

THE RISE OF OTTOMAN İZMİR AS A COMMERCIAL CENTER

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE  
IN  
THE PROGRAM OF MIDDLE EAST STUDIES

SEPTEMBER 2014

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE RISE OF OTTOMAN İZMİR AS A COMMERCIAL CENTER**

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September 2014, 97 pages

This thesis aims to study external and internal factors which contributed to the rise of İzmir as one of the most important commercial city of the Ottoman Empire from the seventeenth century onwards. In this study, it is argued that beside the political and economic changes took place in the Ottoman Empire, transformations in the world economy affected the rise of İzmir port.

Key Words: İzmir, Smyrna, Port-cities, Urban History

## ÖZ

### OSMANLI İZMİR'İNİN BİR LİMAN KENTİ OLARAK YÜKSELİŞİ

Atik, Tuğçe

Yüksek Lisans, Orta Doğu Çalışmaları Programı

Tez Yöneticisi: Y. Prof. Dr.Güçlü Tülüveli

Eylül 2014, 97 sayfa

Bu tez, İzmir'in 17. yüzyıldan itibaren, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun en önemli ticaret kentlerinden biri olmasında etkili olan iç ve dış etkenleri incelemeyi amaçlar. Bu çalışmada, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda meydana gelen siyasi ve ekonomik değişikliklerin yanında, dünya ekonomisindeki dönüşümlerin de İzmir limanının yükselişinde etkili olduğu savunulur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İzmir, Smyrna, Liman Kentleri, Kent Tarihi

To my family...

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am heartily thankful to my supervisor, Assist. Prof. Dr. Güçlü Tülüveli, whose encouragement, guidance and support from the initial to the final level enabled me to develop an understanding of the subject. It would not have been possible to write this thesis without his help, suggestions, support and his corrections.

I want to thank Türk Tarih Kurumu for its financial support which made it possible for me to continue my academic life.

I would also like to thank my husband Turgut Atik, my mother Ümran Yılmaz and my cat Kumru for their emotinal support.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to study the dynamics behind the emergence of Ottoman İzmir as a city from the second half of the sixteenth century to the end of nineteenth century in connection with the changing European trade patterns and the expansion of the capitalist world economy.

Cities had begun to gain importance during the Enlightenment period and the socio-political transformations that took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this period, cities became impetus behind the social and political change. However, urban history as a systematic and a separate discipline is a more recent development.<sup>1</sup> According to Charles Tilly, urban history is an important part of the social history and can be beneficial to understand ‘large social processes’ and structures. He claims that: "...cities offer privileged sites for study of interaction between large social processes and routines of social life. Urban historians not only have superior access to the sites, but also now more—or should know more— than other historians about the bases of variation in these regards from one time and place to another."<sup>2</sup> To sum up, urban history enables historians to comprehend macro issues more correctly.

Although urban history studies have begun to gain importance in 1960's, there are still methodological issues to be solved. For example, there are many different claims about the main question of the urban history studies. While J.L Arnold claims that urban historians should focus on social institutions, Lampard makes an emphasis on demographic studies. Checkland draws attention to the financial activities of the cities in the urban studies.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Yunus Uğur, "Şehir Tarihi ve Türkiye’de Şehir Tarihçiliği: Yaklaşımlar, Konular ve Kaynaklar," *Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, Vol.6:3, (2005): 9-11.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Tilly, "What Good is Urban History?," *Journal of Urban History*, Vol.22, (1996):704.

<sup>3</sup> Uğur, "Şehir Tarihi ve Türkiye’de Şehir Tarihçiliği," 14.

In the 1990's, methodology of urban history studies has developed with the new sources and perspectives. As opposed to 1980's, urban studies became more comprehensive with the help of visual sources and memories.<sup>4</sup>

One of the most problematic issues in the urban studies is categorizing cities with regards to their characteristics. For example, cities in the Ottoman Balkans, in Africa or Arab lands are frequently classified as Islamic cities.<sup>5</sup>

Weber defines the city as an autonomous commune with a distinct sense of collective identity and these features can only be found in Christian Europe. As opposed to European cities, Middle Eastern cities are governed by ethnically different individuals from the city inhabitants. Therefore, there was a fragmented structure in the Islamic cities which prevents to construct common identity. Also, he claims that Islam affects urban space and institutions of the cities. In brief, Weber considers Islamic cities as monolithic structures. Weber's definition of the Islamic city, appeared first in 1921, stayed unchallenged until 1980's. However, later studies using *kadi* court records showed that there was a strong collective identities in the Islamic cities as well.<sup>6</sup>

For example, according to Abu-Lughod, the concept of "Islamic city" was an Orientalist discourse and constructed by Western authorities who takes pre-modern Arabic cities as a model.<sup>7</sup>

The two of the earliest scholars who tried to define 'Islamic city' were William and Georges Marçais. For them, because Prophet Muhammed and early Muslim leaders belonged to urban bourgeoisie, Islam is an urban religion. Also, necessity of Friday communal prays makes Islam 'an urban religion' like Christianity and Judaism. They try to define physical characteristics of an Islamic city. First of all,

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<sup>4</sup> Uğur, "Şehir Tarihi ve Türkiye'de Şehir Tarihçiliği," 15-16.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 16-17.

<sup>6</sup> Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters, "Introduction: Was There an Ottoman City," In *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, İstanbul and İzmir*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 199), 1-4.

<sup>7</sup> Janet L. Abu-Lughot, "The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol 19:2, (1987): 155.

in the Islamic city, there should be a mosque and a bazaar close to the mosque. Second, there should be a mosque-market and public bath. However, Abu-Lughod criticizes them because their definition is not sufficient to distinguish Islamic city from other cities in Christianity and Judaism.<sup>8</sup>

Abu-Lughod criticizes those urban historians for generalizing findings of a single case, especially North African cities, to all cities in the region. She points out that Islam may affect cities because of its juridical and gender distinctions among people. However, other significant factors such as climate, production, security issues and technology are irrelevant to Islam. In short, Abu-Lughod suggests to recognize both Islamic and non-Islamic factors in examining Muslim cities.<sup>9</sup> Also, authors of the book, "The City in the Islamic World" consider that the concept of "Islamic City" is not a handy classification anymore.<sup>10</sup>

As it mentioned above, much of these studies are related to Syrian and North African cities. For example, Aleppo, Beirut, Tunis, Alexandria, and Cairo are the most examined cities in the region. Besides, İstanbul, as a cosmopolitan capital, Salonika as a commercial Balkan city and İzmir as a Western Anatolian city are attracted by the social and urban historians.

Philip Mansel's work, *Levant, Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* is a very significant study on Levantine port-cities, namely Alexandria, Beirut, Smyrna and Salonika. Both external and internal dynamics are examined to show full picture of these cosmopolitan Levantine cities. The study enables us to compare differences and resemblances among these cities.<sup>11</sup>

Another remarkable study, *Cities of the Mediterranean from the Ottomans to the Present Day*, is an inter-disciplinary and comprehensive work on the

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 155-156.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 160-172.

<sup>10</sup> Salma K. Jayyusi et al., ed., *The City in Islamic World Vol.1*, (The Netherlands: Brill, 2008), xiv.

<sup>11</sup> Philip Mansel, *Levant: splendor and catastrophe on the Mediterranean*, (Conn.: Yale University Press, 2011).

Mediterranean cities. Authors of the book examines relations of the Mediterranean port-cities with their hinterlands and other cities around them.<sup>12</sup>

In the last few decades, increasing attention to the Wallerstein's world-system theory accelerated the study of port cities. Mediterranean cosmopolitan commercial cities have an important place in this literature. Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the turning point for Eastern Mediterranean port cities in terms of the rapid population increase and the sudden European penetration. Thus, economic historians challenged to examine both external and internal dynamics behind this transformation. However, comprehensive port-city analysis are too few in number.

According to Çağlar Keyder, one of the main characteristic of the port-city is its close relations with its hinterland. Port-cities are intermediaries between the producers in their hinterlands and overseas consumers. Also, he makes an emphasis on remarkable presence of merchant population in the port-cities.<sup>13</sup>

Port-cities are also important in terms of political activity. Cosmopolitan nature of the port cities sheltered different types of political groups such as religious, ethnic or secular.<sup>14</sup> In other words, port-cities were the impetus behind the social and economic change.

In his article, named *Mediterranean Port Cities: Cosmopolitanism Reconsidered*, Hank Driessen points out resemblance between port-cities. According to him, port-cities are melting point for different cultures and peoples and also they have significant contribution to the emergence of "world economic systems". Openness to the external influence and cosmopolitanism are two of the most apparent

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<sup>12</sup> Biray Kolluoğlu et al., *Cities of Mediterranean from the Ottomans to the Present Day*, ed. Biray Kolluoğlu and Meltem Toksöz, (London: I.B.Tauris&Co Ltd, 2010).

<sup>13</sup> Çağlar Keyder, "Port-Cities in the Belle Epoque," in *Cities of Mediterranean from the Ottomans to the Present Day*, ed. Biray Kolluoğlu and Meltem Toksöz, (London: I.B.Tauris&Co Ltd, 2010), 15.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

characteristics of the port-cities.<sup>15</sup> However, he states that referring to the whole Mediterranean port-cities as a cosmopolitan formations might be a wrong statement. While examining cosmopolitanism, it is important to notice that not all inhabitants of the port-cities have been exposed to cultural influence of the sea to the same degree.<sup>16</sup>

To sum up, port-city model provide us more dynamic explanation than Islamic city studies which assumes Ottoman cities as a static formations. It will be seen in this study that Ottoman İzmir was very vibrant city with its cosmopolitan population and commercial facilities. As it will be seen in the rest of this study, commercial activities and concentration of trade in İzmir contributed immensely to the emergence of the city from the late seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth century.

## **1.1 Literature Review**

### **1.1.1 Primary Sources**

Although İzmir was one of the most important cities of the empire, sources about the early history of the city are scarce. This is most probably because of the fact that the main concern of the Ottoman Empire was to keep records only for financial purposes in the early periods of the empire. Additionally, most of the records were destroyed by frequent natural disasters such as fires and earthquakes. For example, *kadı* court records are absent for İzmir before 1850's because of the great fire of 1922.

In this study, I benefited from travelers' accounts which includes important information about İzmir, especially for the nineteenth century. The most important

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<sup>15</sup> Hank Driessen, "Mediterranean Port Cities: Cosmopolitanism Reconsidered," *History and Anthropology*, Vol: 16, 1 (2005), 131-132.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

problem to use travelers' accounts is that usually, travelers stopped by İzmir for a short time during their journeys to the East and their writings includes information mostly about the physical appearance and the population of the city rather than commercial dimension.

John Ellis book, which is composed of his letters, titled "The Ellis Correspondence. Letters Written During the Years 1686, 1687, 1688 and Addressed to John Ellis"<sup>17</sup> and Richard Burgess Book, titled "Greece and the Levant; or, Diary of a Summer's Excursion in 1834"<sup>18</sup> include information about the natural disasters such as plagues, fires and earthquakes and their social and economic effects on the city. In his book, titled "A Description of the East and Some Other Countries", British traveler Richard Pococke, who visited Asia Minor, Lebanon, Egypt, Jerusalem, Palestine and Greece sometime between 1737 and 1741, gives detailed information about the physical appearance, population, and commercial importance of the city in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>19</sup>

Josiah Brewer visited İzmir in 1827. His book "A Residence in Constantinople, in the year 1827 with notes to the present time" includes quite significant information about İzmir's social and economic life in the early nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

Francis Herve, a French born British travel writer, visited Mediterranean in about 1833 and gathered his observations in the book titled "A Residence in Greece and Turkey; with notes of the journey through Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary and the Balkan" in 1837. His work is important to see changing trade patterns and role of

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<sup>17</sup> George Agar Ellis, ed., *The Ellis Correspondence. Letters Written During the Years 1686, 1687, 1688 and Addressed to John Ellis, Vol. II* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831).

<sup>18</sup> Richard Burgess, *Greece and the Levant; or, Diary of a Summer's Excursion in 1834 Vol. II* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman, 1835).

<sup>19</sup> Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries Vol.II* (London: Printed for the Author by W.Bowyer, 1743).

<sup>20</sup> Josiah Brewer, *A Residence in Constantinople, in the year 1827 with notes to the present time* (New Heaven: Durrie and Peck, 1830).

the new elements in İzmir's trade in the nineteenth century. Also, his book includes notes about relations among foreign or non-Muslim merchants.<sup>21</sup>

### 1.1.2 Secondary Sources

Information about İzmir before seventeenth century is mostly derived from register books (*tahrir defterleri*). Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu has an important study about register books of İzmir in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. In her book, *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda İzmir Kazasının Sosyal ve İktisadi Yapısı*, Kütükoğlu<sup>22</sup> gives plenty of information about the early history of Ottoman İzmir. However, because of the scarcity of the documents about the period, Kütükoğlu uses mostly register books as a reference. Therefore, her book involves information mostly related to taxpayers.

Another important study about the commercial activities of İzmir in the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries is Goffman's book, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650*.<sup>23</sup> In this book, Goffman examines the dynamics behind the rise of the city as a trade center by referring to the international trade patterns. Although the book includes some information about the cultural diversity, the main emphasis is on the trade relations and economic activities of the city. He relies mostly on foreign sources because of the inadequacy of Ottoman records about the city.

Necmi Ülker's unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, *The rise of Izmir, 1688-1740*, is an important study about the commercial activities of the city.<sup>24</sup> In the study, he

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<sup>21</sup> Francis Herve, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey; with notes of the journey through Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary and the Balkan, Vol. II* (London: Whittaker & Co., 1837).

<sup>22</sup> Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda İzmir Kazasının Sosyal ve İktisadi Yapısı*. (İzmir: İzmir Kent Kitaplığı, 2000).

<sup>23</sup> Daniel Goffman, *Izmir ve Levanten Dünya, 1550-1650* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995).

<sup>24</sup> Necmi Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir, 1688-1740" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1974).

gives detailed information about the population, commercial activities, and the relations of the city with foreign nations.

Bozkurt Ersoy's study on İzmir's commercial buildings (*hans*)<sup>25</sup>, İlhan Pınar's<sup>26</sup> studies on traveler accounts have been contributed considerably to social history of the city.

In the studies about the eighteenth and nineteenth century's İzmir, contributions of Elena Frangakis-Syrett are considerably important. She has published many detailed articles and books about the commercial activities of the city. She tries to give full picture of the commercial activities of the city by including transformations took place both in the Ottoman Empire and the Europe. In the book, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century, (1700-1820)*, she focuses on commercial activities of the city with special emphasis on Muslim and non-Muslim (Greek, Armenian, and Jewish) merchants.<sup>27</sup> In her article *Commercial Growth and Economic Developments in the Middle East: Izmir from the Early 18<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, she gives detailed information about the political and economic changes that led city to become the most important port in the empire.<sup>28</sup> *Trade and Money: The Ottoman Economy in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* is a collection of Frangakis-Syrett's articles on the commercial activities of the Ottoman İzmir.<sup>29</sup> For the commercial statistics of İzmir, Küçükkalay's study on İzmir custom accounts is also significant.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Bozkurt Ersoy, *İzmir Hanları* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 1999).

<sup>26</sup> İlhan Pınar, *Gezginlerin Gözüyle İzmir, 19.Yüzyıl* (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1994).

<sup>27</sup> Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century, (1700-1820)*, (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992).

<sup>28</sup> Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "Commercial Growth and Economic Development in the Middle East: Izmir from the early 18th to the early 20th centuries." in *Ottoman Izmir*. (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2007).

<sup>29</sup> Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *Trade and Money: The Ottoman Economy in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2007).

<sup>30</sup> A. Mesud Küçükkalay, *Osmanlı İthalatı, İzmir Gümrüğü 1818-1839*, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006).

Reşat Kasaba's book, titled "The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century", is a very comprehensive study on the Ottoman incorporation into the world economy and importance of Western Anatolia in this process. According to Kasaba, increasing European demand for Ottoman, especially Western Anatolian, raw materials, caused changes in the agricultural and economic structure of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>31</sup>

Western Anatolia was one of the earliest regions which adapted commercial agriculture in response to the increasing world trade and İzmir became main export port of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century.

## **1.2 Plan of the Study**

The second chapter focuses on increasing European trade with the Levant and the Ottoman Empire by referring to world-system approach which is a very handy perspective in the port-city studies. The fall of Venice and the French-British rivalry in the Levant contributed considerably to İzmir's sudden rise from the seventeenth century onwards. Thus, it is not possible to examine eighteenth or nineteenth century İzmir without taking account the previous developments and shifts in the Europe.

The third chapter will be examination of economic and political changes took place in the Ottoman Empire which accelerated the incorporation of the empire into the world-economy. Expansion world trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was coincided with extension of tax farming and rise of *ayans*. These local notables tried to increase their profits by investing in agriculture and commerce. Thus, they contributed to the commercialization of agriculture in their regions in response to the rising demand for agricultural raw materials from European industrial states. These developments led to changes in the Western Anatolian agricultural output and the volume of trade conducted through İzmir port.

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<sup>31</sup> Resat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century*, (Sunny: State University of New York, 1998).

The fourth chapter is the examination of causes or dynamics behind the rise of the city as a commercial center. In this part, development of the city will be explained in the context of Ottoman incorporation into the capitalist world economy and İzmir's place in this new economic order. Moreover, there will be a brief information about the population, the administration, and the natural disasters which affected commercial activities in the city. The main emphasis in this part will be on the commercial activities of the city as the other parts of this study. Thus, British and French commercial presence and the volume of their trade is also included in this part. The thesis is finalized with the conclusion part.

## CHAPTER II

### EUROPEANS IN THE LEVANT

#### 2.1 The Fall of Venice in the Levant

Italian city-states were the centers of the long distance in the Mediterranean, in the Black Sea and along the Atlantic coast of Europe during the Late Middle Ages. They had an important role in the re-export trade from the south to the north in Europe.<sup>32</sup> After a long struggle over sphere of influence, Venice and Genoa drew their trading lines in 1381.

The Venetians continued to secure their trading activities in the Levant to search for spices by sending ships to Beirut and Alexandria while Genoese were devoted to find alum, grain and dried fruits in the Asia Minor, Greece and on the southern shores of Black Sea.<sup>33</sup> The Venetians were dominant in the Eastern Mediterranean sea trade routes because of the supremacy of their woolen industry in the sixteen century. From the second quarter of the fifteenth century, Venice outpaced Genoa and become the commercial and financial center of Europe. The Hundred Years' War affected the richest market of Genoa and France, thus Genoa tried to strengthen its financial and commercial ties with Spain. On the contrary, Venice preferred to benefit from the increasing European trade because of its geographical advantage. With its advantageous geographical position at the end of the Adriatic Sea and its harbor facilities, Venice had easy access from Italy to the central and Eastern Europe.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Herman Van Der Wee, "Structural changes in European long-distance trade, and particularly in the re-export trade from south to north, 1350-1750" in *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long Distance Trade in the Early Modern World 1350-1750*, ed. James D. Tracy, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 15.

<sup>33</sup> David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: a human history of the Mediterranean*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 378.

<sup>34</sup> Van Der Wee, "Structural changes in European," 20-21.

