret-i defter-i hâkânîde mestûr olduğu ma'lûmumuz değildir.*

Upon the defendants' request to see the said register [*vakf-ı mezbûrun tuğralı sûret-i defteri*], it is brought before them and the mentioned obligation worded as “*akrab bazara getirivereler*” is shown to them as requested. Consequently, the court issues an injunction to the defendants to act in accordance with their obligation.

As clearly seen in this document, the law states that the farming *re'âyâ* have to bring one tenth of their grain production as their tithes to the *akrab bazar* and this obligation is recorded in the *vakıf* register as well. The *vakıf* land referred to in this particular case is located at the *Kayı* village of the *kazâ* of *Bayburd* and it is understood that the *akrab bazar* assigned for the collection of the produce from this area is located at the city of Konya. It is rather difficult to believe that the villagers are not aware of their legal obligation to bring their tithes to the said bazaar. Their pleading of being unaware of such a record in the register is possibly a clever move on their part to save themselves out of this situation with minimal damage and based on the court injunction, we might say that they have achieved this purpose. The important point however that we have to make out of this case is the probable

difficulty for the *re'âyâ* of bringing the tithes to the *akrab bazar*. The defendants assert that they have put aside the tithes of what they have produced and they are not trying to refrain from their tax obligation but by using the excuse of not knowing their obligation of bringing it to the *akrab bazar*, presumably they are trying to avoid this burden. Based on this example, we can conclude that conflicts between the producers and the *vakıf* or other collector of the tithes occasionally arose.

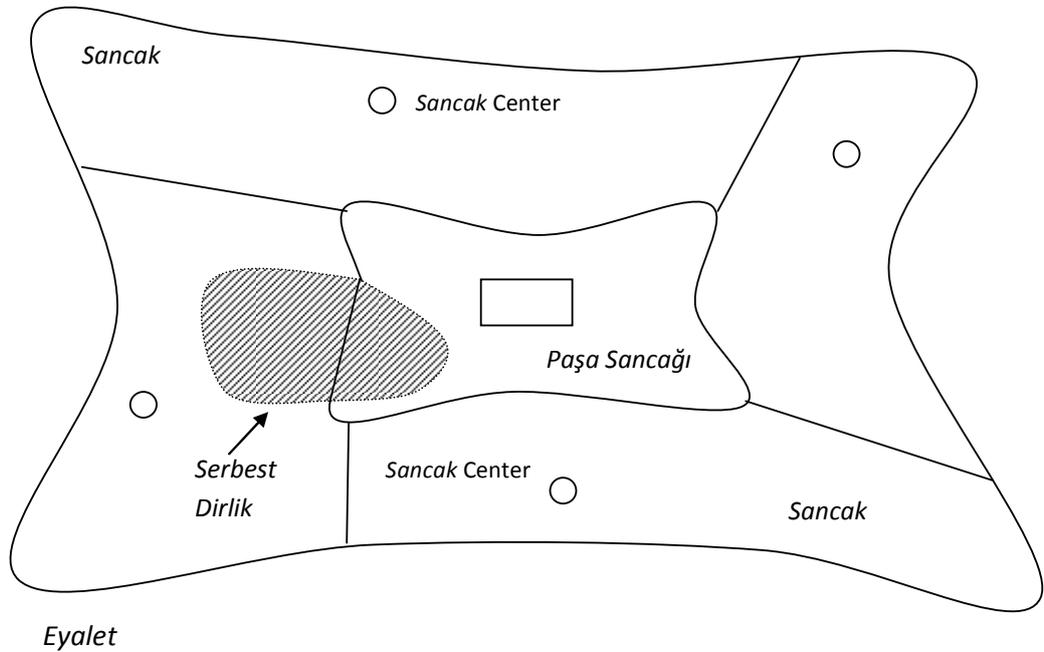


Figure 8: Administrative Units and *Serbest Dirliks*

The arrangements made towards the sustaining of the city population also served the purpose of maintaining the economic activity and by this way maximizing and perpetuating the revenues of the state through tax collection. These arrangements

and measures could produce interesting results regarding the assessment of *serbest dirlik* areas (Ergenç, 2013 : 204-214) and their borders in the same way as the *sancak* borders themselves (Figure 8). For example, to provide for the massive food requirement of the city of Bursa, the *Beypazarı* region was made part of the *sancak* of *Hüdâvendigâr* even though it was very close to Ankara geographically. However, based on its economically significant production of mohair, *Beypazarı* was made part of the *mukâta'a* of Ankara. In similar fashion, while *Ilgaz* region was within the *sancak* of Kastamonu administratively, regarding its mohair production it was incorporated into the *mukâta'a* area of Ankara's *damga mültezimi* (tax-farmer of the stamp tax). In this way, both Ankara and Bursa have experienced various short distance relations with different rural areas in their close surroundings based not only on their positions as the administrative capital of the *sancaks* they were part of, but also on the *serbest dirliks* formed within these areas surrounding them. In this respect, the administrative position of the city has helped define its short distance relations along with the agricultural production realized in the region and other economic activities of the city.