After the exploration of Cape of Good Hope, spice trade became a Portuguese monopoly and share of Venice in the spice trade declined sharply.<sup>35</sup> The king of Lisbon established a branch of *Casa da India*, called *Feitoria de Flanders*, in Antwerp in 1508 because the major market for spices and pepper was located in the northern and central Europe.<sup>36</sup> Consequently, Portuguese exploration of the Indies route changed the fortunes of Venice by shifting center of the capitalist world economy from Venice to the north, to Antwerp. Although its reign was short (1501-1568) and fluctuated (1501-21; 1535-57; 1559-68), Antwerp became the distributor of the eastern goods for the northern Europe.<sup>37</sup> However, Venice compensated loss of spice trade with cotton.

In 1530's Venice recovered its position for a while in the spice trade.<sup>38</sup> Between 1582 and 1602, Venice's trade with the Eastern Mediterranean increased threefold. There was a considerable increase in the cotton import from Aleppo, İzmir, Cyprus and spices from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.<sup>39</sup>

A devastating plague hit the city in 1576 by reducing its population from 195,863 in 1574 to 134,800 in 1581. Death of large number of industrial workers, especially in the cloth industry, decelerated the production.<sup>40</sup>

Venetian naval weakness during the 1570-73 War with the Ottoman Empire enabled Venice to use commercial ships during the war. Venice lost its large number of commercial ships at the end of the war.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.,28.

<sup>36</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century. Vol. 3: The Perspective of the World*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 149.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 148-149.

<sup>38</sup> Van Der Wee, "Structural changes in European," 30.

<sup>39</sup> Metin Ziya Köse, 1600-1630, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Venedik, Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Rekabet*, (İstanbul: Giza Yayınları, 2010), 22.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 28.

After the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), Venice's trade in Levantine and Asian goods were ruined almost completely.<sup>42</sup> After the Turkish- Venetian War of 1570, Venetian merchants lost their Levantine market to the cheaper and high quality English woolen products. The War of Candia (1645-1669) and the War of Sacra Liga (1683-1699), in which Venice joined Holy Alliance in 1684, was also accelerated the decline of Venetian supremacy in the Levant.<sup>43</sup>

Another reason for the Venetian decline in the Mediterranean was the Ottoman economic crisis of the late sixteenth century. The Ottoman Empire was a main market for the Venetian luxury products. After the price inflation in the Empire, purchasing power of the customers was damaged considerably.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, capitulations granted to the Europeans towards the end of the century contributed to elimination of Venice's monopoly over the Mediterranean commerce.<sup>45</sup>

Seventeenth century was also the period of decline in terms of industrial activity of Venice because of industrial developments in the *Terraferma* and in the north. Industry was the major economic activity of the republic and its downfall caused to the decline of the city.<sup>46</sup> Investment in commerce lost its significance while investment in landholding became more profitable because of rising grain prices.

<sup>47</sup>

Venice could not catch up with the developments in the British shipping industry in the seventeenth century. Venetian ships were weak in terms of defense against rising piracy in the Mediterranean and also their loading capacity was far behind

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<sup>42</sup> Van Der Wee, "Structural changes in European," 32.

<sup>43</sup> Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir.", 225-226.

<sup>44</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-30," in *The Ottoman Empire and The World-Economy*, ed. Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 316.

<sup>45</sup> Köse, *1600-1630, Osmanlı Devleti ve Venedik*, 18.

<sup>46</sup> Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, 136.

<sup>47</sup> Faroqhi, "The Venetian Presence," 316.

the new British ships.<sup>48</sup> Thus, the Venetian merchants was replaced by the Dutch, the British and the French in the Mediterranean trade.

## **2.2 Transformation of the Mediterranean Trade: New Actors**

In his famous book "Waning of the Mediterranean", Faruk Tabak states that Mediterranean had lost its place in the world economy during the early years of the sixteen century and the situation got even worse after the end of Age of Genoese in 1657.<sup>49</sup> Tabak makes an emphasis on relocation of oriental crops which changed the center of the capitalist world economy from the Mediterranean to north, to the Atlantic shores. Westerly relocation of oriental lucrative goods such as sugar and cotton with efforts of Genoese and Venetian merchants caused the decrease in cultivation of these agricultural products first in eastern and then western Mediterranean. In this period, Mediterranean tree crops gained importance and filled the vacuum left by sugar, cotton and grains.<sup>50</sup> Sugar, cotton and to a lesser extend silk cultivation had spread to the coasts of the Mediterranean in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and this development had helped to the revival of the Mediterranean economy. However, in the sixteenth century, Mediterranean shores were inadequate in terms of water supply to cultivate sugar cane.<sup>51</sup> Climatic and ecological changes were also influential in the decline of the Mediterranean agriculture. The long sixteenth century (c. 1450-1650) witnessed the return of the Little Ice Age which increased humidity, precipitation and soil erosion and swamps. These developments brought deforestation and made low-lying lands unsuitable for cultivation of sugar and

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<sup>48</sup> Köse, 1600-1630, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Venedik*, 23.

<sup>49</sup> Faruk Tabak, *Waning of the Mediterranean, 1550-1870: a geohistorical approach*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2008), 1-2

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

<sup>51</sup> Faruk Tabak, "Economic and Ecological Change in the Eastern Mediterranean, c. 1550–1850," in *Cities of the Mediterranean from the Ottoman to the Present Day*, ed. Biray Kolluoğlu and Meltem Toksöz, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 23.

cotton.<sup>52</sup> While the production moved hillsides, highlands and mountains in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, port-cities gained importance as collectors and distributors of goods of their hinterlands.<sup>53</sup> Although flow of American silver via Genoese Seville contributed to the return of spice trade back to the Mediterranean, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the recovery was short-lived.<sup>54</sup> It is inconvenient to say that the period between 1650 and 1850 was the absolute end of Mediterranean prosperity. After the westerly relocation remunerative crops of the region, tree crops such as mulberry and olive, and small livestock, especially sheep and goats, constituted backbone of the new economic structure of the Mediterranean.<sup>55</sup>

### **2.3 Mediterranean Trade in the Nineteenth Century**

Change in climate in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries served well for the Eastern Mediterranean by enabling the cultivation of the aquatic crops like rice and cotton. Cotton cultivation increased especially in the Aegean region where the position of mountains makes bodies of water to be used properly and center of Eastern Mediterranean trade moved to Aegean and Black Sea.<sup>56</sup>

The low-lands of the basin gained importance in the nineteenth century, during the *Pax Britannica*, when agricultural production skyrocketed worldwide. The initial efforts were made to increase arable lands for the cultivation of cotton in the eighteenth century but then in the middle of nineteenth century (especially 1840's onwards) efforts were devoted for wheat production by draining low-lying

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.,36-37.

<sup>54</sup> Tabak, *Waning of the Mediterranean*, 3-4.

<sup>55</sup> Tabak, "Economic and Ecological Change,"27.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.,36.

regions. For example, wheat production which was 916 million bushel in 1831–40 increased to 2,120 billion in 1881–87.<sup>57</sup>

After the arrival of the steamships to the region after 1830's had an immense impact on the volume of trade in the Mediterranean. British and French investors initiated railway projects to link port cities with their hinterlands.<sup>58</sup> In fact, the roots of the flourishing Mediterranean trade can be traced back to eighteenth century. Expansion of the world economy in the 1740-1750 period facilitated the development of coastal regions and the port cities of the Mediterranean region.<sup>59</sup> Tonnage of the shipping entering into the Mediterranean region increased considerably between 1830 and 1914. For example, it rose from 140 to 3,500 in Alexandria, from 40 to 1,700 in Beirut and from 100 to 2,200 in İzmir.<sup>60</sup>

According to Reşat Kasaba, five major factors made Mediterranean region the centers for European commerce in the nineteenth century. The first factor was the increasing European demand for raw materials and agricultural products for their industry. The second factor was the British intention to use the Ottoman lands and sea for the communication with its colonies in India. Third factor was the disruption of the economic relations between America and the Britain which forced the British industrialist to look for new sources for raw materials which had been obtained from America previously. The fourth factor was the effects of the French Revolution and the following wars. After the withdrawal of France from the Mediterranean, local merchants, especially in the western parts in the Ottoman Empire strengthened their position in the regional trade. The fifth factor was the British policy to break Napoleon's trade block in the region.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.,37.

<sup>58</sup> Reşat Kasaba, Çağlar Keyder and Faruk Tabak, "Eastern Mediterranean Port Cities and Their Bourgeoisies: Merchants, Political Projects, and Nation-States," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 10 (1986): 121-122.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 127.

<sup>61</sup> Reşat Kasaba, "İzmir," in *Doğu Akdeniz'de Liman Kentleri 1800-1914*, ed. Çağlar Keyder, Eyüp Özveren et. al. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları), 8-9.

Although it is true that all these causes affected the commercial growth of the Eastern Mediterranean, as it will be seen in the next parts of this study, increasing European demand for raw materials cultivated in the region in the nineteenth century was the most important factor which increased the importance of the Mediterranean region.

## **2.4 Europeans in the Mediterranean**

From the end of sixteenth century, English and Dutch ships visited the Mediterranean more frequently to sell Baltic grain and western European textiles to Italian and Levantine merchants and to purchase Levantine and oriental goods directly.<sup>62</sup>

Europeans visited Eastern Mediterranean mainly for Western Anatolian cotton, mohair of Ankara, dried fruits from Ionian Islands and Greece, dyestuff from eastern Anatolia and Iraq and later on for Arabian coffee from Cairo and Damietta. However, pepper and silk had a special importance in the seventeenth century.<sup>63</sup>

As opposed to the previous century, Ottoman local products gained importance in the eighteenth century. Cotton replaced silk and became the most important product in the Levantine trade. Western traders challenged to boost their profits by operating directly with the producers and to establish themselves in the hinterland. French attempts to settle in Ankara to reach mohair directly is a good example of this trend.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Van Der Wee, "Structural changes in European," 32.

<sup>63</sup> Edhem Eldem, "Capitulations and Western Trade," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 3*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 298.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 316.

In this period, İzmir and Salonika became the main centers for cotton and had almost 92 per cent share in the total Ottoman raw cotton export trade.<sup>65</sup>

#### **2.4.1 France**

Ottoman Empire's policy against Venice and the Habsburgs was an important factor in the expanding European presence in the Ottoman Mediterranean. Cooperation with France against the Habsburgs was the main policy of Suleiman the Magnificent.

Aleppo was the main center for the French, English and Venetians to purchase good quality Persian raw silk brought via caravan route by Armenian merchants. In 1620's almost 90 per cent of the total raw silk consumed in Europe was imported through Aleppo. During this period silk constituted about 40 percent of the total European imports.<sup>66</sup>

The Battle of Pavia, fought between French king François I and the Hungarian king Charles V is accepted by many scholars as the most important milestone in the Ottoman-French relations. When François I had been captured by Charles V in 1525, his mother requested help from the Ottoman sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. Although the request by France was not the sole reason, Suleiman attacked and defeated King Louis of Hungary, Charles V's brother-in-law, at the Battle of Mohacs in 1526. This was the first step for the Ottoman-French alliance and then the first French ambassador arrived at Constantinople in 1535.<sup>67</sup>

Discussions about the capitulations began immediately after the arrival of the French ambassador to the Porte. As generally considered, capitulations were not only related to commercial issues. The French was exempted from Ottoman taxation and forced labor and gained freedom of worship and dress. All crimes

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 316-317.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 299.

<sup>67</sup> Mansel, *Levant: splendor and catastrophe*, 6-7.

except for murder committed by the French subjects, could be judged in their consul's courts by their own laws.<sup>68</sup>

The first capitulations given to the western European kingdom was French capitulations in 1569 which was followed by British in 1580 and Dutch in 1612. France replaced Venice in the Mediterranean after the Ottoman-Venice War of 1570-73 and became dominant in the Eastern Mediterranean. Eastern Mediterranean trade. Its trade with the Eastern Mediterranean region constituted almost %50 of the total trade. Other European traders could conduct trade only under the French flag in this period.<sup>69</sup>

Indeed, 1569 capitulations granted to the French were the reconfirmation of capitulations given by the Mamluks previously.<sup>70</sup> In 1679, France managed to renew capitulations with additional rights such as reduction of customs duty from 5 per cent to 3 per cent. Furthermore, customs duty in Egypt reduced to 3 per cent from 10 per cent in 1690 for the French.<sup>71</sup>

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, especially in 1710's, French good quality cloth named *londrins seconds* was preferred by Ottoman elites and the palace members. American coffee was replaced with Yemeni coffee in the Levant market from the 1730's and France played an important role in this trade.<sup>72</sup>

France lost its Eastern Mediterranean market to the English woolen broad cloth in the middle of the seventeenth century for a short time due to the effects of the political instability on trade and industry but it is recovered towards the end of century owing to the shift in the Louis XIV.'s international policy. As it seen in

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>69</sup> Halil İnalçık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ (1300-1600)*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 143.

<sup>70</sup> Halil İnalçık, *Osmanlılar (Fütühat, İmparatorluk, Avrupa ile İlişkiler)*, (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2010), 292.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 296.

<sup>72</sup> Eldem, "Capitulations and," 315-316.

the table below, by the 1750, France dominated Levant market with a share of more than 65 while English had only 15, 2 percent.<sup>73</sup>

Table 1 Share of European states in the Levantine trade between 1686 and 1784.

	France	England	Holland	Venice	Austria	Others
1686	1,519,290	4,184,700	3,697,440	246,900		
(per cent)	15.7	43.4	38.3	2.6		
1749-50	2,550,868	595,850	134,164	637,421		
(per cent)	65.1	15.2	3.4	16.3		
1776-78	13,448,791	7,432,045	4,300,901	2,875,279	872,018	861,973
(per cent)	45.1	24.9	14.4	9.6	2.9	2.9
c. 1784						
(per cent)	36.5	9.2	18.3	12.0	24.0	

Source: Edhem Eldem, "Capitulations and Western Trade," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 3*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 327.

The French became the main European ally of the Ottoman Empire because of their support to the Ottoman Empire against Austria. Thus, France had both political and commercial advantageous position at the Porte. In 1740, France was exempted from the '*misteria duty*' in return for its assistance for the peace negotiations between the Ottoman Empire and the Austro- Russian side. Britain could get this privilege in 1784.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 301.

<sup>74</sup> Christine Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant trade and perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century*, (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010), 18.

Strict policies of the British Levant Company provided convenience to the French domination in the Mediterranean. The Levant Company moved its focus to British colonies in America and India to import raw materials.<sup>75</sup>

While the French capitulations had only 18 articles by the time they were first issued, in 1569, and in 1740 they rose to 85 articles.<sup>76</sup> Renewed French capitulations of 1740 is different from previously granted ones. According to Article 85 of the document, the capitulations gained permanent status and remained in force until 1914.<sup>77</sup>

The Seven Years' War damaged the French coastal trade in the Mediterranean and it was replaced by Ragusans. Thus, the French trade in the eighteenth century diversified its trade centers in the Levant by assigning large number of traders, administrators and ships. According to consensus taken in 1769, there were 1,211 men, woman and children in the Levant commercial centers. Unlike the English who concentrated its Levantine trade on silk, the French imports from the Levant was miscellaneous such as cotton, wool, mohair, oil, dyestuff, hides, beeswax, and textiles. Beside the large quantity of cloth export, colonial goods such as coffee, sugar, indigo and cochineal were main products of French export trade. Between 1784 and 1786, France constituted 50 to 60 per cent of Ottoman trade with the Western Europe.<sup>78</sup>

However, cotton, as the main trading article of the century, preserved its leading role in the French trade in the Levant due to the demand by textile industry. French raw cotton import increased twenty times during this century and reached 13 million *livres*.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna*, 85.

<sup>76</sup> Mansel, *Levant: splendor and catastrophe* 8.

<sup>77</sup> Eldem, "Capitulations and," 320.

<sup>78</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna*, 85-86.

<sup>79</sup> Eldem, "Capitulations and," 312-315.

After the conflict over Egypt, France lost its superiority in the Levant trade and could not gain its position before the French Revolution until 1840's. After the renovations in industry, the Levant became indispensable market for the raw materials once again. Although there was not a remarkable increase in exports, imports of raw materials from the region, especially cotton and silk, increased almost three times in the periods 1832-1835 and 1843-1845.<sup>80</sup>

Table 2 French trade with the Eastern Mediterranean between 1790 and 1856 in francs.

	<i>Turkey</i>		<i>Syria/Palestine</i>		<i>Egypt</i>	
	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Imports</i>
Pre-1791	32.0	38.0				
1816-17	11.0	12.5				
1827	13.9	23.2				
1832-5	17.1 <sup>1</sup>	18.7			3.1	4.1
1836-8			4.0 <sup>2</sup>	3.8 <sup>2</sup>	7.5 <sup>2</sup>	7.2 <sup>2</sup>
1840	13.3	26.2				
1841-4	23.7 <sup>3</sup>	46.6 <sup>3</sup>			5.0	11.6
1847-56	29.1	51.8			6.4	13.1

Source: Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800-1914*, (London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2009), 87.

## 2.4.2 The Britain

In the fifteenth century, Britain could only reach to Eastern goods via Venetian merchants. However, in the 1530's, the Dutch replaced Venice in the Mediterranean trade and Antwerp became the main distribution point of the Eastern goods. It was more advantageous for the British to buy the Eastern goods from the Netherlands instead of expensive tour around the Mediterranean. However, during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603), commercial conflict with

<sup>80</sup> Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800-1914* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2009), 86.

the Netherlands forced Britain to search for alternative ways to trade with the Mediterranean directly.<sup>81</sup>

Also aggressive policy of Philip II of Spain was effective in the British decision to operate in the Levant directly. In 1570's, Philip II of Spain gained control over Antwerp-Lwow routes which had an immense importance for English cloth exports to both Asia and Europe.<sup>82</sup>

The first British merchant acquired equal rights with the French and the Venetian traders to conduct trade in the Ottoman Empire was Anthony Jenkinson who settled in Aleppo in 1553.<sup>83</sup>

After the relative decline of Venice in the Levant commerce, the British sought direct contact with the Ottoman Empire in this period.

William Harborne, a British merchant, was granted 22 capitulations indicating the rights of the British merchants in the Ottoman Empire. In order to materialize these promises and to provide protection, British merchants applied to Queen Elizabeth I to form a company. In 1582, the Queen accepted the application by giving to 12 merchants the sole right to trade with the Ottoman Empire for seven years and Harborne was appointed to İstanbul as the representative of the Levant Company (or Turkey Company).<sup>84</sup>

In effect, the name Levant Company began to be used after the unification of the Venice Company (established in 1581) and the Turkey Company (established in 1583) in 1592.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant*, 19-20.

<sup>82</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590-1699." in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 364-365.

<sup>83</sup> Epstein Mortimer, *The English Levant Company: Its Foundation and Its History to 1640*, (London: George Routledge & Sons Limited, 1908), 7-8.

<sup>84</sup> Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant*, 19-20.

<sup>85</sup> Eldem, "Capitulations and," 291.

In 1592, a new charter was granted by the Queen extending Levant Company's commercial monopoly in the Ottoman Empire for 12 years more. Also, this charter gave right to the company to have more merchants in the organization. Merchants of the company appointed factors to trade on behalf of them rather than trading individually. At first, factors were appointed only to İstanbul but then, Aleppo and İzmir became the most important branches of the Company.<sup>86</sup>

In 1601, British capitulations were renewed by the Ottoman Empire and seventeen new articles were added to the documents which confirmed the British as the 'most favored nation'. Furthermore, the British would pay only 3 per cent custom tax for the goods brought from Venice or other places.<sup>87</sup>

In 1605, James I granted a new chart the company and it was declared that becoming a member of the company is open to all British subjects for the lifetime. However, because the membership to the company required a huge investment, number of the merchants remained limited.<sup>88</sup>

Any British merchant who reside twenty-mile radius of London could became a member of the Company by paying £50 fee which was reduced to £20 in 1747. Widows of descendant members could also conduct trade within the limits of the Company.<sup>89</sup>

British trade with the Levant increased considerably during the seventeenth century, and as a result, the Levant Company reached at its peak in 1670's. Ambassador Sir John Finch succeed in getting additional capitulations from Mehmet IV and the British merchants held more advantageous position than the other European merchants in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Laidlaw, *The British in the*, 21.

<sup>87</sup> İnalçık, *Osmanlılar*, 294.

<sup>88</sup> Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant*, 22.

<sup>89</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna*, 77.

<sup>90</sup> Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant*, 22-23.

According to these new articles added to old capitulatory document in 1675 with the efforts of Sir John Finch, additional tax levied on, British favorite import articles from İzmir, wool and silk lifted.<sup>91</sup>

In the seventeenth century, the Britain imported mostly raw silk, cotton, mohair yarn, and goat hair for its textile industry and exported woolen cloths to Levant. Other Levantine goods demanded by the Britain were spices, currants, gallnuts, drugs, certain silk and cotton textiles and coffee.<sup>92</sup>

Silk exports had a special place in British commerce with the Levant. In 1660's silk imported from the Levant by the British, reached roughly 150 to 200 tons. The British dominated the Levant in this period and total British trade amounted almost 400,000 *livres* in the region. The Levantine silk was so important for the British that it preserved its place until 1720's when the British began to withdraw from the Levant trade.<sup>93</sup>

In 1750's British silk imports from the Levant reduced to half due to the new and cheaper sources such as India, especially Bengal, and Italy.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> İnalcık, *Osmanlılar* ,295.

<sup>92</sup> Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant*, 23.

<sup>93</sup> Eldem, "Capitulations and," 299-300.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*,300.

Table 3 British silk imports between 1621 and 1856

	Levant		Asia		Italy	Other	
	£000s	lbs. (000s)	£000s	lbs. (000s)	£000s lbs. (000s)	£000s	lbs. (000s)
1621,1630,1634	73						
1663,1669	172	264		1	19	-	
1699-1701	219						
1701-1705		216					
1706-1710		194					
1711-1715		280					
1716-1720		258					
1721-1725		240		84	21		—
1722-1724	274						
1726-1730		259		126	20		9
1731-1735		181		156	32		28
1736-1740		135		138	19		42
1741-1745		145		116	60		17
1746-1750		135		59	76		33
1751-1755		III		159	101		32
1752-1754	81						
1756-1760		132		109	136		25
1761-1765		"3		73	202		46
1784-1786	33		568			617	
1794-1796	9		448			704	
1804-1806	10		504			1,288	
1814-1816	78		833			1,646	
1824-1826	235		1,445			2,103	
1834-1836	544		2,094			1,745	
1844-1846	367		1,983			1,652	
1854-1856	1,404		4,229			1,331	

Source: Edhem Eldem, "Capitulations and Western Trade," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 3*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 332.

The most important rival of the British in the Levant was the French. French fabrics gained importance in the Levant during the eighteenth century and they were cheaper than the English cloths. Also France had the advantage of having better diplomatic relations with the Porte. In 1774, France had 200 large ships and hundreds of smaller ships in the Levantine trade whereas Britain could only sent ten ships per year.<sup>95</sup>

Although presence of the British Levant company faltered in commodity trade in the Levant, the trade in precious metals reached to a considerable amount in the eighteenth century. In effect, the Levant Company had prohibited to trade in specie or bullion both because of British mercantilist policy and to keep prices low in the Levantine market. However, British merchants did not obey this rule and continued to carry bullions to the Ottoman Empire, especially to Smyrna, for

<sup>95</sup> Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant*, 26.

the account of non-British merchants. Trade in precious metals became more profitable with the increasing demand from the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the eighteenth century. For example, eighty-one hundred Mexican silver dollars imported for the account of Messrs. D' Atch and Lee of Smyrna and the treasurer of the Company levied 20 per cent fine.<sup>96</sup>

At the end of the eighteenth century, Levant Company began to decline. There was only five factors at İstanbul, six at İzmir in 1794 and the factory in Aleppo was closed completely in 1790 and reopened in 1803.<sup>97</sup>

The changing nature of the diplomatic relations and British political thought made monopolies and commercial organizations dispensable and finally the Company was closed completely in 1825.<sup>98</sup>

After the abolition of the monopoly of the Levant Company, number of the British merchants increased in the Middle East and the Levant.

After the Seven Year's War, France was obliged to cede Canada and India to Britain in 1763. Moreover, Britain collaborated with the European states during the French Revolution to restore Bourbon Dynasty in France.<sup>99</sup>

In this period, keeping France out of the Eastern Mediterranean was the main British policy to secure its colonies in the Mediterranean. Britain did not have a military superiority to achieve its goals in the region. Therefore, the most reasonable option was to assist the Ottoman Empire against the French threat towards Egypt.<sup>100</sup>

After the French invasion of Egypt, Britain became the main European ally of the Ottoman Empire and the British had gained right to conduct trade in the Black

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<sup>96</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna*, 79.

<sup>97</sup> Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant*, 27.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>99</sup> Arthur Goldschmidt JR., *A Brief History of Egypt*, (New York: Facts on File, 2008), 62.

<sup>100</sup> Durmuş Akalın and Cemil Çelik, "XIX. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de İngiliz Fransız Rekabeti ve Osmanlı Devleti," *Turkish Studies- International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History or Turkic* 7/3 (2012): 24.

Sea. Conflict with France reduced the possibility to sell their products in the Europe. Thus the Middle East became an important market for the British cotton goods in the initial decades of the nineteenth century. Cotton products constituted 190,000£ of the total value 300,000£ British exports to the Middle East in 1816. In 1818, British exports to the region rose to 800,000£, of which 550,000£ were cotton products. Although British exports to the region reduced to a certain extend in the next twenty years, share of cotton products was not less than 70 per cent.<sup>101</sup>

Table 4 British exports to the Mediterranean between 1814 and 1850 in livres

	<i>Turkey</i>	<i>Syria/Palestine</i>	<i>Egypt</i>
1814	153,903		
1815-19	460,661		
1820-4	566,315		
1825-6	600,543		
1827-9	428,655		49,377
1830-4	1,036,166		130,138
1835	1,331,669		269,225
1836-9	1,466,569	119,753	200,844
1840-4	1,564,447	441,107	237,444
1845-9	2,350,184	382,219	494,824
1850	2,515,821	303,254	648,801

Source: Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800-1914*, (London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2009), 85.

<sup>101</sup> Owen, *The Middle East*, 84.

## CHAPTER III

### WORLD-ECONOMY AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

#### 3.1 Wallerstein's World-System Perspective

World-system approach tries to explain how capitalism which emerged in the sixteenth century in the Europe affected and transformed other parts of the world. Thus, it is an important perspective to analyze transformation of the Ottoman Empire which began in the sixteenth century and ended up with the incorporation of the empire into the world economy as a periphery. Because western Anatolia was one of the most influenced regions from the European capitalist expansion, world-system approach constitutes a good framework to understand external dynamics behind the rise of Ottoman İzmir.

World-system perspective has been developed in the early 1970's by Immanuel Wallerstein in order to correct the deficiencies of the 1950's and 1960's modernization school.<sup>102</sup> His first systematic study is composed of three volumes, called 'The Modern World-System'<sup>103</sup> assumed to be the beginning of his career in the world-system perspective. In this three volume study, he investigates the changing political and economic structures in Europe to show the roots of the most durable world economic system which owes its strength to capitalism.

In fact, the roots of the world-system theory can be found in the Marxist perspective and especially in the Lenin's work called "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism". According to Lenin, world-economy was divided into two distinct structures, namely core and periphery, after the development of the monopoly capitalism. Core as a dominant structure exploits less-developed

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<sup>102</sup> Grant R. Simpson, "Wallerstein's World-Systems Theory and the Cook Islands: A Critical Examination." *Pacific Studies* 14 No.1 (1990): 73.

<sup>103</sup> Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice. *Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world-economy in the sixteenth century*.(New York: Academic Press: 1974.).

periphery and this division ruined the harmony between the proletariat and bourgeoisie.<sup>104</sup>

According to Wallerstein's 'world-system', societies in Europe and then throughout the globe have been linked each other by certain unequal economic and political relationships for centuries.<sup>105</sup> Capitalist world economy, which emerged in the *second sixteenth century* (1450-1650), came into existence due to the 'crisis of the feudalism' and 'climatic changes'. These two problems could only be solved with the geographic expansion of the division of labor. Geographic expansion caused demographic expansion and increase in prices. In order to tackle the aforementioned problems, European states of the world economy began to raise standing armies, homogenize their culture, diversify their economic activities and bureaucratize the state structure. By the 1640, northwest European states existed in the capitalist world system as a core states while Spain and the northern Italian city-states as semi-periphery and northeastern Europe and Iberian America became peripheral zones.<sup>106</sup>

According to Wallerstein, three different social systems -mini-systems, world-empires, and world-economies - existed simultaneously during the pre-1500 world-history. Mini systems, which do not exist anymore, were units with a complete division of labor and a single cultural framework and these systems were found generally in the agricultural or hunting and gathering societies.<sup>107</sup> World-systems are social systems with a single division of labor and multiple cultural systems. Wallerstein divides world-systems into two, one with a common political system called 'world-empires' and one without a common political system called 'world-economies'. While ancient world-economies were weak structures which eventually turn into a world-empire such as China, Egypt and Rome. Nineteenth century empires such as France and Great Britain were national

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<sup>104</sup> John Baylis, Steve Smith, ed. *The Globalization of World Politics: An introduction to international relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 205.

<sup>105</sup> Carl Strikwerda, "From World-Systems to Globalization:Theories of Transnational Change and the Place of the United States." *American Studies* 41 No.2 (2000): 334.

<sup>106</sup> Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *The essential Wallerstein.*( New York: New Press, 2000), 93.

states with their colonies operating within the framework of a world-economy.<sup>108</sup> World-empires were redistributive in terms of economic policy and commercial activity. Therefore, world-empires blocked economic dynamism in their domains by using much of the surplus to maintain their bureaucracy.<sup>109</sup> Trade in these world-empires can be called as ‘administered trade’ rather than ‘market trade’ because the merchants (especially in the long distance trade) were only a small part of the total economy and unable to decide their fate. Market trade emerged only after the formation of the modern world-economy in the sixteenth century. This system is called capitalism and at the same time ‘world-economy’. In this sense, capitalism and world-economy are related concepts with different characteristics.<sup>110</sup>

After 1500, world empires, which were stronger forms in comparison to the unstable and short-lived world-economies and mini-systems, stopped expanding and world economies, for the first time, outpaced world-empires by developing capitalist mode of production and the inter-state system. Henceforth, this world-economy began to incorporate the world-empires and mini-system into the world economy and continued to do so until the twentieth century when the whole globe incorporated in to the system.<sup>111</sup>

Modern capitalist world-system is composed of three distinct regions with distinct features; core, periphery and semi-periphery. The ‘core’ and ‘periphery’ concepts had been used before Wallerstein by the dependency theorists and Lenin while the ‘semi-periphery’ concept was introduced by Wallerstein to emphasize the in between form as a buffer and a balancing element.<sup>112</sup> Periphery is a region that

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>109</sup> Daniel Chirot, Thomas D. Hall, "World-System Theory." *Annual Review of Sociology* 8:81-106 (1986): 84.

<sup>110</sup> Wallerstein, *The essential*, 75-76.

<sup>111</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein, Hale Decdeli and Reşat Kasaba, "The incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the world-economy," in *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, ed. Huri İslamoğlu-İnan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 88.

<sup>112</sup> Elçin Aktoprak, "Immanuel Wallerstein: Sosyal Bilimlere Yeniden Bakmak", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 1 No.4 (2004):23.

provides the core with raw materials and it is exploited by the core. Semi-periphery is an in-between form that is not fully exploiter or exploited.<sup>113</sup>

Incorporation means that the production process of the region becomes a part of the integrated division of labor of the capitalist world economy. This usually entails transformations in the property structures and social relations of the production. Thus, there is a link between the incorporation and the increase in the social coercion of labor. Incorporation also entails the reduction of the state intervention in the production within the boundaries of the world economy.<sup>114</sup>

These three regions are different from each other in terms of the state structures, form of labor control and mode of production.<sup>115</sup> Unlike the core states, which try to strengthen their state machineries in order to respond the needs of the capitalist landowners and their merchant allies, state-machineries in the peripheral countries are weak. The reason for this is that, in the peripheral countries, interests of the capitalist landowners are inconsistent with the local commercial bourgeoisie. Capitalist landowners demanded an open economy to maximize their profits from the world-market trade and try to eliminate commercial bourgeoisie in favor of the foreign merchants who do not pose any political threat.<sup>116</sup>

Labor organization is also very different in these three regions. Core requires wage labor while slavery and feudalism is required in the periphery, and sharecropping in the semi-periphery. These three different modes of labor control enable the flow of surplus flow which is necessary for the functioning capitalism.<sup>117</sup> In the developing capitalist world economy, there are two main economic activities of the geo-economically peripheral regions; one is mining

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<sup>113</sup> Ljubiša R. Mitrović, "Immanuel Wallerstein's Contribution to Mondology and the Critical Theory of the Global World System Transition", *Philosophy, Sociology and Psychology*, 6 No.1 (2007):97.

<sup>114</sup> Wallerstein, Decdeli and Kasaba, "The incorporation," 89.

<sup>115</sup>Wallerstein, *Capitalist agriculture*, 38.

<sup>116</sup>Wallerstein, *The essential*, 88-89.

<sup>117</sup> Wallerstein,. *Capitalist agriculture*, 87.

mainly for bullion, and agriculture basically for certain foods, and surplus flowed to the core to supply the intense population of the core.<sup>118</sup>

According to world-system theory, every region developed differently. Thus, differential development of production systems, labor organizations and state structures provided the flux of the surplus and the capital from the periphery to the core.<sup>119</sup>

After giving a brief background information about the world-system perspective, the following part will focus on process of the Ottoman incorporation into the world-economy.

### **3.2 World Economy and the Ottoman Empire**

The direct penetration of the European powers into Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth initiated a discussion about the incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the world-economy. However, there are many different views about the beginning of the Ottoman incorporation process. However, it can be said that different parts of the empire, such as Rumelia, Anatolia, and Syria, incorporated at different periods.<sup>120</sup>

For example, according to Murat Çızakça, Ottoman incorporation into capitalist world-economy has two stages; the first one is early incorporation which took place between 1550 and 1650 and the second is full incorporation from 1831 to 1900. He claims that Ottoman industry had already been under the pressure of the European industry even at the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>121</sup> However,

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 100.

<sup>119</sup> Huri İslamoğlu-İnan. "Introduction: 'Oriental despotism' in world-system perspective," in *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, ed. Huri İslamoğlu-İnan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 8-11.

<sup>120</sup> Wallerstein, Decdeli and Kasaba, "The incorporation, " 88-89.

<sup>121</sup> Murat Çızakça, "Incorporation of the Middle East into the European World-Economy." *Rewiev VIII.3* (1985):355-356.

Faroqhi and Pamuk state that although certain regions in the Ottoman Empire had already built commercial ties with the Europe and exported agricultural goods in return for manufactured goods even in the seventeenth century, exportation of large amount of finished goods and invasion of European products of the Ottoman market as a whole occurred in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>122</sup>

In order to examine increasing commercial relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is important to look at transformations took place in the Ottoman Empire from the sixteenth century onwards.

### 3.2.1 Sixteenth Century Transformation

The last two decades of the sixteenth century was turning point for the Ottoman Empire in terms of political and economic transformations.

First of all, like the whole Mediterranean region, population of the empire increased sharply during the sixteenth century and this change caused shortages in resources. Although size of the cultivated lands was also increased, it remained far behind the population increase rate of the century.<sup>123</sup> According to Pamuk, population of the empire which was 12 to 13 million in the 1530's rose to 25 to 30 million at the end of the century.<sup>124</sup>

Second, changes in the military technology enforced the Ottoman Empire to reorganize its army in order to cope with European firearms. While *sipahis* were pushed aside, the Porte tried to increase the number of paid soldiers to strengthen its regular army. The number of the Janissaries reached to 38 thousand at the end

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<sup>122</sup> Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, " 164.

<sup>123</sup> Halil İncalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", *Anhivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980): 285.

<sup>124</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2005), 108.

of the sixteenth century while it was only 13 thousand in the 1550.<sup>125</sup> On the other hand, the number of *sipahis* fell to 45 thousand in 1606 and then 8 thousands in 1630, while it was 87 thousand during the reign of I.Süleyman (1520-1566).<sup>126</sup> In 1630, share of the military expenses in the total Ottoman budget rose to 77 per cent and it was 62.5 percent in 1670.<sup>127</sup>

In order to feed such a large regular army, central government tried to compensate cash need of the treasury by debasing the *akçe*. Despite the fact that debasement of silver coinage was not a new method for the empire to increase the revenues of the treasury, 1585 debasement (*tağşiş*) provided very short recovery. Taxes were determined long before the debasement and should be paid in *akçe*, therefore when the prices increased, real value of the taxes decreased.<sup>128</sup>

To debase the coinage, the state collects all the circulating coins and put them into circulation again after reducing their silver content. In this manner, the state lunches more money to the market and creates a source of revenue for the state treasury. Because after every debasement prices were increasing and purchasing power of the fixed paid officers and Janissaries were decreasing, increasing military rebellions of the last quarter of the sixteenth century constituted a serious problem for the central authority.<sup>129</sup> Beylerbeyi Incident of 1589 is a good example for the military reactions against the debasement of coinage.<sup>130</sup>

Price revolution of the sixteenth century deteriorated the situation. Flow of Mexican silver into to European market in the first half of the sixteenth century caused a considerable increase in the prices of agricultural products.<sup>131</sup> Thus,

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 119-120.

<sup>126</sup> İncalcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 53.

<sup>127</sup> Linda Darling, "Public finances: the role of the Ottoman center", in *Cambridge History of Turkey Volume 3*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 118.

<sup>128</sup> Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye*, 120.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 115.

<sup>130</sup> Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change," 414.

<sup>131</sup> İncalcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 54.

European merchants began to visit Ottoman Empire more frequently to buy both foodstuff and raw materials by paying higher prices than internal market. This change brought American silver into the Ottoman Empire via European merchants and caused inflationary period in the empire.<sup>132</sup> According to Wallerstein influx of the Spanish silver and the population boom of the sixteenth century had a role in the disruption of the old self-contained system in which Ottoman state had a regulative role in the production and distribution process. Population growth increased the demand for grain and European price inflation stimulated contraband trade which caused an increase in internal prices.<sup>133</sup>

These economic difficulties was deepened in the course of eighteenth century and caused significant transformations in the Ottoman land organization.