One of the significant population groups in the relatively close environment of the cities was the nomads. The difficulty of putting the nomadic population which accounted for a significant part of the population into any well-defined category created some important problems for the state. They were neither part of the settled *re'âyâ* nor pure nomadic groups. Though in Ottoman terminology, the term *yürük* [sic] was used for pure nomads, these could also be partially settled (Murphey, 1984 : 3-5). In contrast to the steppe topography, the presence of natural boundaries

and obstacles in Anatolia made it difficult for the central political authority to sustain unification and control. As a result of this, the groups in Anatolia established more autonomous and local administrative structures. These groups often suffered from a rather tense relation with the central authority and when they encountered powerful state establishments like those of the Seljuks and Ottomans, they had to abandon lands with good soil to the state's *timar* system, being left with some marginal land or no land at all. On the other hand, the state could not cast them out totally because of their socio-economic functions like raising livestock and transporting goods by animals, as well as their military contributions as soldiers.

The nomads who were settled in formerly abandoned lands in accordance with the state policy of farming land rehabilitation often encountered problems regarding their agricultural activity. On the other hand, for those who carried on with their nomadic way of life, conflicts inevitably arose between them and the people settled in the rural areas. Problems occurred especially during the seasonal migrations. On their way up and down the summer pasture lands, there were often complaints and disputes regarding the damage caused by the nomads on the life and property of the settled population. To protect themselves against such damage, it was common for the settled community to take preventive measures by forming a kind of guerilla force on the main routes and passes through which big numbers of nomads moved with their livestock on the way down from the highlands to the valleys. In this effort, the state officials also cooperated. However, when probable skirmishes and other problems arose, the state preferred to act as neutral as possible in the pursuit

of a resolution (Murphey, 1984 : 9-10). One of the territories where the nomadic tribes constituted an important element of the population was Syria. In spite of their more usual image as trouble-makers, here they took an important part in the annual pilgrimage activity (*Hac*) which was primarily managed by the local officials of the state with great deal of caution. The governor of Damascus was responsible for the Mecca pilgrimage caravan and the *mutasallims* of the lesser towns and cities like Hama were entrusted with the task of ensuring the safety of pilgrims and travelers. The nomadic tribes were involved in the *hac* operation both economically and logistically. They were the suppliers of animals and provisions to the pilgrimage caravans and also helped to ensure them a safe passage through their territories on the way to Mecca and back.

Several factors accelerated the implementations of reform in various regions of the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century. The major changes within the empire itself, the progress in international and long distance economic relations through adaptation to the increasing rate of capitalism and industrialization, as well as the close relations formed with Europe all helped this process. For example, in Syria which came under Ottoman rule once again after a short period of Egyptian rule (1832-1840), important regional reforms were put into action as a result of the *Tanzîmât* policies. On the other hand, as Reilly (2002 : 125-127) has noted, during this period many local and regional revolts and separatist clashes took place. The groups in the mountainous areas like the *Nusayrî* and the *Dürzî* who were mostly outcast due to their denominational distinction from the urban population and who possessed a traditional character of independence were exposed to the pacification

policies of the Ottoman administration. As a result of this, most of the pasture lands traditionally used in the raising of livestock was transformed into vast farming areas under the domination of major landlords resident in the cities. As many of the communities in the rural areas who had been quite inclined to revolting in the past were overpowered by the state, old roads serving the regional and long distance trade became more secure under the state control at the end of the nineteenth century. The power of the central administration originating from the city became more dominant on the rural areas than it had ever been.

Among the short distance economic relations of the cities with their environs, the commercial partnerships that the city dwellers formed with the inhabitants of rural areas had a great significance. The investment partnerships, *mudaraba*, in which the owners of capital from the city acted as creditors and the speculative futures contracts, *salam*, were examples of these commercial partnerships. In the *mudaraba* (commenda) partnerships, an owner of capital got together with an active partner doing the work and shared the profit of the enterprise as well as the risk of the investment. *Salam* on the other hand was a method of purchase for the capital owner who by putting an advance payment for a commodity was not affected by the possible price fluctuations at the time of delivery.¹⁶ Although the flowing direction of capital as credit was in general from the city to the rural areas, it could rarely be the opposite as well. The short distance relations of a city with its surroundings were one of the most important elements of its integration with the rural

¹⁶ For detailed interpretations of these partnerships and various financial enterprises in the Islamic world and the Ottoman Empire, see Inalcık (1969), Ergenç (2013), Udovitch (1970) and Reilly (2002).

environment. The owners of capital in the cities could acquire farming lands out of the city turning them into their own production areas and it was not uncommon for landlords in rural areas to do the opposite and acquire property in the cities. This was an important factor in the geographic expansion of the cities. The expansion of a city into its rural surroundings could be possible through the forming of vineyards and orchards in its periphery when the city lay in a plain. For a city along a river, the expansion took place through making more use of the higher yielding riverbanks. Consequently, the boundaries between the city and the rural environment became less visible improving the commercial and social integration between them. The mills and their affiliated enterprises along the *Asi* river in Ottoman Syria can be given as examples to this type of economic relation and integration. These mills were mostly operated by the members of the notable families in the city through direct ownership or through management of a *vakıf* (Reilly, 2002 : 121-122).