### **3.2.2 New Developments in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries**

The Porte responded the reduction of state revenues caused by aforementioned changes by making reforms in the land organization. Central government tried to compensate budget deficits with transition from *timar system* to the *iltizam* (tax-farming) and then life term revenue tax farm called *malikane*. Transition from timar system to tax-farming caused the rise of notables (or *ayans*) and changed the relations of production in agricultural sphere in the empire. Tax-farmers introduced usury relations in agriculture. Despite the fact that usury did not destroyed small property completely, it increased exploitation of the peasants and feudalized the agricultural production. Usury, accelerated the capital accumulation and destruction of free peasantry.<sup>134</sup>

With the increasing trading facilities, large agricultural enterprises employing slaves or dependent peasants and making market-oriented production emerged all

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<sup>132</sup> Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye*, ,116.

<sup>133</sup> Wallerstein, Dedeli and Kasaba, "The incorporation," 88-90.

<sup>134</sup> Huri İslamoğlu and Çağlar Keyder, "Agenda for Ottoman History," in *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, ed. Huri-İslamoğlu İnan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 58-59.

around the world. *Çiftliks* are considered Ottoman version of this type of development. Thus, *çiftliks* are seen as an indicator of the increasing trade with the core countries and as a local response to these new commercial facilities.<sup>135</sup>

Tax-farming accelerated in the eighteenth century with the emergence of increasing number of *çiftliks* (commercial large estates) in Thrace, in the Balkans and the Western Anatolia where İzmir developed from a small town to the commercial center.<sup>136</sup>

In the eighteenth century, Ottoman Empire introduced a life-term revenue tax-farm, called *malikane* to provide more cash for the treasury. In the *malikane* system, tax collector owns the right to collect taxes for duration of his life in return for a down payment and annual rent. Usually, many individuals became partners to purchase larger tax-farms and to share profit and payment. This new development facilitated the privatization of land and market relations by allowing competition among the bidders. Also, *malikane* system, consolidated the network between the Greek, Armenian and Jewish moneylenders and buyers of *malikane*. These developments fortified commercial networks between the Ottoman and European port cities.<sup>137</sup>

In this period, notables gained strength by investing in land, accumulating wealth and building local social and political networks. For example, Karaosmanoğlu dynasty in Western Anatolia became tax-collector of Aydın in return for their service in local struggles. They had strong networks in Saruhan and acquired wealth as a tax collector. Also, they generated large income from the taxes they imposed on commercial goods produced under their realm and exported to the West.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Çağlar Keyder, "Giriş: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Büyük Ölçekli Tarım Var mıydı?" in *Osmanlı Toprak Mülkiyeti ve Ticari Tarım*, ed. Çağlar Keyder and Faruk Tabak (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), 3.

<sup>136</sup> İslamoğlu and Keyder, "Agenda for," 59.

<sup>137</sup> Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 233-238.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 244-247.

The tax-farmers began to control large amount of lands. They had large agricultural estates (*çiftlik*s) especially in Rumelia and agricultural production in these larges estates was oriented towards the demands of the European markets. They were necessary components for the incorporation into the world-economy as a periphery. Although Ottoman government initiated centralization program at the beginning of the nineteenth century to undermine the power of *ayans* it did not prevent commercialization of agriculture.<sup>139</sup>

The most important group benefited from the growing commercial networks between the Ottoman Empire and the Europe was the commercial mediators. The Greeks, Armenians, Ragusans and Jews were more active in the commercial sphere than the Muslims especially in the western provinces of the empire. These local merchants were in contact with local producers, foreign merchants and the government. They successfully benefited from the government's declining control over the circulation, administration and production and had an important role in the foreign trade.<sup>140</sup>

Western Anatolia, Thrace and Northern Greece had been commercialized more than other regions of the empire in the second half of the nineteenth century because of more favorable agricultural conditions and availability of ports. Export trade increased considerably in these regions and their close hinterlands after the 1838- 1841 Free Trade Agreements which prevented Ottoman Empire from imposing restrictions on the exportation of raw materials and foodstuff. After the development of commercialization and export oriented agriculture, raisins, tobacco, figs, cotton, raw silk and olive oil became the most important export products in these regions.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> İslamoğlu and Keyder, "Agenda for," 59-60.

<sup>140</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 28.

<sup>141</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Dünya Kapitalizmi (1820-1913)* (Ankara: Yurt Yayıncılık, 1984), 96.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Ottoman Empire integrated into the world economy more deeply and Britain at the center of the world economy became the main trading partner of the empire. More than 27 percent of the total Ottoman exports were destined to Britain in 1870's.<sup>142</sup> İzmir had a crucial role in the increasing trade between the Ottoman Empire and the world economy. Its trade from the 1840's to the 1870's increased four times. The most important commercial articles exported to the Europe in the nineteenth century were madder, valonia, cotton, grapes, opium, tobacco, silk, licorice, and gall nuts and they were cultivated in the close hinterland of the city or brought there from the neighboring provinces.<sup>143</sup>

To sum up, implementation of tax-farming, rise of *ayans* and the local mediators accelerated the commercialization of agriculture and the process of Ottoman incorporation into the world economy. Western Anatolia which responded the expansion of capitalist world economy and growing trade between the Ottoman Empire and the Western Europe earlier than other parts of the empire had a crucial role in the incorporation process. İzmir as a most suitable port for the transportation of goods from its hinterland and the interior parts of the empire, gained immense importance and became the single most important export port in the nineteenth century.

The growing French and British commercial presence in İzmir will be demonstrated in the next chapter.

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<sup>142</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 47.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

## CHAPTER IV

### TRANSFORMATION OF THE OTTOMAN İZMİR

İzmir, which became one of the most important port cities of the Ottoman Empire in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had been a small town until the second half of the sixteenth century. The city had long been prevented to grow further by the central authorities (the Porte) because of the traditional economic policy of the state called provisionism (*iaşecilik*). Ottoman Empire used İzmir and the whole Aegean region as a food provider for the capital and the Porte. However, despite the efforts of the central administration, the city began to rise as a trade center in the second half of the sixteenth century and became the largest exporting port in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The reasons for the rise of the city are multiple. Changes both in the Europe and in the Ottoman Empire contributed to the rise of the city. Sixteenth century was the period of economic transformation both in Europe and in the Ottoman Empire. Mercantilist policy of European states forced them to find new markets to buy raw materials and to sell their finished goods and the Ottoman Empire as a provisionist and agricultural society was the best place to achieve their purpose. Despite the attempts of the central government to keep İzmir as a foodstuff supplier of İstanbul, the city continued to grow because of its fertile hinterland, advantageous geographical position, and political disturbances in Anatolia. The fiscal problems of the Ottoman Empire were coincided with the European increasing demand for raw materials such as Iranian silk and mohair of Ankara. Thus, the empire obliged to loosen its control over the economy to provide cash for the imperial treasury. Long wars with the Safavids, required more cash for the army and made traditional silk roads unsafe for trade. Furthermore, Ottoman capitulations, which were given mostly for political purposes, provided European states with low taxes on imported goods. Under these conditions, İzmir became the most attractive city for the European Levant companies.

In the Ottoman Empire, first duty of the Sultan was to secure the welfare of his people and this led to relatively closed economy. The first concern of the state was to supply necessities of its subjects and to provide food and materials which were necessary for the government and the army. Thus, the Porte did not encourage the commercial activities in İzmir which could lead to selling the vital products, such as wheat, grapes and raisins, outside the empire. The prior function of İzmir port was to constitute a shipping base for the goods which would be transferred to İstanbul and European parts of the empire.<sup>144</sup> Indeed, this economic policy of the empire (called *iaşecilik* or provisioning) was one of the main obstacles prevented the city to be a commercial center until the second half of the sixteenth century.

However, from the end of the seventeenth century, Ottoman Empire realized the commercial importance of the city and tried to centralize its commerce. For example, European merchants who conducted trade through İzmir port exempted from certain taxes. Thus, merchants from the other ports such as Kuşadası and Chios moved to İzmir because of more favorable conditions in the city.<sup>145</sup> Tavernier, who visited İzmir in the second half of the seventeenth century, states that İzmir's custom revenues provides large amount of money to the Porte.<sup>146</sup>

According to Kütükoğlu, although İzmir was not the most important center of the Western Anatolia in the sixteenth century, its importance for the internal trade cannot be underestimated. Because the marine transportation was cheaper than land transportation, its trade with other Ottoman ports and especially trade from its hinterland to İstanbul was very important.<sup>147</sup> Goffman states that even in 1570's, the imperial treasury had been collecting the same amount of tax for fifty years and the empire was still content with using the city as a dried fruit and

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<sup>144</sup>Goffman, *Izmir ve Levanten Dünya, 1550-1650*, 5.

<sup>145</sup> Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "The Ottoman Port of Izmir in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, 1695-1820," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 39 (1985): 150.

<sup>146</sup> Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Tavernier Seyehatnamesi*, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), 117.

<sup>147</sup> Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda İzmir*, 36.

wheat supplier for İstanbul and the other parts of the empire.<sup>148</sup> However, the state was not able to control smuggling. In the documents from the sixteenth century, the most mentioned countries in the İzmir port were Venice and Dubrovnik. These countries did not only conduct formal trade but also they traded in the goods which were prohibited to export. For example, Ottoman Empire prohibited exportation of cereals, cotton, cotton yarn, rope, hemp, wax and leather and the goods which were necessary for İstanbul. However, because İzmir did not have a quay, smuggling could not be controlled. Also, some Ottoman ships were buying goods to carry to İstanbul and load them to the foreign ships. Therefore there was an important amount of unregistered foreign trade.<sup>149</sup>

After the construction of the new customs house in 1675, Ottoman authorities tried to prevent contraband trade by obligating all merchants to load and unload their goods after custom officers' examination. This shows that the Ottoman Empire was aware of the commercial potential of the city and tried to benefit from it.<sup>150</sup>

As it mentioned before, Ottoman Empire had lost the control of Western Anatolia in the sixteenth century and smuggling could not be prevented. It is possible that the government thought that if the city cannot be controlled, it is better to take advantage of it. To improve the international trade, *Sancak Kalesi* was constructed to secure the ships and infrastructure such as customs houses, *hans*, docks and warehouses were built.<sup>151</sup> Evliya Çelebi, who visited İzmir as early as 1671, considers the city as a vibrant commercial center. According to him, there were 82 big 'castle like' *hans*, 70 soap factories, 200 taverns, 40 coffee houses, 20 *bozahane*, one saddlery and a customs house.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Goffman, *Izmir ve Levanten Dünya, 1550-1650*, 12.

<sup>149</sup> Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda İzmir*, 40.

<sup>150</sup> Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe*, 23.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 26

<sup>152</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyehatnamesi 9. Kitap-1. Cilt*, ed., Seyit Ali Kahraman (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011), 107.

However until these developments, İzmir had already been perceived as an advantageous trade center by the Europeans. After the construction of customs house, all ships entering to the port of İzmir should have load or unload their goods at the custom house. European merchants opposed this innovation to keep their previous advantageous position.<sup>153</sup>

Another reason for the Western merchants to reorient their commercial activities to the city was that Europeans in the city had more comfortable circumstances than in other ports of the empire. For example, foreigners could not own property in the Ottoman Empire. However, in İzmir they had private houses in Buca and Bornova in the seventeenth century and 'lived like lords'. While foreign merchants in Aleppo lived in *hans*, they lived in their own houses in İzmir.<sup>154</sup>

Tournefort describes the situation of foreign merchants in İzmir as follows:

Foreign Merchants live together very genteelly, and don't fail in any Vifits of Ceremony or Decency. The *Turks* are feldom feen in the *Franks Street*, which is the whole Length of the City. When we arrived in this Street, we feem to be in Chriftendom; they fpeak nothing but *Italian, French, English* or *Dutch* there.[...] They fing publicly in the Churches; they fing Pfalms, preach, and perform Divine Service there without any trouble; but then they have not fufficient regard to *Mahometans*, for the Taverns are open all Hours, Day and Night.<sup>155</sup>

It is not possible to understand the rise of İzmir as a trade center without taking the changes and developments both in Europe and the Ottoman Empire into account. Although the political events of the period are important factors in the development of the city, it seems that the key factor is the incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the world economy. In order to explain the process of incorporation, it is necessary to compare economic policies of the Europe and the

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<sup>153</sup> Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir.", 36.

<sup>154</sup> Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe*, 29-30.

<sup>155</sup> Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *A Voyage into the Levant*, (London: Printed for D. Midwinter etc., 1741), 336.

Ottoman Empire. Economic policy of the Europe was mercantilism and these mercantilist states gave much importance to industries and manufactures to achieve wealth under the capitalist system.<sup>156</sup> As it mentioned previously, unlike Europe, Ottoman Empire pursued provisionist policy which was the main obstacle to commercial growth. The difference between the Ottoman Empire and the Europe in terms of economic policies is one of the main reasons behind the economic incorporation of Ottoman Empire into the capitalist world economy as a periphery.

Capitulations granted to the European states by the Ottoman sultans contributed considerably to the expansion of commercial relations with the West. As it is mentioned above, the Ottoman Empire did not have an intention to protect its economy like its European counterparts. Because of its traditional economic policy, one of the main concerns of the state was to provide surplus for the market without considering other issues such as balance of payments or the protection of industrial production. Because of this economic mind, the Ottoman government found the imports, capitulations and trade concessions beneficial for the empire.<sup>157</sup> Non-Muslim foreigners who acquired capitulation from the Ottoman Empire were allowed to settle in certain ports such as İzmir, Aleppo and Galata. They had substantial freedom of movement in those port cities. According to İnalçık, there are two phases of Ottoman capitulations. In the first phase, Ottoman Empire granted capitulations to the Italian city-states. The first capitulation was granted to Genoese in 1352 to make alliance against Venice. Venetians acquired capitulations during the reign of Murat I, sometime between 1384 and 1387. In the second phase, European countries began to acquire these privileges. After the conquest of Egypt in 1517, Selim I renewed the capitulations given to French by the Mamluks. During the reign of Süleyman I, these capitulations were expanded

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<sup>156</sup> Halil İnalçık, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600." in *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1996), 45.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 50.

in 1569.<sup>158</sup> Having gained capitulations and established French Levant Company in 1670, İzmir become an important port for the French trade.<sup>159</sup> Another European state acquired capitulation from the Ottoman Empire was England. Having obtained capitulations in 1580, the English Levant Company was established in 1581 and French-British competition began in the Mediterranean.<sup>160</sup>

At the end of the sixteenth century, France, Dutch and England began to search for exotic products in the Levant. French and Venetian companies were holding caravan routes in their hands via Armenian and Jewish merchants. While newly established Levant companies were searching for new markets and products, İstanbul lost the control of Western Anatolia because of *Celali* Uprisings. Thus, İzmir and its hinterland began to serve for these Levant companies and they monopolized trade of wool, dried fruits, cotton and other local products. Because of Ottoman- Iranian conflict, Aleppo route was closed and other caravan routes were full of rules and customs. So, İzmir became the most suitable trade center for the Europeans.<sup>161</sup>

According to Frangakis-Syrett, one the most important factors in the rise of İzmir was the establishment European consulates in the port.<sup>162</sup> In 1582 English, in 1619 French consulates were established in İzmir. Consuls had certain duties such as having good relations with local authorities and preventing interruption in trade.<sup>163</sup> Thus, the established European consulates in İzmir played a significant factor in the trading activities of the city without interruption.

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 194.

<sup>159</sup> Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir," 210.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 182

<sup>161</sup> Goffman, *Izmir ve Levanten Dünya, 1550-1650*, 126.

<sup>162</sup> Frangakis- Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna*, 24.

<sup>163</sup> Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir," 194.

After the establishment the consulates of the Western nations, İzmir's custom revenues began to increase steadily.<sup>164</sup> As it is seen in the table below, İzmir's custom revenues surpassed Chios and Çeşme, Urla and other western Anatolian ports in the first years of the seventeenth century.

Table 5 Custom revenues of Central-Western Anatolian ports between 1604 and 1607 in akçes

Port	3 May 1604 - 3 May 1605	3 May 1605 - 3 May 1606	3 May 1606 - 3 May 1607
<del>Chios/Çeşme</del>	1,064,025	859,005	600,192
Izmir	981,854	1,171,958	1,332,733
Urla	112,523	105,500	103,423
Kuşadası	33,402	55,458	48,012
Balat	6,000	5,200	6,000
Foça	135,434	155,378	158,434
<del>Sığacık/Seferihisar</del>	34,575	33,300	9,102
<del>Sant</del>	12,500	17,500	17,500
<del>Mirdoğan</del>	4,000	4,000	4,000
<del>İpsara<sup>2</sup></del>	35,000	30,000	60,000
Musabey <sup>3</sup>	102	102	102
Koyun <sup>3</sup>	1,200	1,200	1,200
<del>Kösedere</del>	4,000	4,000	4,000
Haydarlı	cancelled	cancelled	cancelled
Totals	2,424,615	2,442,601	2,344,698

Source: Daniel Goffman, "Izmir as a Commercial Center: The Impact of Western Trade on an Ottoman Port, 1570-1650." (Ph.D diss, The University of Chicago, 1985), 144.

<sup>164</sup> Daniel Goffman, "Izmir as a Commercial Center: The Impact of Western Trade on an Ottoman Port, 1570-1650." (Ph.D diss, The University of Chicago, 1985), 143-144.

With the Küçük Kaynarca Agreement, the Ottoman Empire accepted the Russian gains in the northern coast of the Black Sea and the Russians obtained freedom of navigation in all Ottoman waters, including the Black Sea, the Straits, and the Danube. Other European states, for example Austria in 1784, Britain in 1799 and France in 1802, acquired similar rights.<sup>165</sup>

The rise of İzmir should be explained with the two distinct phases. In the first phase, İzmir gained importance in the second half of the sixteenth century due to its role as a transit point for the commercial goods gathered from the distant areas. However, during the second phase, in the nineteenth century, agricultural products produced in its close hinterland played an important role in the commercial growth of the city.<sup>166</sup>

According to Mansel, the most important reason for the revitalization of the İzmir port was merchants' efforts to fend off Ottoman strict control over the economy and especially over the custom dues and price restrictions. Series of wars with Persia and Habsburgs loosened Ottoman control of İzmir harbor which was vital for the provisioning of the capital. Ottoman merchants and foreigners took full advantage of the chaos created by the wars and reached to local goods such as figs, raisins and grain.<sup>167</sup>

While Ottoman-Iranian Wars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries damaged considerably the commercial fortunes of Aleppo, İzmir became the main port for the Europeans to purchase Persian silk and other oriental goods. İzmir- Isfahan route was safer and thus, İzmir port gained importance as a mediator between the Eastern raw materials and the Western luxury goods.<sup>168</sup>

However, as opposed to Ülker and Frangakis-Syrett, Goffman claims that the main reason behind the rise of İzmir was silk trade. According to him, the main

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<sup>165</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 32.

<sup>166</sup> A. Mesut Küçükkalay, *Osmanlı İthalatı, İzmir Gümrüğü, 1818-1839*, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2007), 48.

<sup>167</sup> Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and catastrophe*, 17.

<sup>168</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, "The Ottoman Port of Izmir," 150.

reasons were the increasing European demand for the products of western Anatolia, the transformation of Ottoman economy and changing role of western merchants in the empire.<sup>169</sup> Although Goffman has a point about the influence of changing European demands and the transformation of Ottoman economy, the importance of the silk trade in the rise of the İzmir cannot be denied.