The importance of supplying the city with an adequate flow of agricultural products and raw materials not only activated the above mentioned administrative relations but various economic relations stemmed from it as well. While the agricultural produce and raw materials were destined into the city, the industrial production, i.e. *sinâî emti'a* (production of *ehl-i hiref*), was sent out of it within the framework of a commercial relation directed from the city to its rural surroundings and other nearby towns (Figure 2). A document that is concerned with this type of a short distance relation comes from the Bursa *Şer'ıye Sicili* ¹⁷. In the document we are told

¹⁷ Bursa *Şer'ıye Sicili* B-166, p. 6b.

that about six months previously a merchant identified as [*Hacılar mahallesinde sâkin tüccârdan el-Hac Ma'den-zâde dimekle ma'rûf*] *el-Hac Mustafa Ağa* from the *kazâ* of *Medîne-i Brusa* had loaded valuable textiles and clothing on a camel and according to his statement while the caravan was on its way to a bazaar within a neighbouring *kazâ*, a group of bandits absent at the time of the judicial examination had robbed the merchandise on its route in the middle of the night:

[...] *kervan ile Hacı 'İsa bâzârına giderken Mihaliç kazâsına tâbi' Karaağaç-ı Kebîr ve Karakoca ve Kemberbend nâm kurâlar beyninde tâ'ife-i mezbûreden gâ'ibûn-ı 'ani'l-meclis [...] nâm şakîler, nisfû'l-leylde kat'-ı tarîk idüüb bir deveye tahmîl eylediğim beşbin guruş kıymetli telli hatâî ve envâ' kumâş ve hayyât olunmuş kaftanları ahz itdüklerinde [...]*

The *tâ'ife-i mezbûre* as mentioned in the introduction part of the document were a group of Turcomans settled in the given location [*mahrûse-i mezbûreye tâbi' 'Îsâbey ve Ahî nam karyeler beyninde Akköprü dimekle ma'rûf mevzi'de obaları ile sâkin Türkmen tâ'ifesi*]. Following the appeal of the merchant to the *Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn* after the robbery, an imperial *fermân* was issued appointing two *Hasekis* named Mehmed and Mustafa for the inspection of the alleged crime and the arresting of the culprits wherever they could be found [*teftiş ve tefahhus ve buldukları mahalde ahz ve habsleri için sâdır olan fermân-ı 'âlîşân ile husûs-ı mezbûra mübâşir ta'yîn*]. Based on the rest of the document, we can see that the lost commodities were acquired by a number of individuals belonging to the said Turcoman group and have been returned to the merchant but a further disagreement has arisen between these Turcomans and the merchant due to some still missing items. This conflict was resolved by the intervention of some other people and after being paid two thousand *guruş* as an amount of settlement (*bedel-i sulh*) the merchant has agreed to relieve the defendants of their debts.

As told in the document, some textiles and clothing including the silk ones like *telli hatâi*, an important product of Bursa, have been sent by caravan to a bazaar within the same *sancak* but have been robbed by bandits inside the neighbouring *kazâ* of *Mihalıç*. The products of the textile industry in Bursa were sent to the nearby bazaars as part of the short distance commercial relations aiming to supply the needs of the surrounding rural areas but occasionally they were prone to robbery before they could get to their destinations. As can be extracted from the document, one group who needed those commodities and were their potential buyers were the Turcoman tribes settled in the region. Maybe not surprisingly then, the group of bandits who robbed the said caravan before it could reach the bazaar were also members of this Turcoman community. The stolen commodities were later acquired by some other members and returned to the owner but these people then bought the reclaimed merchandise by paying to the merchant. However, the merchant has appealed to court claiming that not all of his merchandise had been returned. We can deduce from here that even in a short distance commercial activity like this, valuable goods were often under a good deal of risk. Certain individuals belonging to the nomadic communities living in rural areas sometimes took part in organized criminal activity and as the criminals are mentioned to be absent at the given court session (*gâ'ibûn-ı 'ani'l-meclis*), they were possibly difficult to seize since they were members of a partly settled group. Though this case may seem to be presenting a security problem of a local scale, it deserved the particular attention of the central government and prompted it to take measures. As understood from the document, the merchant *el-Hac Mustafa Ağa* has appealed to the *Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn*

and after an imperial *fermân* was issued, two *Hasekis* were appointed for the arrest and imprisonment of the criminals.

A further detail in the document is the dispatch of a court official to the residence of the merchant in a farmland outside the city as quoted below:

[...] husûs-ı âtî'l-beyânın mahallinde ketb ve tahrîr için Mevlâna Şiblizâde 'Ali Efendi irsâl olunub ol dahî Medîne-i Brusa kazâsına tâbi' Hacı 'İvaz Paşa karyesinde vâki' Hacı Ma'denzâde El-Hac Mustafa'nın çiftlik tâbir olunur menziline varub [...]

The ownership of a farmland in the rural area outside the city by a merchant from the city of Bursa indicates that a person involved in commerce may also be involved in agricultural production. This brings to mind a possible business partnership with individuals belonging to the rural population. *Mustafa Ağa* possibly diversifies his capital investments in this fashion and this case presents an example of economic relations that the urban notables and owners of capital form with the people in the surrounding rural lands.

3.2.2 Middle Distance Relations

The evolution of the Ottoman cities has no doubt been under the influence of their relation with the central administration which we can consider as a middle distance relation for most parts of the empire. In that regard, all types of social and economic changes based on the evolution of the administrative institutions and the corresponding changes in the architectural appearance of the provincial cities and towns have taken place under the influence of the capital. On the other hand, this influence was not unidirectional but one of a mutual character so that the said

evolution in many of the provincial cities was the result of a blend of local traditions and influence of the past in addition to the impact of the central administration and the capital. Consequently, different practices and visual transformations have taken place in various parts of the empire due to their individual historic characteristics. In the lands going under the Ottoman rule, the centrally appointed officials have become the leading benefactors of the cities. This led to the consolidation of the economic and cultural influence of the central administration in these regions and these officials were also able to attain lasting titles and revenues in these cities for the future of their families and their own. In this way at the provincial centers of administration, the voice of the Sultan could be echoed over the public and the city through the vehicle of the *Beys* of *sancaks* and *eyâlets*, i.e. the *Paşas* (Watenpaugh, 2004 : 2-10, 234).