Jewish migrants, who escaped from difficult conditions created by decline in cloth industry in Salonika, had also played an important role in the silk trade as a translator or middleman.<sup>170</sup> In short, European demand for raw silk and change in trade routes because of the political disturbance in the east was very influential in the development of the port of İzmir. In this period İzmir exported other European demands such as mohair of Ankara and wool. Mohair export through İzmir port gained importance in 1720's preserved its place until 1760.<sup>171</sup>

Beside the change in European trade patterns, there were also significant changes in the Ottoman Empire. The last two decades of the sixteenth century was a period of economic, political and financial crisis for the Ottoman Empire.<sup>172</sup> The population of the empire had increased sharply during the sixteenth century. The increase in the population caused shortages in resources. This difficulty was deepened by the influx of the American silver into the Near East markets. These problems came together and caused the inflationary period between 1556 and 1620.<sup>173</sup> Economic difficulties led to military rebellions which continued until the early years of seventeenth century. Another issue related to the army was the widespread usage of the firearms which obliged the reorganization of the army. Thus, military expenditures became less profitable than before. However, despite these financial problems, Ottoman Empire engaged in series of long wars both with Iran and the Habsburg Empire. Because the imperial treasury needed more

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<sup>169</sup> Goffman, *Izmir ve Levanten Dünya*, 1550-1650, 47-48

<sup>170</sup> Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change," 507.

<sup>171</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, "The Ottoman Port of Izmir," 151.

<sup>172</sup> Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change," 433.

<sup>173</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 12.

cash, variety of *ad hoc* taxes were levied on peasants. The economic crisis with the increasing taxes led to *Celali Uprisings*. These uprisings caused migrations from the towns to urban centers one of which was İzmir. According to Faroqhi, while the population of the city was fewer than 3.000 inhabitants during the reign of Süleyman I, it increased to 90.000 in mid-seventeenth century.<sup>174</sup>

İzmir held an important position in the Ottoman economy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It exported mostly raw materials for the European industry and food materials and imported textile products, coffee, sugar, spices and dyestuff. For example, in 1784, 32 percent of the total Ottoman exports to the Europe passed through İzmir port.<sup>175</sup>

To sum up, İzmir began to be an important commercial center in the second half of the sixteenth century due to aforementioned changes and transformations that took place in both Ottoman Empire and Europe and became the single most important export port in the nineteenth century.

#### **4.1 The Rise of a Port City: İzmir from the mid-eighteenth to the end of nineteenth century.**

##### **4.1.1 The Impact of International Trade**

The French began to compete with the British and the Dutch at the end of the seventeenth century and dominated İzmir's external trade in the most part of the eighteenth century. The French Levant Company was established in 1670. However, as opposed to the British, The French continued to pay 5 percent custom duty until 1673.<sup>176</sup> As early as 1670, there was a large French community in İzmir which was composed of approximately 269 people.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change," 438.

<sup>175</sup> Küçükkalay, *Osmanlı İthalatı*, 33.

<sup>176</sup> Serap Yılmaz, "XVII-XIX. Yüzyıllarda İzmir'de Fransızlar," *Çağdaş Türkiye Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3 (1993): 90.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

French trade continued to increase until the end of the century with some interruptions between 1708 and 1711, 1716 and 1717, and in 1726-1730 and reached more than 5 million livres in 1750.<sup>178</sup>

Between 1713 and 1722, the number of French merchant ships which loaded goods from the İzmir port reached 149. Furthermore, 142 of the total 239 ships departed from the İzmir port in 1756 was the French merchant ships.<sup>179</sup>

One-third of the French trade with the Near East was made through İzmir port in the eighteenth century. This was equivalent to over half of total Ottoman trade with Europe.<sup>180</sup> Until 1789, France remained the main commercial partner of the Ottoman Empire by having approximately 60 percent share in the Ottoman Empire's foreign trade.<sup>181</sup>

With the signing of Belgrade (1739) and Küçük Kaynarca treaties, Ottoman diplomatic relations with the Europe changed considerably. In the Treaty of Belgrade, signed between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, the French as a mediator gained new privileges in return for their efforts during the negotiation. Furthermore, the Ottoman government was obliged to cancel the condition that "all capitulations must be renegotiated when the new Sultan ascended to the throne". After that agreement, France became the most influential European power in the Near Eastern affairs by extending its political and economic influence.<sup>182</sup>

French traveler Pococke, who visited İzmir in 1745, describes commerce of İzmir as follows:

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>180</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 61.

<sup>181</sup> Küçükkalay, *Osmanlı İthalatı*, 35.

<sup>182</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire*, 32.

The trade of Smyrna for its exports to Christendom, is more considerable than any port of the Levant, it consists chiefly of very rich goods; such as raw silk, Turkey carpets, but more particularly fine goats hair or mohair of Angoura, with which our camlets, prunellos and buttons are made; they export likewise a great quantity of raifins to England, under the pretence of a privilege they have by our capitulations of loading so many ships for the king's table; they export also a great deal of unwrought cotton, and small quantity of muscadine wine, for which this place is famous, as well as for the drier virgin white-wine. The import is chiefly woolen cloth, lead and tin; in the fifth the English have been very much supplanted by the French in all parts, except in Constantinople and Ægypt, where the great people always use the English manufactures, because they are the best.<sup>183</sup>

By the second half of the eighteenth century, France became dominant in the Mediterranean trade by surpassing the British and İzmir became the main entrepot for the French. This period was crucial in terms of developments in the French textile and shipping industry. Cheap and good quality French textiles could be transported easily with the large merchant ships.<sup>184</sup>

Because of the extermination of the French naval force by the British during the Seven Years' War, and the natural disasters such as plagues and fires occurred in İzmir, French export trade in İzmir decreased considerably in this period but recovered quickly.<sup>185</sup>

France was one of the most important markets for the Ottoman goods in the second half of the eighteenth century. In the period between 1786 and 1787, goods from the Levant constituted 83 percent of the total imports of France and cotton constituted 70 percent of these goods.<sup>186</sup>

French trade in the Levant was fluctuated because of the wars with Britain in the eighteenth century. For example, during the American War of Independence

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<sup>183</sup> Pockocke, *A Description of the East*, 38.

<sup>184</sup> Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir," 132-138.

<sup>185</sup> Yılmaz, "XVII-XIX. Yüzyıllarda," 106.

<sup>186</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 19.

(1778-1782), French merchants in İzmir sent their goods under the names of the Dutch merchants in order to prevent them being sized by the British.<sup>187</sup>

Although French trade began to diminish at the end of eighteenth century, İzmir was still their favorite commercial center. There were 29 French factories in İzmir while there was only 4 in Alexandria, 9 in Salonika, 11 in İstanbul.<sup>188</sup>

French trade began to decrease dramatically in the Levant and in İzmir after 1789. While French exports constituted 51 percent of the İzmir's imports between the years 1775 and 1789, they reduced to 17 percent and 15.4 percent in 1801 and 1803 respectively. It began to recover after 1814, but could not hold its previous position in İzmir port again.<sup>189</sup>

As it mentioned in the previous pages, establishment of the Levant Company in 1581 and getting capitulations from the Ottoman sultan had fortified the British presence in the Levant.

The Levant Company exported mostly cloth and tin and imported raw silk, mohair, cotton, wool, yarn, carpets, drugs, spices, indigo and currants from the Levant. The company expanded rapidly in the first five years and employed nineteen ships.<sup>190</sup>

After the transportation of Chios factory to İzmir (sometime between 1610 and 1620), the city gained importance in the British trade with the Levant. According to Wood, good harbor facilities, more secure environment and greater freedom than other commercial centers were influential in the success of the İzmir factory. Thus, Persian silk which had been purchased from Aleppo was moved to İzmir and İzmir became the main center for the Persian silk.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna*, 167.

<sup>188</sup> Küçükcalay, *Osmanlı İthalatı*, 45.

<sup>189</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna*, 163.

<sup>190</sup> Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1964), 17.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

French traveler Tournefort describes İzmir port and the city as follows:

*Smyrna* is the finest Port at which one can enter into the Levant, built at the bottom of a Bay, capable of holding biggest Navy in the World.[...] *Smyrna* is one of the largest and richest Cities of the Levant. The Goodness of the Port so necessary for Trade, has preferred it, and caused it to be rebuilt several times, after it had been destroyed by Earth-quakes.<sup>192</sup>

British woolen clothing was the main product imported by the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century, especially between the years 1672 and 1691. Although the war against the France affected The British cloth trade badly, it recovered immediately after the war. However, after 1740 the British lost Ottoman market to the French cloths.<sup>193</sup>

The war between England and France between 1689 and 1697 damaged the commercial activities of the Levant Company. During this period, trade between Ottoman Empire and England decreased dramatically. French cloths gained importance in the Levantine market due to their bright color, light weight and reasonable prices. Additionally, France held more favorable position in the Levant due to its support to the Ottoman Empire during the 1739 Peace Treaty of Belgrade and acquired permanent capitulations in 1740.<sup>194</sup>

Between 1688 and 1740, British silk imports from the Levant increased considerably and constituted almost 40 percent of the British imports from the Levant. For example in 1701, silk formed two thirds of the total British imports from the Levant.<sup>195</sup>

In 1770's, British textiles found customers in the Levantine market and became popular in İzmir. However, American War of Independence damaged British trade

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<sup>192</sup> Tournefort, *A Voyage into*, 332-333.

<sup>193</sup> Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir," 125-131.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 183-184.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

in the city. Britain reoriented its trade once again to İzmir after the war but the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars affected the British commercial activities negatively in the Levant and in İzmir. While twenty British ships arrived at İzmir in 1790, in 1798 only one British ship reached the city.<sup>196</sup>

After the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) and series of revolutions in the Europe, Western European states entered into economic crisis and thus, could not able to purchase British industrial products as much in the second half of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, in the postwar years, European states put protective barriers to recover their economy and prevented penetration of the British products into their markets. In addition to this, prices of the raw materials and foodstuffs decreased in the world market. Thus customers of the British products had difficulty to afford British expensive products. Despite the contraction in its markets, Britain continued to produce and tried to extend its markets by incorporating new areas into its commercial network.<sup>197</sup>

After the withdrawal of France from the eastern Mediterranean, Britain became the main trading partner of the Ottoman Empire. 27 percent of the total Ottoman exports was sent to Britain while 30 percent of the total Ottoman imports came from Britain. Ottoman Empire was exporting typical peripheral goods such as cereals, cotton, natural dyestuffs, silk, opium, fruits and nuts in return for British cotton and woolen textiles, agricultural machinery, iron, coal and kerosene.<sup>198</sup>

In the beginning years of the nineteenth century, Britain introduced yarn (or twist) to the Levantine market and recovered its pre-war position in the region. In 1802 British exports to İzmir reached to highest rate up to that date. Britain sent six ships to İzmir in 1805 and eighteen in 1814, twenty-three in 1815 and fifty in

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<sup>196</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna*, 159.

<sup>197</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 39.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

1820. Britain's share in the İzmir's imports reached to 41 percent and 33 percent in the years 1817 and 1820 respectively.<sup>199</sup>

Monopoly over the Levant trade lifted after the termination of the British Levant Company in 1825. The Armenians and Greek brokers began to establish direct ties with the manufacturers in Europe. Francis Herve explains this change as follows:

Smyrna is well known as a city which has long carried on a most extensive commerce: latterly, however, it is admitted that it has rather decreased than otherwise; whilst the people of the country increase in intelligence, so they are more enabled to act directly with the European manufacturers and merchants: hence, they have not so much need of the French, English, Dutch and Italian mercantile establishments settled at Smyrna, and who formerly acted as a medium between the merchants of Europe and those of Turkey. The Greeks and Armenians have now themselves established concerns at London, Paris, Marseilles, Leghorn, Trieste, and many other parts of Europe. Therefore, those English and French houses in Smyrna, which once did so great a stroke of business, now find their operations considerably diminished.<sup>200</sup>

In the second half of the nineteenth century, European demand for the Ottoman goods increased considerably. First of all, developments in the world economy triggered this change. The newly developing industries of Europe required agricultural and raw materials from the periphery. Second, Near East, especially the Ottoman Empire, was crucial for Britain in order to strengthen her hegemony in the world economy. Increase in Ottoman exports boosted both tax revenues of the Ottoman Empire and the income of Ottoman farmers and merchants and hence it helped to strengthen the economy of the empire. Third, some of the Ottoman agricultural products gained importance with the changes and developments in the industrial Europe. For example, valonia, which was produced in western Anatolia and used for making leather, was not an important export product until 1870's when competing tanneries began to develop in the Europe. In 1870's share of

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<sup>199</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna*, 163.

<sup>200</sup> Herve, *A Residence in Greece*, 24-25.

valonia in the total Ottoman exports to Britain was 21 percent which was only 4 percent in the 1840's.<sup>201</sup>

From the end of the Napoleonic Wars to the 1840's, when Britain lost its market in the Europe, Ottoman imports from Britain increased. Also, in this period, Britain's share in the Ottoman foreign trade increased about 400 percent. Hoping that increase in the Ottoman exports would lead to purchase more British goods, Britain increased imports from the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century. This policy involved direct payments to the Ottoman Empire in the form of loans and British investments to Ottoman export-oriented agriculture. In this period Ottoman exports surpassed the imports but this did not last long. Towards the end of nineteenth century, Ottoman imports became the main economic activity bounding the empire with the European market.<sup>202</sup>

Between 1827 and 1838, Ottoman Empire's imports from the Britain increased 100 percent.<sup>203</sup> In 1839, 68 percent of İzmir's external trade was conducted with the Britain, France, Russia and the U.S.A. Britain had the largest share in İzmir's trade with 35, 5 percent imports and 30 percent exports. While in 1839, there were 91 vessels departed from the İzmir port, they rose to 196 in 1845.<sup>204</sup> British commercial presence in İzmir continued to increase until the end of the nineteenth century. While there were 202 British merchants in the city in 1848, their number rose to 919 in 1855 and 1,061 in 1856.<sup>205</sup>

The main exports of the Ottoman Empire were agricultural raw materials and foodstuffs. Between the 1840's and 1870's valonia, madder roots, raisins, opium and cotton were the main imports of Britain from the Ottoman Empire, mostly gathered from western Anatolia and shipped almost only from the port of İzmir.

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<sup>201</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 90.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 47-48.

<sup>203</sup> Orhan Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi* (Ankara: Savaş Yayınları, 1982), 27.

<sup>204</sup> Abdullah Martal, *Değişim Sürecinde İzmir'de Sanayileşme, 19.Yüzyıl* (İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 1999), 77.

<sup>205</sup> Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye*, 37.

Other British exports which constituted 35.5 percent of the total British imports from the Ottoman Empire were cereals and corn but these agricultural products were exported mostly from the Balkan provinces.<sup>206</sup>

Establishment of Aydın-İzmir railway in 1866, connected İzmir with its hinterland more easily than before and contributed considerably to economic development of the city.<sup>207</sup> In the period between 1874 and 1878, France's share in İzmir's trade reduced to 11 percent, which was 42, 1 percent in 1787, while Britain's share rose from 30,8 percent to 43,5 percent.<sup>208</sup>

#### **4.1.2 İzmir's Exports and Imports**

The most important raw materials exported to the Western Europe from İzmir were silk, mohair yarn, wool and a small amount of wax, gum, galls, skins, sponges, opium, madder root, and valonia was also other commercial articles found in the İzmir market.<sup>209</sup>

Although İzmir was an important entrepot since the seventeenth century, the value and volume of the exports from the İzmir port ascended dramatically after 1749. While silk, mohair yarn and wool were the chief export items of the city until this time, cotton became the leading export item because of the developments in the European textile industry in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>210</sup>

While European demand for raw silk, wool and mohair yarn increased between the period of 1550 and 1650, it decreased for cotton. Italian city-states were

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<sup>206</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 88.

<sup>207</sup> Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye*, 20.

<sup>208</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 88.

<sup>209</sup> Frangakis- Syrett, *The commerce of Smyrna*, 215.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

traditional silk exporters but England also began to export silk in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>211</sup>

European states preferred mostly Persian silk. By 1600, Aleppo was the most important port for the silk exportation. However, after the Persian-Ottoman Wars of 1588-1628, İzmir began to compete with Aleppo in silk trade because Tokat-İzmir caravan route became safer than others. Ülker claims that the first arrival of the Persian silk to İzmir dates back to 1621.<sup>212</sup>

Tournefort states that "The Caravans of *Perfia* are continually arriving at *Smyrna* from *All-Saints* to *May* and *June*. They bring thither fometimes near two thousand Bales of Silk a Year, without reckoning the Drugs and Cloths."<sup>213</sup>

There were four types of Persian silk in the İzmir market; good quality *sherbassi*, *legis* which was third quality *sherbassi*, low quality *ardasinne* which was similar to *sherbassi* and a coarse silk *ardasse* used mainly to spin silk thread.<sup>214</sup>

Silk production was encouraged by the Ottoman Empire and Bursa was the center for it. After 1590, taxes on Iranian and Bursa silk were increased. Initially silk merchants preferred Foça and Çeşme and then İzmir to avoid from taxes levied in Bursa. By 1630, İzmir was becoming an important port and its main commodity was silk.<sup>215</sup>

Other regions that İzmir received silk in the second half of the eighteenth century were Aegean islands; Tinos, Naxos, Andros, and Zagora. Moreover, better quality Morea silk began to be found in İzmir at the end of the century.<sup>216</sup>

Silk was the main export item of İzmir in the first two decades of the eighteenth century and reached peak in 1716 by constituting a 54 percent of the total exports

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<sup>211</sup> Ibid., 355.

<sup>212</sup> Ülker, "The rise of İzmir," 71.

<sup>213</sup> Tournefort, *A Voyage into*, 335.

<sup>214</sup> Frangakis- Syrett, *The commerce of Smyrna*, 224.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., 224.

of İzmir. However, it lost its importance in the second quarter of the century because of the difficulties to reach Persian silk. In 1745, silk exports formed only 0.4 percent of İzmir's total exports.<sup>217</sup>

After silk, Ankara mohair was also an important mercantile exported through İzmir port. The British and the French merchants established factors in Ankara to purchase mohair directly and they sent these products to İzmir and İstanbul in order to transfer them their country. Thus İzmir played an important role in the mohair commerce.<sup>218</sup>

British merchants purchased mohair yarn from Ankara in 1580's for the first time and by 1624 some of them settled there in order to cut the costs by eliminating Ottoman middleman and to check the quality of the yarn by themselves. However, their settlement could not be permanent because of the political disturbances in Anatolia. Additionally, in 1699, the Ottoman government tried to control mohair trade by lifting all export duties on mohair yarn exported through İzmir port except for 3 percent.<sup>219</sup>

Another reason for İzmir to become a center for Ankara mohair was that Europeans paid lower price for mohair in İzmir than in Ankara. Thus, mohair was one of the most important exports to France until 1760's.<sup>220</sup>

Also, İzmir was an important place in manufacturing mohair cloths in order to export to Europe. French consul stated that it is more advantageous to import finished mohair products from İzmir rather than raw mohair because the price of the finished mohair products in İzmir was more reasonable than in France.<sup>221</sup>

Cotton which gained importance in the eighteenth century contributed considerably to the İzmir's trade with the West. Goffman states that there is a link

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<sup>217</sup> Ibid.,224-228.

<sup>218</sup> Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir," 99-104.

<sup>219</sup> Frangakis- Syrett, *The commerce of Smyrna*, 219.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.,219-220.

<sup>221</sup> Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir," 109.

between the Western demand for cotton and İzmir's developments as a commercial port city in the seventeenth century. Cotton composed only 1,6 percent of the total agricultural revenues of the city in the sixteenth century. Tire and Manisa were the two main centers for cotton cultivation. Almost fifty percent of the arable lands in these two regions was devoted to the cotton cultivation.<sup>222</sup>

Other cotton sources in the close hinterland of İzmir were Gediz, Kırkağaç, Kasaba (Turgutlu), Akhisar, Bergama, Küçük Menderes, Bergama, Bayındır, Ödemiş. Additionally, İzmir was an important center of finished and dyed cotton goods. France became a good customer of Aegean cotton in the second half of the eighteenth century and imported mostly raw cotton rather than cotton yarn.<sup>223</sup>

Between 1785 and 1787, almost 95 percent of Ottoman cotton exports passed through İzmir port.<sup>224</sup>

According to the French consular report of 1820, İzmir's hinterland produced 72,000 bales of cotton annually.<sup>225</sup>

Cotton became the most important export commodity of İzmir in the eighteenth century and contributed dramatically to the rise of the port to the prominent position in the Empire. Demand for cotton by the Western Europe, especially by France and Britain, increased considerably in this century. The War of Spanish Succession and plagues, in Marseilles in 1720 and in İzmir 1735, affected cotton exports from the city negatively. However, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, French imports from İzmir ascended rapidly and cotton's share reached average 54 percent between the years 1775 and 1789.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Goffman, "Izmir as a Commercial Center," 55.

<sup>223</sup> Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir," 110-112.

<sup>224</sup> Orhan Kurmuş, "The cotton famine and its effects on the Ottoman Empire," in *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy*, ed., Huri İslamoğlu-İnan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 161.

<sup>225</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, *The commerce of Smyrna*, 233.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

After the introduction of the cotton gin in 1794, cotton imports from America increased dramatically and caused depression in the Levantine cotton market. Thus, while Ottoman cotton production increased in the early nineteenth century, İzmir's share in the cotton export decreased. In 1820, cotton constituted only 12 percent of the French exports from İzmir.<sup>227</sup>

As it mentioned above, cotton had already been cultivated in and exported from the western Anatolia long before the nineteenth century. However, cheaper and better quality cotton of the United States made Ottoman cotton less desirable, especially for Britain in the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>228</sup>

Another factor which made Ottoman cotton less attractive in the British market was the restriction of the British Levant Company. Members of the Levant Company could only purchase Turkish cotton in exchange for British exports to the Ottoman Empire. Thus, cotton prices fall dramatically in the Ottoman Empire and it was not a profitable agricultural product anymore.<sup>229</sup>

Ottoman cotton regained its importance in the middle of the nineteenth century when British textile manufacturers tried to multiply sources for cotton. Britain tried to expand cotton cultivation in the places under its sphere of influence and Manchester Cotton Supply Association was founded in 1857.<sup>230</sup> The Association investigated the most suitable districts for the cotton cultivation. İzmir with its suitable climate and newly established İzmir-Aydın railway was considered as the most convenient area. Sixty bags of American good quality cotton seeds was sent to İzmir and its close hinterlands for this purpose. In 1858, total cotton production reached to 330,000 pounds and then to 7.5 million pounds in 1859.<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>227</sup>Ibid.,237.

<sup>228</sup>Ibid.,231.

<sup>229</sup>Kurmuş, "The cotton famine," 162.

<sup>230</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 91.

<sup>231</sup>Kurmuş, "The cotton famine, 162.

However, the real revival of Anatolian cotton was triggered by American Civil War which made flow of American cotton uncertain. Hence, cotton became a profitable product for the western Anatolia. The land around İzmir reserved for the cultivation expanded fourfold between 1861 and 1863, and a year after further two or three times.<sup>232</sup>

During the war years (American Civil War) cotton constituted more than 50 percent of the total Ottoman export to Britain. However, this was a temporary boom which ended after the war. Between the period 1870 and 1874, share of cotton in total Ottoman exports to Britain reduced to 6.6 percent, which was over 50 percent in 1864.<sup>233</sup>

Cotton yarn was also an important export item of İzmir port in the eighteenth century. Between 1700 and 1702, cotton yarn export from İzmir was formed 23 percent, from 1750 to 1754 12, 4 percent, and from 1785 to 1789 67 percent in of the total Ottoman Empire's exports of that item to France.<sup>234</sup>

After 1749, red cotton yarn gained popularity in France and white in Genoa, Amsterdam, and Livorno. İzmir was famous for its red dye, thus the French merchants preferred to purchase red cotton yarn in İzmir.<sup>235</sup>

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Ottoman exports in grapes and raisins increased. Although changes in the consumption habits of the Europeans is an important factor in this increasing demand for grapes and raisins, the real cause was the spread of phylloxera in both Europe and the United States. Despite the fact that grapes were cultivated in many provinces in the Ottoman Empire, exported grapes came mostly from İzmir and Bursa. Increasing number of farmers

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<sup>232</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 91.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>234</sup> Frangakis- Syrett, *The commerce of Smyrna*, 238.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 241.

had begun to turn their farms into vineyards after the rapid decline in the cotton prices in the world market.<sup>236</sup>

Opium was not produced in the close hinterland of İzmir but it was brought to the city mostly from Afyon- Karahisar.<sup>237</sup>

Before the nineteenth century, opium was produced and used for its medical property. After the 1838 Free Trade Treaty, constraints on the opium trade was lifted and with the development of pharmaceutical industries in Europe and the United States, opium began to be one of the most important export product of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>238</sup>

In 1854, the value of the opium imports of the United States was 3,000,010 piastres and it was 2,282,265 for England.<sup>239</sup>

In 1874, share of opium in the Ottoman exports to the United Kingdom was 14% percent which was 0, 5 percent in 1840. In the western Anatolia, the land reserved for the cultivation of opium increased quickly.<sup>240</sup>

Cloth was the most important trade item between the Ottoman Empire and the Western Europe in the eighteenth century and İzmir port had a significant role on this trade. The Western merchants exported cloth to İzmir in return for cotton, cotton yarn, silk, mohair yarn and wool. France and Britain competed each other to capture cloth market in the Levant from the seventeenth century. British good quality cloths dominated Levantine market until 1710's. However, French cloth industry started to improve in the 1720's and the French cloth gained popularity in the Levant. In 1730's, British cloth could not compete with the French cloth in İzmir, Aleppo and İstanbul markets. The most preferred cloth was the average

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<sup>236</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 91-92.

<sup>237</sup> George Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna* (London: G.E. Eyre And W. Spottiswoode, 1856), 79.

<sup>238</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 91.

<sup>239</sup> Rolleston, *Report on*, 74.

<sup>240</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 91.

quality French *Londrins seconds* in the İzmir market. Between 1783 and 1788, 39 percent of all *Londrins seconds* imported by the Ottoman Empire passed through İzmir port. Britain's engagement in American War of Independence served well for the French cloth trade in the Levant. İzmir's consumption of French cloth increased and reached peak between 1779 and 1789.<sup>241</sup>

The British cloth began to dominate İzmir market in 1770's again. Cloth constituted 64 percent of the total British exports to İzmir in the 1770's and 56 percent in the 1780's. British shalloon became popular in the Levantine market. The French manufacturers lowered the quality of their cloth to protect their profit margin. However, this caused to the decline of the French cloth in the İzmir market after 1781.<sup>242</sup>

## 4.2 Population Boom

Increasing commercial facilities affected the population of the city immensely. Throughout the fifteenth century and in the most part of the sixteenth century, İzmir remained as a small town<sup>243</sup>. As in other settlement areas, İzmir was also established at the top of the city, at Kadifekale, remote to the sea. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, İzmir was composed of only five districts. Four districts, Faik Paşa, Pazar, Han Beğ, Mescid-i Selatin-zade, Limon (Liman), were Muslim districts and the remaining one was the non-Muslim district.

According to his research in the Ottoman archives, Goffmaan claims that İzmir was composed of only six districts with 206 houses in 1528-29.

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<sup>241</sup> Frangakis- Syrett, *The commerce of Smyrna*, 191-194.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., 203.

<sup>243</sup> Goffman. *İzmir ve Levanten Dünya*, 4.

Table 6 Population of İzmir according to 1528-29 tahrir survey

Quarter (mahalle)	Hane	Neferan
Faıkpaşa	45	70
Mescid-i Selatinzade	38	61
Han-bey (Pazar)	27	39
Liman-i İzmir	17	33
Boynuzsekisi	50	61
Cemaat-i Gebran	29	43
Total	206	307

Source: Daniel Goffman, "Izmir as a Commercial Center: The Impact of Western Trade on an Ottoman Port, 1570-1650." (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 1985), 18.

Throughout the sixteenth century the city developed and more districts were established. In *tahrir defterleri* (register books), there is no information about other non-Muslim communities beside the Greek community in the sixteenth century. Between the years 1528 and 1575, there was a population boom in the city of İzmir. Although during this period there was an important population growth in other parts of the empire and especially in the Mediterranean, the population growth rate of İzmir was tremendous and reached to 215 percent. The growth of non-Muslims population was 256 percent.<sup>244</sup>

<sup>244</sup> Goffman, "Izmir as a Commercial Center," 26.

Table 7 İzmir's population according to 1575-76 tahrir survey

Quarter (mahalle)	Nefers	Change from 1528-29
Faıkpaşa	83	+13 (19%)
Mescid-i Selatinzade	56	-5 (9%)
Han-Bey (Pazar)	92	+53 (235%)
Ali Çavuş	35	new quarter
Yazıcı	32	new quarter
Liman-i İzmir	54	+21 (64%)
Şaphane	30	new quarter
Boynuzsekisi	166	+105 (272%)
Cemaat-i Gebran	110	+67 (256%)
Total	658	+351 (215%)

Source: Daniel Goffman, "Izmir as a Commercial Center: The Impact of Western Trade on an Ottoman Port, 1570-1650." (Ph.D diss, The University of Chicago, 1985), 26.

Although natural growth was one of the reasons behind this population boom, it is not sufficient to explain the situation completely. In order to understand other causes, it is necessary to look at political events of the period. Even in the reign of Suleiman I, there were Turkish immigrants who fled to the western parts of the empire because of the disturbance in Anatolia (*Celali Uprisings*). Greeks who were removed from Thrace and Aegean islands had also moved to the port of İzmir. Especially newly conquered Chios inhabitants moved to this more secure and lively city.<sup>245</sup>

Beside the Greek community, which had been existed since the earlier times, Armenian and Jewish communities appeared in the seventeenth century.<sup>246</sup> After the crisis in the textiles industry, especially in Salonika, in the early seventeenth century, number of Jewish settlement in İzmir increased substantially. Jews of

<sup>245</sup> Goffman, *Izmir ve Levanten Dünya*, 10.

<sup>246</sup> Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda İzmir*, 22-24

Salonika were important manufacturers of janissary's broadcloth. Thus, despite the opposition of the Porte, Jewish settlement continued to grow in İzmir<sup>247</sup>

It is difficult to give consecutive figures about demographic development of the city because, except for the one Evliya Çelebi mentions, official census records are not accessible.<sup>248</sup> Thus, foreign traveler accounts are more useful to estimate the population of the city approximately. French traveler Tavernier who visited İzmir between 1631 and 1670 (most probably in 1655) asserts that the population of the city was 90,000. Tavernier records that there were 60,000 Turks and they had fifteen mosques. The Greek population was 15,000 and had two churches. There were 8,000 Armenians with one church. There were also 6-7,000 Jews with seven synagogues. Although he does not give exact numbers, he states that number of the French predominates other Europeans.<sup>249</sup>

Spon and Wheler visited İzmir in 1676 and predicted the population of the city as 55,000. Another traveler Le Bruyn visited İzmir in 1678 and estimated the population as 80.000.<sup>250</sup> The earthquake of 1688, affected the population of the city dramatically. According to the French report, sixteen to nineteen thousands of people died because of the earthquake. French traveler De La Montraye, visited the city after the earthquake in 1699, counted the population as 24,000.<sup>251</sup> Beside the deaths, this sharp drop in population may have been caused by migrations because of the destruction of the city.

Pococke claims that the population of the city rose to 99-100,000 in 1739. According to him, there were 80,000 Turks, 7-8.000 Greeks, 6,000 Jews and

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<sup>247</sup> Daniel Goffman. "Izmir: from village to colonial port city." in *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, İzmir, and Istanbul*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 99.

<sup>248</sup> Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir," 41.

<sup>249</sup> Tavernier, *Tavernier Seyehatnamesi*, 115.

<sup>250</sup> Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir," 41-42.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

2,000 Armenians.<sup>252</sup> Although these are not official census, the numbers given by foreign travelers gives an idea about the development of the city.

According to Brewer, in 1827, population of İzmir was in between 90,000 and 150,000 of which 50, 00 to 90,000 were Turks, 12,000 to 40,000 were Greeks, 8,000 to 10,000 Jews, 4,000 to 9,000 were Armenians and 2,000 to 3,000 were Franks.<sup>253</sup>

The population of İzmir was around 100,000 in 1847 and 17,500 of the population was composed of foreigners. In the year 1860, when the total population of the city was 123,787, there were 28.352 foreigners. In the late 1880's, population of the city skyrocketed to 229,615, involving 50,000 foreigners.<sup>254</sup>

According to 1886/1887 *Aydın Vilayet Salnamesi* (yearbook), there were 102, 441 houses in İzmir and population of the city was 479,543. In 1890/91 population of the city rose to 496,000.<sup>255</sup>

Based on these predictions, it can be said that İzmir's population continued to grow rapidly despite the disasters which hit the city since the antiquity. Although population growth is not sufficient to explain commercial growth of the cities all the time, increasing number of foreign settlement in İzmir, especially from the eighteenth century onwards, indicates the existence of an intense commercial activity in the city.

#### **4.3 Natural Disasters and Urban Renovation**

İzmir has been destroyed many times with the plagues, earthquakes and fires in history. However, information about these natural disasters are very limited before the seventeenth century.

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<sup>252</sup> Ibid.,50.

<sup>253</sup> Brewer, *A Residence in Constantinople*, 54.

<sup>254</sup> Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and*, 70.

<sup>255</sup> Martal, *Değişim Sürecinde İzmir'de*, 50.

1688 earthquake was one of the most devastating disaster for the city. The earthquake and the following fire began on 10 July in the afternoon around *Sancak Kalesi* and the quakes lasted until 31 July. Three fourths of the houses around the castle was ruined and almost 15-16,000 people died. Although number of Europeans affected by the earthquake was fewer than the Turks, the fire that broke out right after the earthquake burned the European quarter completely. Then, it ruined half of the city by spreading to the Armenian quarter and the bazaar.<sup>256</sup>

The earthquake affected the commercial activities in the city very deeply. Most of the *kervan sarays* and merchandisewere ruined during and after the earthquake.<sup>257</sup> After the termination of the quakes on 31 July 1688, there were only twenty-two French merchants in the city and the French consulate moved to *Buca*.<sup>258</sup>

There is a plentiful information about the 1688 earthquake in a letter sent to John Ellis, Secretary of Ireland Revenue Commissioner, on 21 August 1688.

There has been a dismal earthquake at Smirna, which destroyed a great part of the city, and buried some of our English merchants under its ruins; and what makes it more lamentable is, that a fire succeeding, was likely to consume all that remained; for the ship that brought those sad news left it still burning.<sup>259</sup>

Two days later, on 23 August, another letter sent to Ellis gives more detailed information about the earthquake:

The bad news from Smyrna continues yet, but our merchants hope it is not so bad as the first report made it; which said, that a terrible earthquake has overturned the foundations of all the town, and that a violent fire broke out, which with its sulphurous smell stifled those that escaped from the ruins; that the first noise, which began with

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<sup>256</sup> Rauf Beyru, *19.Yüzyılda İzmir'de Doğal Afetler* (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2011), 10-11.

<sup>257</sup> Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir," 44-45.

<sup>258</sup> Beyru, *19.Yüzyılda İzmir'de*, 12.

<sup>259</sup> Ellis, *The Ellis Correspondence*, 134.

dismissal groanings, came from a mountain which stands above the town, which is said to be all sunk excepting a little chapel which stands at one end of it, where St. John is said to have been frequent, at the first beginnings of Christianity. But all will deserve a confirmation.<sup>260</sup>

İzmir was such an important port for the Europeans at the end of seventeenth century that after the 1688 earthquake, English and Dutch merchants offered help to reconstruct the city. Although there is no information about whether these offers materialized or not, the city seems to be recovered by 1691.<sup>261</sup>

Another major earthquake occurred on 4 April 1739 and damaged the city considerably by ruining the most part of the city, especially Frank Street.<sup>262</sup>

The earthquake which hit the city on 3 July 1778 lasted almost forty days and damaged the city dramatically. According to Slaars, a fire broke out on 5 July around a Greek House near *Derviş Han* and ruined almost twenty *hans* in the city. Additionally, French, British, Venetian, Ragusan consulates and great number of French and Greek houses burned down.<sup>263</sup>

French traveler Tavernier states that epidemics were also very frequent in the city, especially in the summer, but they were not destructive as in Christian world. He emphasize that Turks were not afraid of the plagues because of their faith in destiny. According to him, pyrexia which occurs usually in September and October was more fatal than epidemics.<sup>264</sup>

Plagues visited İzmir more frequently in the eighteenth century and affected the commercial fortunes of the city. It is estimated that plagues killed roughly 60,000

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<sup>260</sup> Ibid.,138.

<sup>261</sup> Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir," 53.

<sup>262</sup> Beyru, *19.Yüzyılda İzmir'de*, 13.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.,14.

<sup>264</sup> Tavernier, *Tavernier Seyehatnamesi*, 117.

to 100,000 people in the city in the course of the eighteenth century.<sup>265</sup> For example, plague which hit the city in 1814 killed approximately 40,000 people in İzmir.<sup>266</sup>

Richard Burges describes 1834 earthquake and the following plague as follows:

On the 3d of June, one of those destructive fires, which are so common in Oriental towns, broke out about mid-day, in the alley called Chiotica Khan: it consumed twelve or fifteen large dwellings in Frank Street; among them was the house of Messrs. Lee and Co., bankers, and the shops, loggings, &c. of one or two hundred families were consumed. The loss was estimated at from four to ten millions of piastres. No sooner had this subsided, than the plague appeared in the Jewish and the Turkish quarters, which, ever since, has kept the Franks in dread. I found the shops of the bazaar, for the most part, closed: the houses of the Greeks and other Europeans in quarantine; that is, a barrier is drawn across the doorway, and none of the inmates may go beyond it, nor touch anything that is without: letters and papers received, are perfumed before they are handled; money is thrown into vinegar and water.[...] The Turks, on the other hand, were reckless, and give themselves up to their destiny; they avoid not communication even with the infected and the dead; ...<sup>267</sup>

There are many other examples of this kind of disasters which damaged the population and the economic activities of the city. As it is seen above, the city overcame many destructive events and recovered quickly. İzmir was such an important commercial center for the Western European states, they tried to restore the city after every catastrophe to pursue their profitable commercial activities.