An important bond between the capital and the provinces was established through the *vakıf* institution. The *vakıf* tradition within the society usually continued through the individuals from the ruling military class and local notables rather than the social and economic institutions like the guild organizations. In this way, most of the Ottoman cities could benefit from the building activity that these pious endowments stimulated. The fabric of the Ottoman city rendered its architectural and institutional relation with the imperial center more visible through this building activity. The interaction between the center and the provinces further shaped this fabric. Inside a vast geography all the way from the Mediterranean islands to the Balkans and from Anatolia to the Arab lands, the “Ottomanization” process went ahead with the institutions of the Ottoman system and the physical structures and

social functions they required (Watenpaugh, 2004 : 21-30, 241-242 ; Bierman, 1991: 53). One of the most conspicuous among these from an architectural point of view was the mosque complex built atop a prominent hill and forming the most dominant part of the city's silhouette as one approached the city from any direction. These buildings were the primary elements in the display of Ottoman hegemony through the spatial organization of the city. The evolution of the Ottoman city in that regard was the result of a multi-layered relation which extended from the capital to the ruling classes of the provinces and their various endeavours were experienced by the city residents through the buildings of the distant and recent past.

The economic policies of the center had no doubt a major impact on the economic affairs of the provinces. On the other hand, these policies were not reflected to the transactions taking place out of the capital with as much speed as one might think. Based on a research regarding the value of the gold coin and the silver *guruş* in Ankara during the late sixteenth century, Ergenç (1979) has noted that for a devaluation promulgated at the capital to take effect at the city of Ankara, it took almost ten years. Despite the value adjustment of the coins, stability in exchange value could not be attained and the consequent price fluctuations caused many complications in the city's commercial life. The state had to collect the old coins and mint newly alloyed ones through the process of *sikke tashîhi*. In the following devaluations, however, the state was more determined in enforcing the use of the new values as can be told from the increasing number of decrees proclaimed.

Unlike other urban settlements with modest populations which supplied their needs from their closer surroundings, the vast size of the capital required a constant supply of food and other raw materials from various parts of the empire. The Black Sea trade of the Ottoman era to a great extent aspired to serve the capital's needs. However, as Inalcık (1979) points out, the trade relation between the Black Sea ports and Anatolia was not just about supplying the capital. Manufactured goods belonging to various Anatolian crafts were sent to Crimea and to Caffa (Kefe / Feodosia). Especially the silk products of Bursa and the mohair textiles of Ankara had particular commercial significance in the Crimean trade. Based on an examination of the tax registers of Caffa, Akkerman and Kilia, Inalcık has also come to the conclusion that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, this trade was mostly in the hands of the Ottoman Muslim merchants.

The citizens of the empire needed to travel for various reasons, the most common of which was without doubt trade. On the other hand, occasional travel for a social purpose was not uncommon either. Such travel activity took place to see family and relatives in other cities, to visit the significant religious sites, the capital or other important cities. These travels with a social and cultural scope occurred on the same routes also used for commercial purposes. So the people traveling for personal purposes generally joined the trade caravans moving on these routes. In a document from Konya *Şer'iyeye Sicili*¹⁸, a female resident of Konya named *Seyyide Şerife bind Ahmed* states her complaint regarding an inheritance issue and demands her share

¹⁸ Konya *Şer'iyeye Sicili* 58, p. 26 (10 Şaban 1077).

of the estate of her late husband who has died during a journey from *Âsitâne* to Konya with a caravan as quoted below:

[...] Zevcim Çavuş Mehmed Ağa bin Mustafa Ağa nâm kimesne târih-i kitâbdan altı ay mukaddem Âsitâne tarafından gelirken esna-ı tarîkde bi-emri'l-lâhi teâlâ vefât itmekle terekesi li-ebeveyn hemşîresi mezbûre Hûri ile bana münhâsıra olmakla müteveffa-ı mezbûrdan sehmime isâbet eden hisse-i şâyi'amı taleb eylediğimde edâdan imtinâ itmekle sual olunub aliverilmesi matlûbundur [...]

As stated in the rest of the document, her husband *Çavuş Mehmed Ağa bin Mustafa*, while travelling with the said caravan from *Âsitâne* about six months before the court case, did not want to carry on when the caravan came to the city of Eskişehir and divorced his wife there:

[...] zevc-i müteveffâ Mehmed Ağa Âsitânedan gelürken Eskişehir nâm mahalle nüzûl olundukda bu kervan ile tarîke râhî olmam deyu selâseye şart idüb ba'dehû ol kervan ile bu tarîke râhî olmağın [...]

Afterwards he decided to continue with the journey and when they came to the vicinity of the town of Kadınhanı, he passed away [...*Eskişehir'den gelirken Kadınhanı kurbunda Haramikuyusu nâm mahalde keyfini bozup Ladik derbendinde fevt olmağın...*]. The plaintiff claims that following the divorce, the husband died before the legal period required to legitimize the divorce was over. For this reason she claims that she is the lawful shareowner of the inheritance [...(*şart-ı mezkûru ittiği hinde marîz iken vâkıa olmağın iddeti münkaziyye olmadan vefât itmekle terekesine varis olurum deyu...*)]. However, the court rules that although the death has taken place within the said period, the divorcee cannot claim the inheritance. Two reliable witnesses [...*udûl-i ahrâr-ı ricâl-i Müslimînden...*] who apparently were in the company of the couple during the aforementioned journey give their testimony by approving the account of death as already stated by the litigant and defendants. Consequently, the court ruling is in favor of the defendants. Besides its

main content giving information about inheritance law, this document also informs us about a middle distance journey between cities as it includes details about the travel of a family on their way home to Konya from the capital and the route they travel on with a caravan.

3.2.3 Long Distance Relations

The economic relations of a city are obviously not limited to its short distance surroundings or middle distance counterparts. The cities functioning as seaports or those located on the main trade routes have traditionally been in close relations with distant centers (Figure 9). Some important commodities produced in or nearby these cities have been transported to buyers at distant destinations. The goods received in return have also been offered at their own markets. Moreover, due to the position of certain cities as intermediate stations in long distance trade activity, they have made the relations between distant centers logistically possible.

Much of the local craft production in different parts of the empire was influenced by the changing conditions brought about by international trade. The wool cloth manufacture in Salonica was a case in point. Mainly produced by the Jewish population of the city since their arrival in big numbers from Spain at the end of the fifteenth century, it was under the protection of the state, as the manufactured cloth was primarily supplied to the Janissaries. This production encountered a serious challenge in the middle of the seventeenth century due to the increase in the price of raw material and especially the competition of the cloth imported by the Levant

Company and marketed for lower prices (Braude, 1979). Under a similar pressure of market forces in the same period, Bursa's silk industry also suffered like the Salonican cloth manufacture. The wages of weavers had to be raised in accordance with the increase in the cost of life resulting from the changing economic conditions. Moreover, the price of raw silk went up more than fivefold due to not only the increased demand of especially the Italian textile industry but also the ongoing wars between Ottomans and Iran which obstructed the flow of silk from Iran and Asia. Consequently, the quality of silk products gradually dropped due to the use of poorer material and labor, and the silk industry of Bursa experienced a decline in the seventeenth century (Çizakça, 1987).

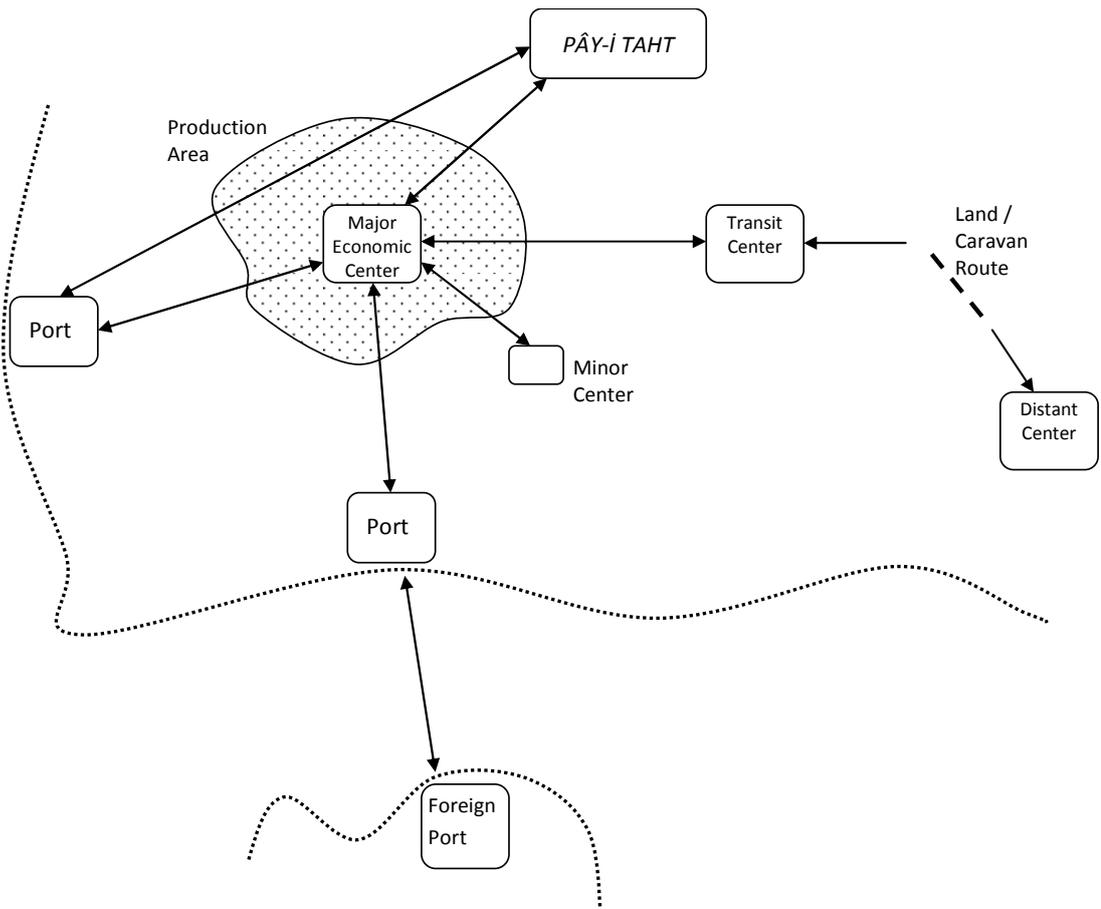


Figure 9: Middle and Long Distance Commercial Relations

The most important urban centers of long distance trade during the early modern era were without doubt the port cities. The city of İzmir which became the most important port of the Western Mediterranean multiplied its wealth through serving the trade as a middle point between the Ottoman and foreign lands, similar to the other leading Ottoman port cities of Beirut and Alexandretta in this part of the world. There were various reasons which gave Izmir a different look compared to other Ottoman ports both socially and culturally. Izmir's cultural blend was created by a multi-national social structure and its elites were enriched by trade. Western Europeans played a more prominent role in its history and trade than many other cities of trade in the empire. In some ways, it is possible to compare Izmir to the cities of Calcutta and Manila which have also followed a similar fast and dramatic growth pattern thanks to long distance trade (Eldem, Goffman and Masters, 1999 : 209-213).

A document from the *Mühimme Defteri* contains a few details that we can relate to Izmir's significance as a regional and long distance trade center and port. The document contains a supreme ruling of the *Dîvân-ı Hümayûn* regarding the harbour of Izmir to be announced to the leading authorities of administration in the *sancak* and *kazâ* of Izmir stated in the document as: *Izmir kazâsı nâ'ibine ve Izmir voyvodasına ve â'yân-ı vilâyetine hüküm ki [...]*. The complainant is one of the sea captains who has come to the Palace and has reported as follows on some attempts by local people of commerce to fill in part of the harbour and turn it into shops and other income-yielding property:

Ümerâ-ı deryâdan Maryolzâde ‘Ali dergâh-ı mu’allâya gelüb medîne-i İzmir limanında öteden berû beş kıt’a çekdiri sefinesi kışlyagelüb vâsi’ liman iken birkaç seneden berû ba’zı kimesneler birer takrîble liman-ı mezbûru dolsurub üzerine dükkân ve ‘akârât binâ ve ihdâs ve liman-ı mezbûr ol vechile harâb ve mu’attal olduğun bildirüb ol bâbda hükm-i hümayûnum ricâ [...]

According to the captain’s complaint, such attempts have significantly damaged the harbour and cut down its capacity which was wide enough to allow the wintering of five ships in the past. Subsequently a fermân was issued to question some local seafaring members of the commercial community in İzmir regarding the reported situation of the harbour :

[...] sâdır olan fermân-ı ‘âlîşâna imtisâlen liman-ı mezbûrun keyfiyeti İzmir sâkinlerinden olub mâ-tekaddemden berû kışlayagelen ümerâ-ı deryâdan Dervîşzâde İsmâ’îl ve Maryolzâde Süleymân ve Koronluzâde ‘Ali Bey ve Izmire müür ve ‘ubûr iden kayık re’islerinden Seyyid Ahmed ve Hasan Hâce ve Hüseyin ve ‘Ali ve Mustafa ve Mehmed Re’is ve sâ’ir vukûfu olanlardan suâl ve istintâk olundukda İzmir limanında mâ-tekaddemden berû çekdiri sefîneleri kışlayageldikde çekdirmelere rabt olunmak üzere mahsûs olan mahall gümrük ittisâlinde olub ve liman-ı mezbûr on ve belki onbeş çekdirme sefîne rabt olunmağa tahammülü var iken birkaç seneden berû ba’zı kimesneler liman-ı mezbûr etrafını bilâsened doldurub üzerine ‘akârât olmak üzere dekâkin ve boyahâneler ihdâs ve Mısır Çarşısı nâmiyle şöhet peydâ idüb ve bu sene vâki’ olan ihrâk-ı ‘azîm sebebiyle yerlerini dahî doldurub [...]

The questioned individuals all have their livelihood in the sea trade and they obviously use the harbour to berth their ships for wintering purposes or just for short transactions as well. Among them are not only the captains active in longer distance trade activity (*ümerâ-ı deryâ*) but also those who deal with short distance coastal transportation and commerce (*kayık re’isleri*). Consequently they are the ones who are primarily affected by this unauthorized (*bilâsened*) building activity at the expense of the berthing space in the harbour. The men claim that in the past this space used to accommodate as many as ten or even fifteen ships and now some people have filled in the harbour to build shops and other revenue generating

establishments like painting workshops, also taking advantage of the space and debris of a recent conflagration. The attestants also claim as follows that the former capacity of fifteen ships, has now been reduced to only one berthing space and the people in this building activity would have taken even that if it were not for the fact that the ship belonging to the Beylerbeyi (*mîr-i mîrân*) has occupied the said space for the required repair work due to its old age:

[...] liman-ı merkûm onbeş çekdirme sefinesi rabt olunmasına vüs'ati var iken ancak bir kıt'a çekdirme sefinesi rabt olunacak mahall kalub ânı dahî doldurmak sevdâsında olanlar ise mîr-i mîrân-ı mûmâileyh süvâr olduğu sefinesi köhne olmağla geçen sene müceddeden sefine inşâ' ve köhne sefinesi bu sene-i mübâreke de edâ-ı seferden sonra bozmak üzere liman-ı mezbûrda zabt eyleyüb[...]

The ruling expressed at the end of the document orders the stopping of any building activity from this point on. The basis of the ruling is given as the long-standing use of the harbour for the wintering of ships and also its importance as a trade port for many merchant ships to unload their imported cargo as well as to take in new cargo to export :

[...] mahall-i mezbûr öteden berû çekdirme sefinelerine kışlak için mahsûs ve sâ'ir nice tüccâr sefineleri dahî liman-ı mezbûra gelüb yüklerin çıkarub ve iktizâ iden yüklerin dahî mahall-i mezbûrdan alub üç dört seneden berû ba'zı kimesneler bilâsened doldurub üzerine binâ ihdâs itmeleriyle bu âna gelince ihdâs olunanlardan mâ'adâ bundan sonar dahî liman-ı mezbûra bir dürlü binâ ihdâs olunmamak bâbında emr-i şerîfim tahrîr [...]

The document portrays the outlook of two different groups regarding the harbour of Izmir. On the one side are the naval professionals who perceive the harbour as a safe anchorage for them to conduct their business of commerce and transportation. Certain local people of commerce and artisans, on the other hand, perceive the harbour as a source of income through their own transactions on land. An obvious conflict has arisen. The state eventually intervenes to put an end to the conflict and

also secure the functionality of the harbour not only for its own navy but also for the merchant ships, thus preserving the economic position and prominence of Izmir as a leading seaport.

The cities on caravan routes have developed significantly from both an economic and socio-cultural perspective. Aleppo and Damascus, two great cities of Syria have attained a comparable level of great importance despite their geographic proximity. Damascus has not only been the administrative capital of the province of Syria but has also become an important center of trade due to its advantageous location on trade routes and very close to the Mediterranean ports in Lebanon. Aleppo has also taken advantage of its position on the caravan roads particularly to become one of the main trade centers of Iranian silk. Even after Damascus has lost most of its commercial dominance when the Europeans diverted the Indian Ocean trade to Lisbon and Amsterdam in the sixteenth century, Aleppo has still maintained its advantage of being the middle point between East and West for the silk trade for another two hundred years (Eldem, Goffman and Masters, 1999 : 210-211). Aleppo has continued to serve as an entrepôt for both regional and long distance trade. The adverse changes in the commercial significance of Damascus starting in sixteenth century has led to a major decline in the European expatriate population of the city whereas Aleppo has preserved its cosmopolitan composition. Another of Aleppo's prominent qualities was its simultaneous display of the characteristics of Ottoman and Arab traditional cities in one shared urban space. The traces of its past from the Mameluke era has been preserved to a great extent, resulting in a specific urban character which the city has maintained as part of its

Islamic culture in the following centuries. On the other hand, the Ottomanization policy applied to the newly conquered territories of the Ottomans has made itself more visible in Aleppo in comparison to the other Islamic and Arab cities in this region and this probably was because of its superior significance in trade. Aleppo had a crucial position as a major source of revenue for the empire as well as being a prestigious center of commercial activity. During the time its Ottoman character was being boosted, the *Medina* segment as the commercial center of the city was particularly endowed architecturally with new important buildings related to trade and a new monumental artery emerged. In the neighbouring city of Damascus on the other hand, the new building projects mostly focused on the religious character of the city stemming from a history going back to most ancient times. While Aleppo was an important commercial center for the Ottomans, Damascus was a fundamental and most popular religious center especially due to its position on the main route of pilgrimage to the holy sites (Watenpaugh, 2004 : 236-237).

It has been often assumed that the Arab cities have generally experienced a decline in commercial activity during the Ottoman rule. Raymond (1973, 1979) put this view into a new perspective by pointing out that the merchants in the leading Arab cities of trade could further extend the scope of their operations given the vast size and reach of the Ottoman Empire. The growing of business centers in major cities like Cairo, Aleppo and Damascus attest to the development of trade activity in the Ottoman era during which many new covered markets were added to the existing ones. Until the end of the eighteenth century, Cairo maintained its significance as a center of international trade, especially through the import of coffee from Yemen

and spices from India. Despite the diversion of the spice trade routes in the seventeenth century by the English and Dutch, the Red Sea trade managed to survive at least another century until when the competition of the Caribbean coffee eventually caused the dwindling of Cairo's importance in international trade. As Orhonlu (1974) notes, this somewhat delayed survival of trade from India to the Red Sea and the Mediterranean was to some extent due to the continued success of Ottomans in drawing the Muslim merchants of the Indian Ocean trade to the ports still under Ottoman control .

As significant changes in the global economic system appeared after the late eighteenth century, some cities of the empire lost their previous standing in production and trade. Nevertheless, new economic opportunities also arose during that time. The capitalist industrialization that started to rise in Western Europe at the end of the eighteenth century transformed the local and short distance trade in the Ottoman Empire starting from early nineteenth century and many parts of the empire found themselves in a longer distance trade activity. Britain's industrial production headed into new markets after being relieved of the wartime economic conditions that prevailed during the Napoleonic war. These products hit the Ottoman markets through import and became a rival to the Ottoman domestic production. The Western European countries started demanding the Ottoman surplus production to meet their increasing food and raw material needs. This new balance of demand and supply caused some realignment in the regional and inter-regional economic relations in the Ottoman territories. This restructuring process had various results. Some domestic production like that of textiles suffered under

great competitive pressure and caused the craftsmen's guilds to lose their ability to control the local markets and protect their own production. On the other hand, new trade routes were developed due to the expansion and intensification of inter-regional and inter-national trade. In the nineteenth century, railroads started to operate in addition to the land roads and the steamers increased the coastal trade volume significantly. For example, port cities like Alexandretta (Iskenderun), Tripoli (Tarabulus al-Sham), Beirut and Jaffa which had traditionally served as main gates into the inner parts of Syria became more prominent in this new order of longer distance trade (Reilly, 2002 : 124).

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

When we examine the above mentioned functional characteristics of a city and their relation to its structural and socio-economic evolution, it becomes obvious that a monolithic definition of a city is very difficult to come up with. An evaluation of different cities under the influence of the same functional characteristic results in the observation of a different and peculiar appearance in each one. The evolution of cities take on different dimensions and qualities based on their administrative function, production and trade activity, socio-cultural processes as well as their spatial organization and geography related parameters. Through certain indicators of the structural characteristics of cities that appear at the end of such a process of historical evolution, the changes in their qualitative and quantitative composition and their level of attainment become visible. Such indicators would include demographics, the nature and size of institutional organization and the level attained by distribution of labor. It is important to note that these indicators that emerge cannot be considered as criteria acting upon the evolution of the city

themselves but they are rather indicators to the socio-economic level and the visual aspects of the city attained at the end of the evolutionary process brought about by the structural and functional characteristics of the city. Within the Ottoman urban terminology, the cities that possess a highest degree of the said indicators are named as *şehr-i mu'azzam*. On the other hand, although an evaluation based on these indicators may give us direct information about the size, importance, appearance and nature of a city, the ways in which these indicators are related to the structural characteristics and functions of a city would be a different topic of investigation. Nonetheless, it is worthwhile to emphasize that their magnitude would also reveal the diversity, complexity and multi-dimensionality of the relations experienced by the city.

While population would be an important indicator to categorize cities in our day, it is possible to say that for Ottoman era cities it was not always as much a determinant as the functions of the city which took a more prominent position. For example some relatively smaller cities carried significant administrative and commercial roles despite their limited populations. In that respect, it seems more logical to identify Ottoman cities according to their functional characteristics though it is helpful to take into consideration quantitative concepts like population. As Faroqhi (1984) also suggests, certain functional characteristics of a city gained prominence as part of the qualifications transforming an urban settlement into what we can call a city. One can mention administrative characteristics like being the center of an *eyâlet* or *sancak*, and the appointment of a *kadı*. Some important economic characteristics would be the possession of a commercial center enabling

the state to collect taxes and the existence of a population which provided their livelihood from non-agricultural activity.

The urban historians have generally evaluated Ottoman cities within their regional environment and this has widely led to distinct identifications like the Arabian city, the Anatolian city or the Balkan city. However, as examined in this study, these cities tend to exhibit many common characteristics and institutions within their general administrative and socio-economic processes. Therefore, common indications pointing towards the concept of an Ottoman city become more visible. Still, one has to admit that the Ottoman cities in various parts of the empire exhibit their own distinctive characters and their own degree of singularity. As a matter of fact, Masters, Goffman and Eldem (1999) draw a similar conclusion from their comparative study on Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul. They observe that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries during which the Ottoman Empire reached maturity, administrative and economic institutions peculiarly Ottoman in character developed in these three cities. Yet, each of them manifested some distinct social, commercial and administrative characteristics, as well as unique historical qualities that bestowed their true identity. Istanbul has built a powerful center of state administration upon the foundation of its historical image as the capital of empires and the elites holding the administrative authority formed the core of the social networks in the city. Aleppo stood on a physical foundation from a past of thousands of years and the Muslim elite who steered the city for generations was the prominent element. Izmir during the same period was a major port city with a considerable European population and despite the state's obvious institutional

presence domineering the economic life of this multi-national population, it was least affected by the state hegemony and gained a character of a port city with almost a free market status. Capitalizing on such characteristics, it has attained socio-cultural qualities much different than other Ottoman cities and a peculiar identity that was the product of its regional and long distance trade. While evaluating the considerable impact of foreign and especially European origin merchants to the commercial life and cultural environment in these three major cities, one should not adopt an orientalist perception and underestimate the active contribution of Muslim elements. Local Muslim merchants participated in trade not only at a regional (short distance) but also inter-regional (middle distance) and inter-national (long distance) scale.

Another possibly erroneous evaluation would be to emphasize the general similarity of Ottoman cities just based on their spatial elements, in spite of the fact that these elements have created living environments of a different nature and appearance in every city. The best way to evaluate these environments would be to analyze human life and relations formed in them, rather than just focusing on spatial, structural and institutional elements. The social and cultural characteristics peculiar to a city and the most important elements shaping the urban character are all constituted in accordance with how these relations develop. A complex web of economic relations is created due to the city's internal dynamics and the processes of demand and supply operating in the external world. Administrative relations extend not only to the local and regional surroundings of the city but to the imperial center and farther provinces of the empire as well.

In the light of all the issues presented in this study, we might conclude that the structural, spatial, social and economic characteristics and functions of a city are multi-faceted and the relations that emerge in connection with them are many layered. While taking into consideration some of the basic and common characteristics that could help to constitute an Ottoman urban typology, it is to be noted that every city developed its individual characteristics and functions. These distinguishing qualities materialized in relation to the geographic location (position on trade routes or continental water ways, a seaport function, a supply of sizable agricultural production), the current or historical function as an administrative center, and the position of a powerful economic center sustained by systems of production and trade. The diversification and differential growth of these characteristics in every city led to the emergence of widely varied sets of relations internally and externally. The intensity and volume of these relations often had a boosting impact on certain urban indicators. Cities sustained by a large agricultural production from their own rural surroundings or as a result of their commercial relations could reach sizable population levels. Cities with a powerful trade and industrial production could possess buildings and living environments of high cultural standing, especially due to the wealth accumulation of particular groups. Such indicators were a direct result of not only the functions and characteristics of cities gained in a variety of political and economic circumstances but also the web of relations that came out as a consequence.

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