Despite their destructive results, fires facilitated the renovation of the city. Non-Muslims had been prevented to construct new buildings. However, frequent fires facilitated the granting permission for the non-Muslim urban elites to erect religious and commercial buildings. For example, after 1845 fire, Armenian quarter and commercial streets next to it were rearranged and widened. Consequently, these developments provided easier connection between the

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<sup>265</sup> Kasaba, "İzmir," 387.

<sup>266</sup> Brewer, *A Residence in Constantinople*, 56.

<sup>267</sup> Burgess, *Greece and the Levant*, 75-76.

Caravan Bridge, the bazar and the harbor and contributed to the commercial development of the city.<sup>268</sup>

#### 4.4 From Local Administration to the Municipal Government

Initially, İzmir was organized as a part of *Aydın Sancağı*.<sup>269</sup> After the creation of *Kaptan Paşa Eyaleti*, (or *Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid*) the city was incorporated into this province.<sup>270</sup> The city was a small administrative unit governed by a *kadı*. The *kadı* was changed every year. *Paşas* were sent to the city for only security concerns. According to Ülker, the central government might have wanted to sustain flow of the free trade in the town. According to him, another possibility is that central authority might have suspected about that the permanent *paşa* could exploit the commerce of İzmir for his own benefit or establish monopoly over the economy of the city. Because the *kadı* was replaced every year, he could not establish monopoly over the trade.<sup>271</sup> French traveler Tournefort who visited the city in 1702, makes an emphasis on the absence of a permanent *Paşa* in the city: "There is no Baffa [*Paşa*] in *Smyra*, but only one Sadar, who commands two thousand Janizaries, log'd in and about the City. Justice is adminiftered there by a Cadi."<sup>272</sup> Another French traveler, Tavernier, claims that *kadı* of İzmir treated well to the Christian inhabitants of the city. If *kadı* abuses his authority, one could easily report his complains to Şeyh-ül İslam in İstanbul and *kadı* would be removed from his office.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> Sibel Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman İzmir, The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840-1880* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 79.

<sup>269</sup> Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda İzmir*, 55.

<sup>270</sup> Ülker, "The rise of İzmir," 267.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., 268.

<sup>272</sup> Tournefort, *A Voyage into*, 334.

<sup>273</sup> Hasan Zorlusoy, *XVII. Yüzyıldan Günümüze Fransız Gezginlerin Gözüyle İzmir* (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2013), 56.

According to Faroqhi the city was intentionally kept as a small district and not promoted to the rank of *sancak* capital. In other words, involvement of higher officers was prevented by the center in order not to disturb the foreign trade.<sup>274</sup> However after the war against Venice (1715-1718), the administration of the city changed. During the war *kadı* had difficulty on controlling the city. This situation forced The Porte to change the administration from *kadılık* to *paşalık*. The first known *paşa* of İzmir was Köprülü Abdullah Paşa. However this change lasted only three years, through the war years. After the war years, İzmir again governed by *kadı* until 1740.<sup>275</sup>

Another important officer in the city was customs officer (*Gümrük Emini*). According to Çızakça, because the empire was not centralized in its economic policies, each commercial center had its own customs system. Therefore, customs officer of İzmir was also considerably independent in his activities. However, this freedom could not be legitimate, because the first concern of the Porte was to secure the wealth of the Palace and its people. Because of this policy of the Porte, it can be said that the Sultan was willing to give freedom to the customs officer. Just like the *kadılık*, customs officers were replaced every year. The office was given to individuals in return for certain amount of money. As a result, the customs officers tried to collect as much as money he could. This caused problems for the foreign merchants and they sent complaints to the center.<sup>276</sup>

Aydın Province was composed of three *sancaks* in the eighteenth century; Saruhan, Aydın and Suğla. İzmir was a *kaza* of Suğla *sancak*.<sup>277</sup> İzmir's administration was affected by the *Tanzimat* reforms. İzmir became the center of

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<sup>274</sup>Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change," 481.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.,270-271.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid.,276-279.

<sup>277</sup> N. Feryal Tansuğ, "Communal Relations in Smyrna/İzmir, 1826-1864: As Seen Through the Prism of Greek-Turkish Relations" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2008), 42.

Aydın Province in 1841.<sup>278</sup> It became a separate province in 1866 and municipality was established in 1868.<sup>279</sup>

Initially, Ottoman Empire established municipalities in Eastern Mediterranean port cities which had close commercial ties with the Europe. Due to its increasing commercial importance and work opportunities, İzmir attracted large number of migrants such as entrepreneurs and merchants in the middle of the nineteenth century. Commercial elites demanded accommodation and security facilities to conduct more secure trade. They put pressure on the Ottoman government to establish municipal government which could response their needs. Thus, local commercial elements played an important role on the transition from local administration to the municipal government.<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid.,25.

<sup>280</sup> Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman İzmir*, 76-77.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

Expansion of the capitalist world economy and increasing world trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries affected Eastern Mediterranean port cities more than other parts of the empire. Although İzmir had long been prevented to grow further until the sixteenth century, the city began to gain importance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries owing to the fact that transformations in the Ottoman Empire and the world economy and became the most important port for the external trade of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. European settlement in İzmir accelerated in the seventeenth century due to more suitable conditions which were absent other commercial centers such as Aleppo and Chios. Its good harbor, more secure environment and loose administration gave foreign merchants more comfortable space to conduct trade. Population of the city continued to grow considerably between sixteenth and nineteenth centuries despite the devastating natural disasters such as earthquakes, fires and plagues. Travelers who visited the city as early as seventeenth century defined the city as a populous and cosmopolitan commercial center.

Ottoman-Iranian Wars and *Celali* Uprisings in the central Anatolia made difficult to reach eastern goods, especially to Persian silk. Thus Tokat- İzmir caravan route became more favorable. Increasing European demand for silk, cotton and mohair yarn played an important role in the rise of the city as a commercial center. While İzmir was a transit point for eastern goods in the most part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it became a crucial commercial center owing to the increasing demand for western Anatolian agricultural products from Europe in the nineteenth century.

Another important factor was the change in the policy of the Ottoman central government. From the seventeenth century onwards, central authority realized the

commercial potential of the city and tried to maximize its profit by building commercial buildings and reducing custom taxes paid in the İzmir port.

There were also changes in the European commercial structure. Venice had dominated Mediterranean trade from the Late Middle Ages until the end of sixteenth century. However, after the exploration of Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese, Venice lost its commercial superiority in the region and center of the capitalist world economy moved to Antwerp. Furthermore, Ottoman-Venetian War of 1570-73 and Thirty Years' War damaged Venetian commercial presence in the Eastern Mediterranean considerably. Cheap and high quality British woolen products began to dominate Levantine market from the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Climatic and ecologic changes during the Little Ice Age affected Mediterranean trade dramatically between the sixteenth and eighteenth century. Westerly relocation of the oriental goods such as sugar and cotton due to the climatic change had moved center of the capitalist world economy from the Mediterranean to the shores of Atlantic. Climate change in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries facilitated the rice and cotton cultivation in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in the Aegean region and İzmir became an important port for the cotton exports for the Europeans in this period.

Europeans, especially the British, Dutch and French merchants, began to visit the Mediterranean more frequently after the fall of Venice in the Levant to sell grain and textile products and to purchase raw materials for their growing industry. Western Anatolian cotton and mohair of Ankara played an important role in the rise of İzmir port in the eighteenth century.

Ottoman Empire was willing to grant capitulations to the European states to get political support against its opponents. France and Britain gained capitulations in the second half of the sixteenth century and their commercial presence expanded in the empire.

İzmir with its more flexible administration and good harbor facilities began to attract foreign merchants to the city from the second half of the sixteenth century.

The French became dominant in İzmir's export trade during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries owing to their cheap and good quality cloths. However, French naval force was ruined by the British during the Seven Years' War. Furthermore, natural disasters occurred in İzmir affected French trade in the city considerably towards the end of eighteenth century. Thus, France lost its commercial superiority in the Levant especially after the French Revolution.

Britain began to search new markets for its industrial products and reoriented its trade towards Levant in the nineteenth century. İzmir had special importance in the British trade with the Ottoman Empire. Agricultural products such as valonia, cotton and cotton yarn which could be found abundantly in the close hinterland of İzmir gained importance in the nineteenth century and İzmir became the most active port in the Ottoman Empire.

Transformation of the Ottoman Empire was coincided with the expansion of the world economy and world trade. Rapid population growth, developments in the military technology and price revolution of the sixteenth century caused financial problems in the Ottoman Empire. These economic difficulties were deteriorated in the course of eighteenth century and the Ottoman Empire took several measures to provide the treasury with more cash. The most important of them was to transition from *timar* system to *iltizam* (tax farming) and then life term revenue tax farm (*malikane*) which resulted in the rise of *ayans* and change in the relations of agricultural production. In order to increase their profits, tax farmers introduced usury relations and feudalized agriculture by exploiting free peasants. Application of tax farming was expanded in the eighteenth century and number of commercial large estates (*çiftlik*s) increased in certain areas of the empire such as the Balkans, the Thrace and the Western Anatolia.

Introduction of *malikane* at the end of eighteenth century facilitated the privatization of land and market relations. Also, *malikane* system contributed to emergence of strong ties between Armenian, Jewish and Greek moneylenders and tax farmers. Thus, these developments intensified the economic relations between the Ottoman and European port cities.

*Ayans* had an important role in the commercialization of agriculture in response to the expansion of the world economy and rising demand for raw materials from the European capitalist states. Karaosmanoğlu family in the Western Anatolia is a good example to show the role of *ayans* in the economic transformation of the Western Anatolia. They were tax collectors in the Aydın province and had strong ties with Saruhan. They boost their income with the taxes they imposed on the goods produced in their realms and exported to the West. Commercialization of agriculture continued to expand despite the attempts of the Ottoman government to curb the power of *ayans* in the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>281</sup>

Another group benefited from the increasing trade between the Ottoman Empire and the Europe were commercial mediators which had direct link with the producers, foreign merchants and the government. They took advantage of declining power of the Ottoman government on the production, circulation of goods and administration in the nineteenth century and played an important role on the increasing foreign trade.

To sum up, in the second half of the nineteenth century, commercial links between the Ottoman Empire and the Europe grew stronger as a result of the expansion of the capitalist world economy and the growing world trade. Those developments led to changes in the Ottoman Empire such as extension of tax farming and commercialization of agriculture. Western Anatolia as one of the most commercialized region in the Empire and İzmir as a cosmopolitan commercial port city had a significant role in this process. Consequently, increased commercial activities led to immense changes in the city's administration, topography and population.

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<sup>281</sup> Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 233-238.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A

#### TÜRKÇE ÖZET

17. ve 18. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun en önemli limanlarından biri haline gelen İzmir, 16. Yüzyılın ikinci yarısına kadar küçük bir köydü. Kentin büyümesi ve gelişmesi Osmanlı merkezi idaresinin geleneksel ekonomik politikası olan iaşecilik nedeniyle engellenmeye çalışılmış olsa da, 16. Yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren hem Osmanlı Devleti'nde hem de Avrupa'da ortaya çıkan bir dizi ekonomik ve siyasi değişiklikler nedeniyle kent gittikçe önem kazanmaya başladı. 16. yüzyıl öncesinde kent İstanbul'un iaşesi için bir depo olarak kullanılıyordu.

16. yüzyıl hem Osmanlı Devleti'nde hem de Avrupa'da bir takım dönüşümlerin yaşandığı bir dönemdi. Avrupa'nın merkantilist ekonomik politikası, bu devletleri mamul ürünlerini satmak ve gelişen sanayileri için hammadde sağlamak için yeni pazar arayışına girmişti. Osmanlı devleti ise hem bir tarım ülkesi hem de ithalatı teşvik eden, ihracatı mümkün olduğunca önlemeye çalışan görece kapalı ekonomik yapısıyla bu amaç için en uygun yerd. İzmir de verimli hinterlandı ve liman olanaklarıyla bu süreçten en çok etkilenen liman kentlerinden biri oldu.

Aslında İzmir 16.yüzyılda dış ticarete henüz etkin olamasa da, imparatorluk içindeki ticarete önemli bir yere sahipti. Deniz taşımacılığı kara taşımacılığından daha ucuz olduğu için İzmir'in İmparatorluğun diğer limanlarıyla, özellikle İstanbul'la olan ticareti önemli boyuttaydı.

Osmanlı Devleti'nin ekonomik sıkıntıları, Avrupalı Devletler 'in İran ipeği gibi doğu hammaddelerine ihtiyacının arttığı bir döneme denk düştü.Bu nedenle devlet, nakit ihtiyacını karşılamak için ekonomi üzerindeki kontrolünü sınırlamak zorunda kaldı.İran ve Osmanlı Devleti arasında yapılan uzun savaşlar, bir taraftan

hazinenin nakit ihtiyacını arttırırken, diğer taraftan da geleneksel ipek yollarını tehlikeli hale getirmişti.Halep, ipek ticareti için bir merkez halindeyken 17.yüzyılda önemini kaybetmeye başladı. Tokat-İzmir karavan yolu daha güvenli hale gelince, yabancı tüccarlar İran ipeğini satın almak için Halep yerine İzmir'i ziyaret etmeye başladılar.

17.yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti İzmir'in ticari potansiyelinin farkına vardı ve engellemek yerine bu durumdan kar etmenin yollarını aramaya başladı. İzmir limanından yapılan ticaretin büyük kısmının kayıtsız ticaret yani kaçakçılık olduğu biliniyor. 16. Yüzyılda İzmir limanında en etkin olan diki devlet Venedik ve Dubrovnik'ti. Bu devletler de kaçakçılık yaparak ihracatı yasak malları gemilerine yüklüyorlardı.Örneğin, hububat, pamuk, pamuk ipliği, urgan, balmumu, haşhaş ve deri gibi İstanbul'un iaşesi için önemli malların ihracatı yasaktı.Ancak İzmir limanında bir rıhtım olmaması kaçakçılığı kolaylaştırıyordu.Bazen Osmanlı gemileri malları İstanbul'a götürmek için alıyor ancak yabancı tüccar gemilerine yüklüyorlardı.

Osmanlı Devleti de kaçakçılığa son vermek ve şehrin ticaretini denetim altına almak için bir takım kolaylıklar sağlamaya başladı.İzmir limanında ticaret yapan yabancı tüccarlara bir takım vergi indirimi yapılması bu anlayışa örnek olarak gösterilebilir.İzmir'deki daha kolay koşullar nedeniyle, yabancı tüccarlar daha önceki Kuşadası ve Sakız gibi limanlardan İzmir'e kaymaya başladılar.Ayrıca, bu dönemde, kentin ticaretini denetim altında tutmak ve kaçakçılığı önlemek için ticari binalar inşa edilmeye başlandı.1675 yılında yeni gümrük binası yapıldı ve tüm tüccarların yüklerini burada yükleyip boşaltmaları zorunlu kılındı. İzmir'i 1671 gibi erken bir tarihte ziyaret eden Evliya Çelebi, kenti hareketli bir ticaret kenti olarak tasvir eder.

Yabancı tüccarları İzmir'e yerleşmeye yönlendiren diğer bir neden de kentin diğer liman kentlerine göre daha özgür bir ortam sunmasıdır.Osmanlı Devleti'nde yabancıların mülk sahibi olması yasaktır.Halep gibi ticari merkezlerde tüccarlar hanlarda yaşarken, İzmir'de Buca ve Bornova'da daha 17.yüzyılda tüccarların kendi evlerinde ve rahat koşullarda yaşadığı biliniyor.

İzmir'in bir ticaret limanı olarak yükselişinde dünya ekonomisindeki değişimlerin ve dönüşümlerin etkisi de yadsınamaz. Birçok araştırmacıya göre Osmanlı Devleti'nin dünya ekonomik sistemine eklenme süreci iki ayrı süreçten oluşur. İlki 1550-1650 yılları arasındaki erken dönemdir. İkinci dönemse dünya ekonomisiyle bütünleşmenin çok net görüldüğü 1831-1900 dönemidir. İzmir'in bir liman kenti olarak önem kazanmasını da iki ayrı dönemde incelemek daha doğru olur. 16. Yüzyıldan 18. yüzyıla kadar olan sürede İzmir uzak bölgelerden limana getirilen mallar ve yabancı tüccarlar arasında bir köprü olmuştur. Ancak, 19. yüzyılda İzmir'in yakın hinterlandındaki tarımsal ürünlerin önem kazanması, kentin ticaretinde ve dolayısıyla kozmopolit yapısında büyük değişikliklere yol açmıştır. Bu ilk dönemde ipek ticaretinin İzmir'e kayması, kent ticaretinin canlanmasında önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Selanik'teki tekstil endüstrisinin düşüşe geçmesinden sonra buradaki Yahudiler, İzmir'e yerleşmeye başlamış ve ipek ticaretinde aracı ve tercüman olarak önemli rol üstlenmişlerdir. Kısacası, Avrupa'nın doğu ipeğine artan talebi kentin gelişmesine önemli katkı sağlamıştır.

Bu dönemde Avrupa'nın ihtiyacı olan Ankara tiftiği, diğer adıyla moheri, İzmir limanında ticaretin yoğunlaşmasında katkıda bulunan diğer bir üründür. Yabancı tüccarlar bu ürüne direkt olarak ulaşmak için Ankara'ya yerleşmek istemişlerse de, İzmir'deki daha avantajlı koşullar bu çabayı gereksiz kılmış ve kent bu ürünün ticaretindeki yerini 1760'lara kadar korumuştur.

Kentin ticari hacmindeki gelişmelerle birlikte nüfus artışı hızlanmış ve nüfus yapısı da değişmeye başlamıştır. 16. yüzyılın ortalarında 3 bin civarı olan nüfus, 17. Yüzyılın ortalarında yaklaşık 90 bine ulaşmıştır. İzmir'in nüfusuyla ilgili bilgilere genellikle yabancı seyyahların anlatımlarından ulaşıyoruz. Bazı rakamlar abartılı olsa da, ortalama bir fikir vermesi açısından bu seyahatnameler oldukça önemlidir. Diğer kentler gibi İzmir'de kentin tepesinde, Kadifekale yakınlarında kurulmuştur. 16. Yüzyılın başlarında kent sadece beş mahalleden oluşur. Bunlar, isimleri Faik Paşa, Pazar, Han Beğ, Mescid-i Selatin-zade, Limon (Liman) olan Müslüman mahalleri ve Cemaat-ı Gebran olarak adlandırılan bir gayrimüslim mahalleleridir. 16. yüzyıl boyunca kent nüfusu artmaya devam etmiş ve yeni mahalleler eklenmiştir. 1528 ve 1578 yılları arasında İzmir'de ani bir nüfus artışı

gözlenir.Aslında bu dönemde tüm Akdeniz bölgesinde bir nüfus artışı söz konusu.Ancak, İzmir'deki nüfus artışı yüzde 215'i bulmuştur.Ayrıca, gayrimüslim nüfus yüzde 256 artarak, kentin nüfus yapısı da oldukça değişmiştir.Bu denli hızlı nüfus artışında doğal sebeplerin yanında, dönemin siyasi olayları da etkili olmuştur.Anadolu'daki Celali Ayaklanmaları kente olan göçü arttıran nedenlerden biridir.Ayrıca, Sakız, Trakya bölgesi ve Ege adalarında yerlerinden edilen Rumlar da İzmir'i tercih etmiştir.Yine bu dönemde Ermeni ve Yahudi Cemaatlerinin kente yerleşimi hız kazanmıştır. Kenti hemen hemen her yıl ziyaret eden yıkıcı depremler, yangınlar ve salgın hastalıklara rağmen, kentin nüfusu artmaya devam etmiş ve 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında neredeyse 230 bine yükselmiştir.

Doğal afetler İzmir'in hem ticari hem de demografik yapısında en etkili faktörlerden biridir. 17. yüzyıl öncesinde kentte yaşanan afetlerle ilgili bilgi çok azdır. Ancak 17.yüzyıl ve sonrasında özellikle yabancı seyyahların yazdıkları bu afetlerin kente olan etkilerini gözler önüne sermektedir. Belgelerde ve seyahatnamelerde en çok bahsedilen felaket, 1688 Depremi'dir. 10 Temmuz'da başlayan deprem ve ardından kenti saran yangın 31 Temmuz'a kadar sürmüş ve Sancak Kalesi etrafındaki evlerden dörtte biri yok olmuş, 15-16 bin kadar kent sakini yaşamını yitirmiştir. Depremden etkilenen yabacıların sayısı Türklere göre az olsa da, depremin ardından çıkan yangın Frenk Mahallesi'ni neredeyse tümüyle yok etmiştir. Daha sonra yangın Ermeni mahallesine ve kent pazarına yayılarak kent yaşamını derinden etkilemiştir.Yangından şehrin ticaretinin de etkilendiği açıkça görülür.Kervansarayların çoğu ve depolardaki ticari mallar yok olmuştur.Depremden sonra kentte sadece 22 Fransız tüccar kalmış ve Fransız konsolosluğu Buca'ya taşınmıştır.Daha 17.yüzyılda İzmir yabancı tüccarlar için o kadar önemli bir ticaret merkezi haline gelmiştir ki, depremden sonra kendi imkânlarıyla kenti yeniden inşa etmeye çalışmışlardır. Ne yazık ki, bu deprem şehri derinden etkileyen tek afet olmamıştır. 18. Yüzyıl boyunca da birçok deprem, yangın ve salgın hastalık kentin nüfusunu ve ticari faaliyetlerini derinden ekilemeye devam etmiştir.

Yabancı t ccarların İzmir’i terk etmemeleri ve giderek sayılarının artmasının bir nedeni de kent y netiminin diğ er liman kentlerine g re daha gevşek bir yapıya sahip olmasıdır.İzmir Aydın sancağının bir kazası olarak Osmanlı y netimine eklenmiştir ve en yetkili y netici kadıdır.Diğ er Osmanlı kentlerinin aksine, kentte y netimden sorumlu s rekli bir Paş a yoktur.Paş a ancak geici olarak g venlik sorunları olduėu d nemlerde atanmıştır.Necmi  lker’e g re Osmanlı y netiminin bu tavrında kentin ticari akışını engellemek amacı olabilir.Kadı her yıl deėiştirildiğinden, ticaret  zerinde tekel oluřturabilecek g ce sahip deėildir.Kentteki diğ er  nemli memur g mr k eminiydi.Ancak imparatorluk ekonomik politikasında katı bir merkezi y netim uygulamadıėı iin g mr k emini de hareketlerine serbestti.Ayrıca, kadı gibi g mr k emini de her yıl deėiştirildiğinden ticareti elinde tutması olanaksızdı.Bu g rev, iltizam Őeklinde verildiėi iin bazen g mr k emini m mk n olan en ok kazanca ulařmaya alıřırdı.Fakat bu durum yabancı t ccarlar iin sorun teřkil ettiğinde, İstanbul’a Őik yet edip g mr k emininin deėiřmesini talep edebiliyorlardı.

Avrupalı t ccarların Osmanlı liman kentlerini tercih etmesinde Osmanlı İmparatorluėu’nun ticari ve siyasi amalarla verdiėi kapit lasyonlar da etkili olmuřtur.Kapit lasyonlarla birlikte yabancı t ccarların İzmir, Halep, Galata gibi limanlara yerleşmesine izin verilmiştir. Kapit lasyonları ilk elde eden devletler İtalyan devletleriydi. Bu nedenle uzun bir s re Venedik, Akdeniz ticareti  zerinde tekel oluřturmuřtu.Daha sonra ilk  nce Fransızlar (1517’de) ve İngilizler (1580’de) olmak  zere Avrupa devletleri de kendi kapit lasyonlarını elde ettiler.Fransız ve İngiliz Levant Őirketleri tekstil mallarını satmak ve hammadde ithal etmek iin bir arayışa girdikleri sırada, Osmanlı y netimi Celali İřyanları nedeniyle Batı Anadolu’nun denetimini kaybetmiřti.Bu nedenle Avrupalı Őirketler y n, kuru meyve, pamuk ve diğ er yerel  r nlerini ticaretini tekelleřtirmeye bařladılar.Kapit lasyonları elde ettikten hemen sonra Fransız ve İngiliz konsoloslukları İzmir’e tařındı ve buradaki ticaretlerini denetim altına aldılar.Konsoloslukların İzmir’e tařınmasından sonra İzmir’in g mr k gelirlerinde  nemli  l de artışa neden olmuřtur.

Fransız Levant Şirketi 1670 yılında kuruldu ve 18.yüzyılın sonlarına kadar Osmanlı ve özellikle İzmir ticaretinde baskın güç oldu. 1670 yılında İzmir’de 269 kişiden oluşan kalabalık bir Fransız cemaati vardı.Fransa 18.yüzyılda Yakın Doğu ile olan ticaretinin yaklaşık üçte birini İzmir limanı üzerinden gerçekleştiriyordu ve 1789 Fransız Devrimi’ne kadar İzmir’in dış ticaretindeki baskınlığını korudu. Rusya ve Osmanlı Devleti arasında Fransa’nın arabuluculuğuyla imzalanan Belgrad Antlaşması, Fransız- Osmanlı ilişkilerinin gelişmesinde önemli rol oynadı. Fransa yardımları karşılığı yeni kapitülasyonlar elde ederken, bu kapitülasyonları süresiz hale getirmeyi de başarmıştı. Özellikle 18.Yüzyılın ikinci yarısında, Fransa İngiltere’yi Akdeniz ticaretinde geri plana iterek İzmir’i Osmanlı Devleti’nden gerçekleştirdiği ithalat için bir üs olarak kullandı.Ancak, 18 yüzyılın sonlarına doğru İngiltere ile yaptığı savaşlar ve ülke içindeki siyasi karışıklıklar nedeniyle Levant bölgesinde Fransız ticareti düşüşe geçti.Örneğin Amerikan Bağımsızlık Savaşı döneminde Fransızlar mallarını İzmir’e İngilizler tarafından ele geçirilmemesi için Hollanda gemileriyle göndermişlerdi. 1775-1789 döneminde Fransız malları İzmir ithalatının yüzde 51’ni oluştururken, bu oran 1803 yılında yüzde 15,4’e düşmüştür.

Fransa’nın Akdeniz’den çekilmesinden sonra, İngiltere ticaretini Akdeniz’e kaydırmaya başladı. 17. yüzyılda İngiltere’nin Osmanlı Devleti’ne ihraç ettiği en önemli ürün yünü kumaşlardı. Ancak özellikle 1740’tan sonra İngiltere pazarını daha ucuz, kaliteli ve parlak renkli Fransız yünülerine kaptırmıştı. 1770’lerde İngiltere’nin tekstil ürünleri Levant bölgesinde yeniden önem kazanmaya başladı. Ancak, Amerikan Bağımsızlık Savaşı İzmir’deki İngiliz ticaretini önemli ölçüde etkiledi.Napolyon Savaşları’ndan sonra (1803-1815), Avrupalı devletler bir ekonomik kriz içerisine girdi ve ekonomilerini korumak için ithalatın önüne engeller koydular.Bu nedenle İngiltere Avrupa’daki pazarını kaybetti.Dahası, yiyecek maddelerinin ve sanayi için gerekli hammaddelerin fiyatları giderek azalıyordu ve bu da Avrupa’da alım gücünün azalmasına neden oluyordu.Pazarındaki daralmaya rağmen İngiltere üretmeye devam etti ve ürünlerini satmak için ticari ağına yeni bölgeler eklemeye çalıştı.Böylece, İngiltere Osmanlı Devleti’nin en önemli ticari ortağı haline geldi. Bu dönemde

Osmanlı Devleti hububat, pamuk, kök boyalar, ipek, meyveler, afyon gibi hammaddeler ihraç ederken, İngiltere'den pamuklu ve yünlü tekstil ürünleri, tarımsal makineler, demir, gazyağı ve kömür ithal etti.

1802 yılında İngiltere'nin İzmir üzerinden Osmanlı Devleti'ne yaptığı ihracat, o zamana kadar ki en yüksek seviyeye ulaştı. İlerleyen yıllarda İzmir'e gelen İngiliz ticaret gemilerinde de önemli artış oldu. Örneğin, 1805 yılında sadece 5 İngiliz ticaret gemisi İzmir Limanı'na gelmişken bu sayı 1820'de 40'a ulaştı.

Özellikle 19.yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Avrupa'nın Osmanlı tarımsal ürünlerine olan talebi önemli miktarda arttı ve Osmanlı Devleti, İngiltere'nin dünya ekonomisindeki üstünlüğünde önemli rol oynadı. Batı Anadolu'da bolca bulunan ve deri imalatında kullanılan meşe palamudu Avrupa'da dericilik sektörünün gelişmesiyle 19.Yüzyılın ikinci yarısında önem kazandı.

1839 yılında İzmir limanından ihraç edilen ürünlerin yüzde 35,5'i İngiltere'ye gönderildi ve İngiltere'nin Osmanlı Devleti'ne olan ithalatının yüzde 30'u İzmir limanı üzerinden gerçekleşti.

Görüldüğü gibi, İzmir limanı 17.yüzyıldan itibaren Avrupalı devletlerin, özellikle İngiltere ve Fransa'nın en önemli ticaret merkezlerinden biri oldu ve limanın önemi 19. yüzyıla kadar artmaya devam etti.

Kent tarihi çalışmalarında, özellikle liman kentleri incelenirken, Immanuel Wallerstein'in dünya-sistemi teorisi önemli bir yere sahiptir. Ancak bu yaklaşım dikkat çektiği kadar eleştiriye de maruz kalan bir yaklaşımdır. Dünya ticaretinin artmasıyla birlikte, Osmanlı liman kentlerinin önem kazanması bu yaklaşımla çözümlenmeye çalışılır.Modernleşme teorisine bir tepki olarak çıkan dünya-sistemi teorisi, kapitalizm, endüstrileşme ve ulus devletlerin nasıl ortaya çıktığını açıklamaya çalışır.Modernleşme teorisinin aksine, dünya-sistemi teorisi bu gelişmelerde tarihsel faktörlerin de önemli olduğunu öne sürer.Wallerstein'a göre, dünya-sisteminde Avrupa toplumları ve daha sonra tüm küre birbirine eşit olmayan ekonomik ve siyasi ilişkilerle bağlıdır.Kapitalist dünya ekonomisi, feodalizmin krizi ve iklimsel değişimler sonucu ortaya çıkmıştır.Bu iki sorun coğrafi genişlemeyle çözülebilirdi ve bu da demografik genişleme ve fiyat artışına

sebepe oldu.Bu nedenle Avrupalı devletler düzenli ordular oluşturmaya, kültürlerini homojenleştirmeye, ekonomilerini çeşitlendirmeye ve devlet yapısını merkezileştirmeye başladılar. 17. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına gelindiğinde kuzey batı Avrupa ülkeleri dünya-sistemi içerisinde merkez olarak yer alırken, İspanya ve kuzey İtalya devletleri periferi olarak yer aldı.

Wallerstein'a göre üç farklı sosyal sistem vardır; mini-sistemler, dünya-imparatorlukları ve dünya-ekonomileri.Mini sistemler, tarım toplumlarında ya da avcılık ve toplayıcılık yapan toplumlarda görülür ve kültürel anlamda homojendirler. Dünya-sistemleri tek bir iş bölümü ve birden çok kültürel sistemi olan yapılardır. Wallerstein dünya sistemlerini ikiye ayırır; biri ortak bir siyasi sistemi olan dünya-imparatorlukları, diğeri ise ortak bir siyasi sistemi olmayan dünya-ekonomileridir.Dünya-imparatorlukları ekonomik politika ve ticaret anlamında yeniden dağıtıcı oldukları için artı değeri bürokrasilerini ayakta tutmak için kullanırlar ve dolayısıyla kapalı bir ekonomiye sahiptirler.Dünya-ekonomisinde, diğere adıyla kapitalizmde, ise piyasa ekonomisi hâkimdir.Bu nedenle 16.yüzyıldan itibaren kapitalist dünya-sistemi, dünya-imparatorluklarını kendi sistemiyle bütünleştirmeye başlamıştır.

Modern kapitalist dünya-sistemi üç farklı bölgeden oluşur; merkez, periferi ve yarı-periferi bölgeler.Periferi, merkeze hammadde sağlayan ve merkez tarafından sömürülen bölgelerdir. Yarı-periferi bölgeler ise bu iki form arasında, ne tam anlamıyla sömürülen ne de sömüren bir dengeleyiciyi bölgedir. Osmanlı Devleti'nin de dünya-sistemiyle yarı-periferi olarak bütünleştiği söylenir.Bu bütünleşme sürecinden en çok etkilenen bölgeler de, dış etkiye açık olan liman-kentleridir.

Osmanlı Devleti'nin kapitalist dünya sistemi ile bütünleşme süreci 18.yüzyıl ve sonrasında ivme kazandıysa da, bu sürecin kökenleri 16.yüzyılda başlayan ekonomik ve idari dönüşümlerde görülebilir. 16. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Devleti için ekonomik anlamda bir bunalım dönemidir. Öncelikle, bu dönemde tüm Akdeniz bölgesinde olduğu gibi, Osmanlı Devleti'nde de ani bir nüfus artışı görülür.Ekilebilir arazilerin boyutu da artmış olmasına karşın, bu artış nüfusun

çok geride kalmış ve kaynak sıkıntısına yol açmıştır.İkinci olarak, Avrupa'daki askeri teknolojilerdeki gelişme ve değişimler Osmanlı Devleti'ni ordusunu yeniden düzenlemeye mecbur kılmıştır. Osmanlı Devleti, sipahilerin sayısını azaltırken, düzenli bir ordu kurmak için paralı askerlerin sayısını arttırmış ve bu değişimler devlet bütçesi üzerinde baskı yaratmıştır. 1550 yılında Yeniçerilerin sayıları yalnızca 13 bin kadarken, 16. yüzyılın sonunda bu sayı 38 bini bulmuştur. Böylesine büyük bir orduyu beslemek ve bütçe açıklarını kapatmak için akçe taşıması yoluna gitmiştir.Ancak kısa vadede yarar sağlayan bu yöntem, uzun vadede uzun vadede ekonomik ve siyasi karmaşaya yol açmıştır. 16. yüzyılda Avrupa'da meydana gelen fiyat devrimi Osmanlı ekonomisine bir darbe daha vurmuş ve yüksek enflasyona neden olmuştur. Osmanlı Devleti'nin içinde bulunduğu ekonomik zorluklar 18.yüzyılda daha da derinleşmiştir.

Merkezi otorite bu sefer de ekonomisini rahatlatmak için toprak düzeninde değişiklik yoluna gitmiştir.Tımar sisteminden iltizama ve daha sonra da malikâne sistemine geçerek devlet bütçesini rahatlatmaya çalışmıştır.Ancak tımandan iltizama geçiş ayanların güç kazanmasına ve tarımsal alanda üretim ilişkilerinin dönüşmesine de yol açmıştır. Bu ayanlar tarımsal alana tefecilik ilişkilerini getirmiş, tarımın feodalleşmesine ve köylünün sömürülmesine yol açmıştır. İltizam sistemi 18.yüzyılda artarak devam etmiş ve Balkanlar, Trakya, Batı Anadolu bölgelerinde geniş ticari işletmelerin (çiftlik) ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur.

18. yüzyılın sonunda malikâne sistemi uygulamaya konulmasıyla toprağın özelleştirilmesi ve piyasa ekonomisinde rekabet ortaya çıkmıştır. Ayrıca bu sistem Ermeni, Yahudi, Rum tefecileri ile malikâne sahipleri arasında güçlü bir bağ oluşmasına ve Osmanlı ve Avrupa liman kentleri arasındaki iletişimin güçlenmesine neden olmuştur.

Bu dönemde ayanlar tarıma yatırım yaparak buldukları bölgede sosyal ve siyasi bağlantılarını güçlendirdiler. Örneğin, Batı Anadolu'da Karaosmanoğlu ailesi bölgede çıkan karmaşaları bastırma çabaları sonucu Aydın eyaletinin mültezimi olmuştu ve Saruhan bölgesiyle de güçlü ilişkileri vardı. Ayrıca kendi bölgelerinde

yetiştirilen ve Batı'ya ihraç edilen tarımsal ürünler üzerinden aldıkları vergi ile servetlerini arttırmışlardı.Kısacası, imparatorluğun dış etkilere açık bölgelerinde büyük ölçekli tarımsal işletmeler ortaya çıkmış ve bu işletmelerde üretim ithalat odaklı olmuştu.Osmanlı merkezi yönetimi, 19.yüzyılın başlarında ayanların gücünü kırmaya çalışmışsa da tarımın ticarileşmesi artarak devam etti.

19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında, Trakya, Kuzey Yunanistan ve Batı Anadolu bölgesi imparatorluğun en çok ticarileşen bölgeleriydi. 1838-1841 Serbest Ticaret Antlaşmalarından sonra, Osmanlı Devleti'nin hammadde ve gıda ürünleri ticareti üzerindeki kısıtlayıcı yetkisini kaybetmişti.Özellikle bu ticaret antlaşmalarından sonra, bu bölgelerin dış ticaretteki önemi hızlıca arttı.Tarımda ticarileşme ve ithalat odaklı üretimin yaygınlaşmasından sonra, kuru meyveler, tütün, incir, pamuk, ham ipek ve zeytinyağı en önemli ithalat ürünleri oldu.

19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Osmanlı Devleti kapitalist dünya ekonomisiyle tamimiyle bütünleşti. İngiltere bu dünya ekonomisinin merkezinde yer alan ülke olarak Osmanlı Devleti'nin en önemli ticari ortağı oldu. İzmir, Osmanlı Devleti'nin dünya ekonomisi ile artan ticaretinde çok önemli bir yere sahipti ve ticareti 1840-1870 döneminde 4 kat arttı.

Özetle, iltizam sisteminin uygulanması, ayanların güç kazanması ve ticari tarımın yaygınlaşması Osmanlı Devleti'nin dünya ekonomisiyle bütünleşmesinde önemli rol oynadı.Osmanlı Devleti ve Avrupa arasında gittikçe artan ticarete en erken yanıt veren bölge olarak Batı Anadolu bu süreçte önemli rol oynadı.Uygun liman olanakları ve zengin hinterlandı İzmir'in bu süreçte önem kazanmasına ve 19.yüzyılda imparatorluğun en önemli ithalat limanı olmasına neden oldu.

## APPENDIX B

### TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

#### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

#### YAZARIN

Soyadı :

Adı :

Bölümü :

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisan  Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: