

CHANGES IN THE CONSUMPTION OF OTTOMANS
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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

BY

SÜMEYYE HOŞGÖR BÜKE

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

SEPTEMBER 2019

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

CHANGES IN THE CONSUMPTION OF OTTOMANS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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September 2019, 219 pages

This thesis aims to investigate the change in consumption of the Ottomans in the eighteenth century through the analysis of the inheritance inventories. Istanbul, in the eighteenth century, has gone through a different socialization process by the effect of the several internal dynamics, and this study shows the effects of the socialization on the consumption patterns of the ordinary Ottomans. Although it is considered that the change in consumption has been directly linked by the economy, this thesis has revealed the effects of the changing daily routines on the consumption. In short, this study emphasizes the social dimensions of consumption and reveals that the internal dynamics of Istanbul affected the consumer behavior of ordinary Ottomans. This study does not underestimate the effects of political and economic conditions on consumption behavior, rather the aim of the study is to highlight the effects of the economy and politics on socialization and to relate them to changes in consumer behavior. In the light of the inheritance inventories this study concludes that while the outward expansion of the society during the first half of

the century triggered the consumption of the particular materials, the period of disappearance faded the increasing consumption of the same materials.

Keywords: Consumption, Ordinary Ottomans, Inheritance inventories, Eighteenth century, Istanbul

ÖZ

ON SEKİZİNCİ YÜZYILDA OSMANLI'DA TÜKETİMİN DEĞİŞİMİ

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Eylül 2019, 219 sayfa

Bu çalışma on sekizinci yüzyılda tüketimde meydana gelen değişimi tereke kayıtlarını kullanarak ortaya çıkarmayı hedeflemektedir. İstanbul'un on sekizinci yüzyılda içinden geçtiği süreç gündelik hayat rutinlerinde değişime sebep olarak toplumsallaşmanın ve sosyalleşmenin artmasına sebep olmuştur. Bu çalışma da toplumsallaşmada meydana gelen değişimin tüketim üzerindeki etkilerini ele almaktadır. Kısacası bu çalışma toplumsal koşulların tüketim üzerindeki etkisini istanbulda on sekizinci yüzyılda meydana gelen değişim üzerinden anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmanı tereke kayıtlarının analizi ile ulaşılan sonuçlarına göre kentteki dışa açılım bazı ürünlerin tüketiminde yukarı doğru bir hareketlenmeye sebep olurken sosyallşemenin sönümlendiği dönemlerde aynı ürünlerin tüketiminde bir düşüş gözlemlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tüketim, Orta Halli Osmanlılar, Tereke Kayıtları, On Sekizinci Yüzyıl, İstanbul

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to my supervisor Kayhan Orbay for his contributions to my study. I would like to express my gratitude to him for allowing me to defend the truths I believe. Besides my advisor, I would like to thank the rest of my dissertation committee members, Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, Evgenia Kermeli Ünal, Eminegül Karababa and Selçuk Dursun for their invaluable comments and insightful criticisms. I am also very grateful to Oktay Özel who gave endless support for this thesis, and has played a major role in shaping all my academic studies.

I would like to thank my office mates, Ömür Şans Yıldırım, Erol Ozan Yılmaz and Canan Halaçoğlu, for their continued support and intellectual contributions. Special thanks to Ömür Şans Yıldırım and her little baby Duru Yıldırım, who was in the mother's womb at that time, for giving the limitless intellectual support even during the pregnancy period. Also many thanks to Gonca Tunçbilek with whom I had the chance to share the most stressful periods of the Ph.D. process. I would like to thank Eren Karaca who read thesis and shared her comments.

I am also grateful to my friends Özgür Çetinkaya, İlker Dalgıç and Şahin Alp Taşkaya whose technical support for SPSS is invaluable. I am indebted to those three people for providing me the great opportunity to work on large scale data. Sincerely, without their support this study would not be achievable.

I would like to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to my husband Atakan Büke for his dedicated support which I know will never end.

Last but not least, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my family. This dissertation would not have been possible without their warm love, continued patience, and endless support.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Scope of the Study

The material culture has generally been studied in Ottoman history by focusing on the materials themselves, and the framework has usually been constructed around the question of “Westernization.” Those studies aim to find the roots of the emergence of new Western objects in Ottoman material culture and to demonstrate the transformation of materials.¹ In this regard, the existing data shows us that material culture started to be Westernized by the 1830s with the entrance of Western furniture such as bedstead (*karyola*), couches (*kanepe*), armchairs (*koltuk*) etc.² However, although there is a significant literature on the material aspect of material culture, the cultural aspect still needs to be explored. According to the general perception concerning the material transformation or material Westernization, consumer behavior started to change as a result of the effects of Westernization. Contrary to this perception, this study argues that

¹ Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. Fatih Bozkurt *Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddî Kültüründe Değişim (1785-1875 İstanbul Örneği)*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Sakarya University, 2011. Mustafa Orçan, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Modern Türk Tüketim Kültürü*, Ankara: Harf Eğitim Yayıncılığı, 2014.

² *Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddî Kültüründe Değişim (1785-1875 İstanbul Örneği)*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Sakarya University, 2011.; Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of Late Ottoman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

there is nothing surprising about people's willingness to buy new sets of materials. In other words, the simple fact of the emergence of new materials and their consumption does not imply a change in consumer behavior by itself. With this in mind, I argue that the change in consumer behavior started to occur before the nineteenth century in parallel to the changing conditions of urban life in Istanbul due to internal dynamics rather than the effects of Westernization. I propose that the increasing vivid social life of Istanbul in the eighteenth century had effects on the material culture and consumer behavior of the ordinary Ottomans, and throughout the study, I will try to show and analyze these effects.³

The studies about the changes in consumption behavior in the European context have significant differences from the Ottoman literature that are worth noting. One of the main concepts used for understanding the European context is the "consumer revolution," through which it is argued that the increase in consumption lead to the possibility for people from other classes to buy goods mainly to mimic the upper classes. One of the central themes of the studies on the "consumer revolution" has been that possessions were part of the self-identification processes, i.e. the usage of those possessions was a key factor in the constitution of people's social positions.

This theme also yielded the concept of "consumerism". According to this approach, "if historians pay enough attention to the possessions of people, they can classify them and their social relations".⁴ Historians and sociologists so far have mainly utilized Thorstein Veblen's "conspicuous consumption theory" in

³ The concept of "Ordinary Ottomans" throughout the study refers mainly to those urbanites living in Ottoman İstanbul whose inheritance inventories were registered by the "*beledi kassam*" and those who cannot be categorized as part of the ruling elite.

⁴ Peter Burke, "Res et Verba, Conspicuous Consumption in the Early Modern World" in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (eds.) Brewer and Porter, London, New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 148.

their endeavor to establish a relationship between social position and possessions. This theory claims that people who are defined as the “leisure class” spend their time and properties predominantly in order to show people their social status and prestige.⁵ This basic argument of Veblen’s theory has taken different forms, and has been applied to different groups and centuries in a variety of studies. The extensive use of theory has been criticized by some who argue that people’s lack of consciousness about consumerism prevents us from labeling and conceiving as consumerists.⁶

The evolution of daily activities is another focus of material culture studies, which puts everyday life activities into the center of analysis. According to these studies, as daily activities varied the possessions started to vary as well.⁷ In this regard, those studies have put a significant effort into giving meaning to

⁵ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New Brunswick, U.S.A. : Transaction Publishers, 1992.

⁶ Colin Campbell, “Understanding Traditional and Modern Patterns of Consumption in 18th Century England: A Character Action Approach” in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London, New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 43.

⁷ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Consumer Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, London and New York: Routledge, 1996. Lorna Watherhill, “The Meaning of Consumer Behaviour in Late and Early Eighteenth Century England”, in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, pp.206-227. Amanda Vickery, “Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and Her Possessions, 1751-81”, in *Consumption and the World of Goods* pp.274-301. (ed.) Moira Donald & Linda Hurcombe, *Gender and Material Culture in Historical Perspective*, London: Macmillan Press, 2000. Sandra Cavallo, “What did women transmit? Ownership and Control of Household Goods and Personal Effects in Early Modern Italy” in *Gender and Material Culture in Historical Perspective*, London: Macmillan Press, 2000. Moira Donald, “The Greatest Necessity for Every Rank of Men: Gender, Clocks, and watches” in, *Gender and Material Culture in Historical Perspective*. Sarti, Rafealla, *Europe at Home Family and Material Culture 1500-1800*, trans. Allan Cameron, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002. Richard Grassby, “Material Culture and Cultural History”, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 35, No.4, Spring 2005, pp. 591-603. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings*, England: Ashgate, 2010.

new materials such as forks, looking glasses, and watches within the framework of people's evolving daily activities. The proponents of this framework have conducted quantitative studies that encompass long periods of time with the help of inheritance inventories. These studies elaborated the diversification of materials throughout the years.

Compared to the European context, there are fewer studies on consumption in Ottoman historiography. One of the main reasons for this inadequacy can be thought as the usage of the concept of Westernization as the key to conceive of all the changes in Ottoman society, particularly after the seventeenth century. This overemphasis on the concept of Westernization has in turn created a lacuna in the literature in which the questions such as who consumed what, where they did so, and how consumer behavior was reshaped, are still waiting to be answered.

The internal dynamics of the Ottoman Empire, and in this regard the eighteenth century marks a turning point in many respects. It is a fact that with the passage from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century the empire experienced various kinds of political, economic, and social transformations, which directly affected the socialization process of the capital. On the other hand, at the global level the eighteenth century is considered to be the beginning of the consumer revolution in European history.⁸ By taking the significance of the eighteenth century into consideration both in terms of internal and external dynamics, I have decided to analyze the period between the dates of 1694 and 1800. This time period provides me with the ability to scan consumption patterns throughout the eighteenth century. Moreover, it also provides an opportunity, though limited, to include the seventeenth century into the analysis. Based on the previous studies within this framework, I claim that all those

⁸ Colin Campbell, "Understanding Traditional and Modern Patterns of Consumption in 18th century England: a character action approach" in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (eds.) Brewer and Porter, New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 40.

developments in different spheres had deep impacts on the consumption behavior of the newly emergent socialized urban life in Istanbul, and this study seeks to understand the effects of the transforming urban life on consumption behavior. In that sense, contrary to the literature based on the concept of Westernization, the emergence of the newly socialized urban life will be analyzed based on the following: (1) the emergence of new spaces and new symbols of legitimacy in architecture and their effects on urban life; (2) the spread of coffee consumption as an established daily ritual and its impact on urban life; and (3) lastly the softening of the lines between the social groups that sought to identify themselves through forms of urban life, consumption, and material culture.

First, a framework of the political, economic, and social conditions of the eighteenth century based on secondary sources will be presented. The studies of this century show significant variations. As mentioned above, the concept of Westernization has dominated the debate for a long time. Those studies within what might be called the Westernization approach imply that the transformation of material culture was a result of the movement of Westernization in the Ottoman Empire that began with the Tulip Age.⁹ However, these studies depict Ottoman society as “inactive and acquiescent”, and for this reason they have been frequently criticized for their neglect of the internal dynamics of the empire.¹⁰ On this ground, more recent studies have discerned that the eighteenth century was much more complicated than its depiction as simply a period of Westernization.

⁹ Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. Fatih Bozkurt, *Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddî Kültüründe Değişim: 1785-1875 İstanbul Örneği*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Sakarya University, 2011.

¹⁰ Tülay Artan, “18. Yüzyılda Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı”, *Toplum ve Bilim*, No: 83, Winter, 1999-2000, p. 313.

Recent studies on the eighteenth century have generally concentrated on the internal dynamics of the empire in relation to political, economic, and social aspects. With the help of these studies it is possible to relate the different developments in the empire to transformations in urban life. For instance, the decrease in the military power of the Ottoman Empire directly affected urban life. Repeated defeats of the Ottoman army caused the central powers to amend the symbols of their legitimacy in the eyes of society, which resulted in the movement of the residences of the elites up the Bosphorus coastline.¹¹ As a result of the emergence of these new settlement areas, urban life began to change starting with the high social strata of the empire, which affected consumption behavior in general. Additionally, the construction of new urban spaces such as recreation areas (*mesire*) and gardens (*bahçe*) facilitated a revival of urban life, which also meant an increase in the interaction of various social groups with each other.¹² In relation to this point, the increase in social interaction can be seen as a significant factor in the change of consumption behavior which led to changing perception of the items of material culture.

On the other hand, the entrance and spread of coffee triggered a new environment for the people, and allowed them to socialize outside of their homes.¹³ Coffee played a significant role in the emergence of new urban spaces,

¹¹ Tülay Artan, “18. Yüzyılda Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, No: 83, Winter, 1999-2000, pp. 292-323.; Tülay Artan, 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul: Uzlaşma ve Yeniden Yapılanma Dönemi, in *Bizantion’dan İstanbul’a: Bir Başkentin 8000 Yılı*, İstanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2010, p. 305.

¹² Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007. Madeline Zilfi, “Women and Society in Tulip Era 1718-1730”, p. 296. in *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*, (ed.) Amira El Azhary Sonbol, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996.; Maurice Cerasi, Open Space, Water and Trees in Ottoman Urban Culture in the XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries, *Environmental Design*, Vol: 2, 1985, pp. 37, 38.

¹³ Cemal Kafadar, *Esnaf Yeniçeri Relations: Solidarity and Conflict*, Montreal: McGill University, Islamic Studies, Unpublished M. A. Thesis, 1981.

such as coffee shops. The increased socialization, in comparison to the past, led people to have more and different possessions, which signified consumerism. Furthermore, the consumption of coffee in the home transformed daily rituals as well as material culture. Consuming coffee with others at home became the new social activity for women in this century, and this interaction at homes also increased the importance of coffee utensils.

Last but not least, another significant factor in the changing urban life was the softening of the borders between different social groups,¹⁴ which needed to express and identify themselves through new symbols and materials. The new daily activities and styles of social life were the primary ways in which this need was satisfied. I argue that those new activities and social experiences necessitated new materials, which became the requirements of the new lifestyle, and which also created a shared consumption behavior pattern.

In short, all these components led to a new routine in urban life in Istanbul, which directly affected the consumption patterns of the capital city. Therefore, when we focus on the internal dynamics of the Ottoman Empire, we can reveal the change in the consumption behavior more specifically. This focus on internal dynamics does not mean a neglect of the more global issues such as the consumer revolution and consumerism; instead I believe taking into consideration both the internal and external dynamics strengthens the study in terms of both its scope and the level of sophistication of its arguments.

1.2. Sources and Methodology of the Study

To analyze the central argument of this study and to support my central claim mentioned in the previous section, I used inheritance inventories (*tereke*),

¹⁴ Cemal Kafadar, *Esnaf Yeniçeri Relations: Solidarity and Conflict*, Montreal: McGill University, Islamic Studies, Unpublished M. A. Thesis, 1981.

which are the primary archival sources for studies of the material culture of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵ These registers contain lists of the movable and unmovable properties of the deceased person in addition to his/her dues and debts.¹⁶ Inheritance inventories as archival materials have both advantages and disadvantages regarding the study of material culture. On the one hand, they provide us with detailed information about the deceased person's life and possessions in general. On the other hand, there are serious drawbacks directed at them, mainly in relation to two aspects: the first relates to their representativeness, and the second is associated with the content of the registers.

For various reasons, inheritance inventories encompass a limited percentage of the whole population. The first reason for this is the lack of state enforcement. Unless inheritors had troubles related to their portion of the inheritance or there was an inheritor under the age of puberty, people did not have to go to the court and register the residuals of the deceased person,¹⁷ eliminating the possibility of reaching inheritance inventories for all dead people. On the other hand, the existence of a child under the age of puberty increases the representation power of the inheritance inventories. Since the living conditions of the early modern period were hard and the average life expectancy was shorter than today, there was a high rate of children under the age of puberty left orphaned from various social levels and identities.¹⁸

¹⁵ Boğaç Ergene, Ali Berker, "Wealth and Inequality in 18th Century Kastamonu: Estimations for the Muslim Majority", *IJMES*, Vol.40, No.1, Feb. 2008, p. 26.

¹⁶ Said Öztürk, *Askeri Kassama Ait Onyedinci Asır Tereke Defterleri (Sosyo-Ekonomik Tahlil)*, İstanbul: Cihan Matbaası, OSAV, 1995, p. 11.

¹⁷ Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual, "Damascene Probate Inventories of the 17th and 18th Centuries: Some Preliminary Approaches and Results", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 24, No.3, 1992, p. 375.

¹⁸ Fatih Bozkurt, "Osmanlı Dönemi Tereke Defterleri ve Tereke Çalışmaları", *TALİD*, v.11, No: 22, 2013, p. 201.

Second, it should be noted that going to court to register and share the inheritance was a costly procedure for an ordinary person,¹⁹ and it resulted in a decrease in the amount of the shares of the inheritors. Therefore, it is difficult to find low income or poor people in inheritance inventories. Those who were registered from low-income groups were generally those with no heirs, and were registered by the state in order to dispossess the residuals. This means that “the estates that were registered represented the wealthy more strongly than the rest of the society.”²⁰

The third reason behind the problem of representation is the fact that non-Muslims were not obliged to apply to the Shari’a court in order to solve their inheritance problems. Although non-Muslims occasionally appealed to the Shari’a court, the fact that they were not obliged decreased their ratio in the registers. That is to say, compared to Muslims, non-Muslims were underrepresented in Shari’a courts and registries. This underrepresentation of non-Muslims and poor people in much of the inheritance inventories lies at the center of the problem of representation concerning the inventory-based studies. However, the strength of these registers should also be noted, since they are capable of providing information about other underrepresented social groups such as women and ordinary people.

The other critique directed at the inheritance inventories is related to their content. Although these registers contain lots of information about the material culture of the deceased person they are far from complete. Furthermore, the inheritors’ decision to go to the court does not always mean that they brought all belongings without any exceptions. In addition to the fact that the inheritors were not forced to go to the *kassam*, as mentioned above, they were

¹⁹ Said Öztürk, *Askeri Kassama Ait Onyedinci Asır Tereke Defterleri (Sosyo-Ekonomik Tahlil)*, Istanbul: Cihan Matbaası, OSAV, 1995, p. 60.

²⁰ Hülya Canbakal, “Reflections on the Distribution of the Wealth in Ottoman Ayntab”, *Oriens*, Vol. 37, 2009, p. 239.

also not compelled to share all the belongings of the deceased person in front of the *kassam*. Therefore, it was possible for inheritors to take some of the belongings of the deceased person before going to *kassam*. For example, a register without a coffee cup does not always mean that this person never consumed coffee at home, and other registered items for the same person, such as a coffee making pitcher (*ibrik*) and coffee tray (*tepsi*) show us that this person probably had the cups as well. Moreover, this may also show us that some of the inheritors might have taken some things before the participation of other inheritors in the portioning process. That is to say, inheritance inventories only partially contain the deceased person's wealth.²¹ Additionally, as Colette Establet clearly shows, the inventory of a single person does not include the whole content of the house.²²

In spite of the limitations mentioned above this study uses inheritance inventories as its archival source, taking all the criticisms regarding their weaknesses into consideration. This is because those registers are still the primary archival source, which has no substitute concerning material culture. As Suraiya Faruqi clearly states: "if used judiciously, post mortem inventories still tell us things about the consumption habits of the better-off segments of Ottoman society that we will not find anywhere else."²³

To overcome the problem of representation, extensive data from inheritance inventories is used, which helps portray the general picture of material culture and consumption, and minimizes the role of individual preferences. Moreover, the data includes all social urban groups that were

²¹ Fatih Bozkurt, "Osmanlı Dönemi Tereke Defterleri ve Tereke Çalışmaları", *TALİD*, Vol:11, No: 22, 2013, p. 209.

²² Colette Establet, "Consuming Luxurious and Exotic Goods in Damascus around 1700" *Living The Good Life : Consumption In The Qing And Ottoman Empires Of The Eighteenth Century*, Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2017, p. 238.

²³ Suraiya Faruqi, "The Material Culture of Global Connections", *Turcica*, No: 41, 2009, p. 41.

registered to the *beledi kassam*, and this allows me to create an integrated framework to map out the material culture of Ottoman urban society. This picture also allows me to demonstrate the effects of increasing urban life on consumption patterns and the changes in material culture.

The question of defining the ordinary Ottomans still remains to be answered in the Ottoman historiography. Especially, when the Ottoman social structure and the registering system are considered, providing a clear definition for the ordinary Ottomans becomes more difficult. In other words, defining the ordinary Ottomans is not an easy task as defining the Ottoman peasants or elites. In this regard, it is possible to observe a common view in the literature regarding the inadequacy of the concept of “ordinary Ottomans”, which is mainly used to refer to the Ottoman urbanites. This difficulty with respect to the concept of the ordinary Ottomans is closely related to the scope and the context of the related studies. It should be noted that while those historians working on political history or peasants do not encounter a similar problem, those historians working on Ottoman urbanites are frequently forced to provide a clear answer to this problem of defining their subject matter, and this situation in turn makes it more difficult to study Ottoman urbanites.

With regards to this difficulty, this study starts with the basic fact that these people in question were sharing the same urban places on the basis of similar life standards and they were neither a part of the elites nor the peasants. This starting point provides mainly two opportunities. The first is the possibility of providing an answer to the question of who the ordinary Ottomans were, simply by excluding those who were *not* considered as ordinary Ottomans like those of elites and the peasants. The second is the emphasis on the fact that those people were sharing the same urban places within the context of similar life standards, which can be observed in their consumption patterns on the basis of the analysis of their inheritance inventories.

In relation to this point, the elites’ consumption patterns, and hence the changes occurring in their daily routines are difficult to be traced in their

inheritance inventories due to the magnitude of the materials recorded. On the other hand, the number of materials belonging to the ordinary Ottomans may reflect their daily routines more clearly. To put it differently, those urbanite Ottomans, whose materials recorded in the inheritance registers in the *beledi kassam* provide us with ideas regarding their social life and daily routines, are considered as the ordinary Ottomans in this study. To clarify this point, a *Paşa* register that I encountered in my analysis, might be helpful.

The register of Musa Paşa, who died in 1731, has been recorded by the Galata Kassam rather than the *askeri* kassam as it should be. According to his inheritance inventory, Musa Paşa had 30 furs, 18 kaftans, 32 coffee cups, 26 coffee trays, 70 pots, 162 candlesticks, 38 bracelet, 80 pillows, 21 chemises, 78 cooking pots, and so on. With these materials whose total value is well above 1 million *akçes*, his consumption pattern is perceptibly dissimilar from the rest of the registers. Since his register shows a significant deviation from all those 1905 people analyzed, Musa Paşa's register is excluded from the analysis. However, his case, which also points out the difference between the content of the *askeri* and *beledi* kassam registers, here reflects a significant point regarding this study's conception of the ordinary Ottomans. Given the magnitude of Musa Paşa's materials, I think, it is not possible to trace his daily routine through the analysis of the materials he owned. Considering the fact that, according to the registers that I have analyzed, the case of Musa Paşa was the only case registered to the *beledi* kassam, it can be argued that *beledi* kassam registers provide an opportunity to analyze the social life and daily routines of the urbanite Ottomans belonging to different social groups with similar life standards, that is to say the ordinary Ottomans. In other words, *beledi* kassam registers can be seen as the main source material for an analysis of the social lives of the ordinary Ottomans. That is why, while those people registered to the *beledi* kassam are analyzed in this study, those who were registered to the *askeri* kassam are excluded.

The study is limited to the years between 1694 and 1800. The beginning of the eighteenth century is especially important for this study because of the return of the sultan from Edirne in 1703, which made it a significant year for the reconstruction process in Istanbul. On the other hand, the entrance of Western materials and products into the Ottoman lands is dated to the first half of the nineteenth century. Therefore, the nineteenth century is excluded from this study. Western materials are beyond the scope of this study because this study aims to understand the change in the consumer behavior. New materials have always aroused enthusiasm and a will to buy them, although this does not imply a change in consumer behavior by itself, as mentioned above. Indeed, a shift in perception can be observed in the traditional materials as well. With this in mind, the study takes the eighteenth century into consideration as a whole.

For the eighteenth century, the Galata Kadışip had a total of 403 *defters* (registers) with the numbers from GŞS No. 145 to GŞS No. 548, and almost half of them include *kassam* registers. Since it is impossible to transliterate every *kassam* register from the eighteenth century within the scope of this study, I have chosen a limited number of them. For the beginning and the end of the century, I have chosen one *defter* for each (1700-GŞS 175, 1800-GŞS 548). I have chosen twenty records (*defter*) for the remainder of the century. It should be noted that the problem here is that the *defters* were not recorded systematically in ascending order; rather, the dates they include usually overlap. Therefore, it is not possible to create systematic criteria for their selection. The practical solution I found to this problem has been to select two *defters* as representatives for each decade. To see the continuity and discontinuity with the seventeenth century, I have also chosen two *defters* for the years between 1694 and 1700. In total, I have transliterated 1905 single inheritance inventories of the 22 *kassam* registers that belong to the Galata Kadışip encompassing the years between 1694 and 1800.

At this point, it is helpful to note some brief information about the place, gender, and religion of the 1905 registered people. In addition to inner and outer

Galata, the data encompasses five quarters of Galata, namely Kasımpaşa, Tophane, Beşiktaş, Fındıklı, and İstinye, which in total include more than 200 neighborhoods. With regards to gender, 1034 were male, 818 were women, and the remaining 53 could not be identified due to the wears in documents.²⁴ In terms of religion, 1552 were Muslim while 329 of them were non-Muslim.

Following the transliteration process, I have transferred the data to the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Scientists) in order to make my analysis more systematic. With respect to the demographic information, I transferred the following data to the SPSS program: the year of the register, the district, the name, the gender, the religion, and the title. Following the demographic data, I entered the data of the 39 materials that I am specifically focusing on (please see Table 1.1. below). Although not observed in each inheritance inventories, when all inventories are combined the number of materials registered is 180 (Please see Appendix II). In this study, 39 of the most common materials are analyzed. So, materials such as “pazubend” or “istefan” that are rarely observed and that might lead to problems with regard to representation are omitted. In contrast, in order to determine the trends in consumption, I consider the chosen 39 materials as better candidates since they are the most common materials.

In order to make a reasonable categorization of the materials registered in inheritance inventories, I benefited from Lorna Weatherill’s classification of materials from her study *Consumer Behavior in England 1650-1750*. According to this study, new forms of urban life and socialization increased the probability of encountering others, and on this ground Weatherill argues that people’s possessions can be divided into two categories, front-stage and back-stage.²⁵

²⁴ During the conduct of the statistical analysis and its graphical representation, gender is not chosen as an explanatory variable. In other words, the gender of the deceased people whose inheritance inventories have been analyzed throughout the study does not have any effects on the results.

²⁵ The concepts of *front-stage* and *back-stage*, which have a central role in this thesis, have been introduced to the material culture studies by Weatherill based on Erving Goffman's study titled

The categorization of properties as front and back-stage is indicative of the nature of the social activity.²⁶ If an activity is conducted with one or more other people, then it is called a front-stage activity, and the materials used in this activity are considered front-stage materials. The main function of the front-stage materials is “fostering the image” outside.²⁷ On the contrary, there are some other activities carried out by a person by herself. Those activities are named back-stage activities and require different materials. In short, the “social roles of possessions can be interpreted partly by observing where they were to be found and how space was used.”²⁸

Socialization assumed a new form by the eighteenth century. Even before this century it was not uncommon for people to come together and mingle and to use public spaces together or, especially for women, to attend bazaars and *hamams*, occasions which are covered in many traveller accounts. However, with the new era, it is possible to assert that the types of socialization became both more diverse and more frequent. Therefore, I have chosen the materials that would help me to trace those new types of socialization, and omitted the materials of traditional socialization such as *hamam rahtı*, *kil kutusu*

“The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.” There is an entry of “*adamlık*” in his study namely *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*. He describes the “*adamlık*” as the garments kept clean and fresh in order to be worn before strangers and guests. I think this entry illustrates the recognition of the front-stage versus back-stage activity and materials. Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, p. 10.

²⁶ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Consumer Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, London and New York: Routledge, 1996, p. 77.

²⁷ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Consumer Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, London and New York: Routledge, 1996, p. 213.

²⁸ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Consumer Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, London and New York: Routledge, 1996, p. 213.

or *hamam gömleği*.²⁹ In contrast, the materials chosen are the ones that would delineate the changing daily routine of city dweller such as coffee which was being drank in more than ever lively city's gardens, squares and houses.

The traditional Ottoman history distinguishes private from public spheres. However the strict division of these spheres lost its validity in a degree during the eighteenth century. Artan mentions that beside the public and non public spaces there was another "intermediate sphere" in which the boundary between two spheres has blurred.³⁰ In this context, even if "home" was considered as one of the non public spheres, the increasing home visits in the eighteenth century has turned this non public space to an intermediary one. The blurrization of the strict lines of the public and non public spaces gave rise to differentiation of the apperancy of the materials as well. As the non public spaces became public, the materials of those spaces gained visibility. Accordingly, one can consider that the publicly visible materials constitute the front stage materials while the unseen objects that meet the basic needs denoted the back stage materials.

Within this framework, I categorized the items found in inheritance inventories as 'front-stage' and 'back-stage' materials. For the Ottoman studies, this means that fur (*kürk*), sash (*kuşak*), robe (*kaftan*), loose robe (*entari*) and cloak (*ferace*)³¹ constitute front-stage materials because they are used in

²⁹ *Hamam rahtı*: a set of textile items used in the bath, *Hamam gömleği*: bath shirt, *Kil kutusu*: a container for clay, Eminegül Karababa, *Origins of a Consumer Culture in an Early Modern Context: Ottoman Bursa*, Unpublished Ph.D., Bilkent University, 2006, p. 137.

³⁰ Tülay Artan, "Forms and Forums of Expression: Istanbul and Beyond: 1600-1800", p. 381, in *The Ottoman World*, (eds.) Christine Woodhead, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2012.

³¹ 1. *Kürk*: An overcoat made of fur, different types designating status, For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, pp. 164,165.; 2. *Kuşak*: A type of sash worn around waist both by men and women woven using various fabrics. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, pp. 160, 161.;

socializing activities. On the other hand, underclothing and more simple clothes represent back-stage materials such as underwear (*don*), chemise (*gömlek*), riband (*uçkur*), and inner dress (*zıbın*)³². Moreover, some furnishings and home textiles can also be evaluated as front-stage materials, although they were kept at home.³³ In this regard, bolster (*minder*), pileless rug (*kilim*), fine felt (*kebe*)³⁴, coarse carpets (*keçe*), and rug (*kaliçe*) constitute the front-stage materials used at home, since the house was also a place of socialization, especially when the spread of coffee is considered. On the other hand, quilt (*yorgan*), pillow (*yüz yasdığı*), mattress (*döşek*), linen (*çarşaf*) and wrapper (*boğça*)³⁵ are considered

3. Redhouse, 1880, p. 709. *Kaftan*: A robe like clothing piece without lining worn as topmost layer. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 137.; 4. *Entari*: A long top garment sewn using different fabrics. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, pp. 102-105.; 5. *Ferace*: An overcoat-like cloth worn by both women and men. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 105. Octavian Dalvimart, *The Costume of Turkey*, London, 1802, Plate XVI, A Turkish Women, “the ferdeje is universally in that city made of green cloth or other stuff, with its long square cape quilted and covered with green silk.”

³² 1. *Gömlek/Gönlek*: Shirt worn on naked skin. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 125.; 2. *Uçkur*: A thin type of knitted or cloth belt for various types of undergarment, For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 236.; 3. *Zıbın*: A waistcoat made of wool worn under dress/clothes, inner dress. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 251.

³³ Although, Zilfi considers only clothing materials in his discussion on the products partaking in public activities and spheres, it would not be a mistake to consider also some of the household goods as part of the public sphere since the house was also a sort of public space in the eighteenth century. Madeline Zilfi, “Whose Laws? Gendering the Ottoman Sumptuary Regime”, *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, (eds.) Suraiya Faroqhi and Christop K. Neumann, Istanbul: Eren, 2004, p. 125.

³⁴ *Kebe*: A thick type of felt, fine felt. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 152.

³⁵ *Boğça*: A square shawl: a large square piece of stuff used as a wrappers for bundles or parcels, Redhouse, 1882.

here as back-stage materials of the home. The kitchen utensils can also be categorized as front and back-stage materials: while the coffee cup (*fincan*), pot (*sahan*), coffee tray (*kahve tepsisi*), coffee making pitcher (*ibrik*), and basin (*leğen*) constitute the front-stage materials, the cooking pot (*tencere*), cauldron (*kazan*), bucket (*bakraç*), ladle (*kepçe*) and skimmer (*kevgir*) belong to the back-stage of the kitchen. Finally, both the body and home decoration items naturally belong to the front-stage and these are the following: bracelet (*bilezik*), earring (*küpe*), ring (*yüzük*), button (*düğme*³⁶), and seal (*hatım*) for body decoration; and rosewater sprinkler (*gülabdan*), incense burner (*buhurdan*), candlestick (*şamdan*), clock (*saat*), and mirror (*ayna*) for home decoration. (See Table.1)

After entering the data of those materials, I equalized the wealth of the people to account for the rate of inflation, which between the beginning and the end of the century was 300 percent, making a significant difference in terms of purchasing power for the period analyzed. Benefiting from Şevket Pamuk's study, 1696 was chosen as the base year, and the wealth of the 1905 people who lived between the years of 1694 and 1800 have been calculated according to the changing inflation rates, and by doing so the purchasing power of their money has been standardized throughout the century.³⁷ Nevertheless, the registered wealth of the people may not indicate the amount of wealth that existed during their lives, because of the limits of the inheritance inventories mentioned above.

It is within above mentioned framework that I analyze the effects of the social life on consumption patterns and material culture. With the methodology I presented above, this study uncovers the changing aspects of consumer behavior given the unique social circumstances of the eighteenth century. In this manner,

³⁶ *Düğme*: Dress button that was also used as status symbols. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 98.

³⁷ Şevket Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler*, Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000.

Table 1: List of Selected Materials

Clothing		Home Textile		Kitchen Utensils		Decoration	Jewelry
Front-stage	Back-stage	Front-stage	Backstage	Front-stage	Back-stage	Front-stage	Front-stage
Fur (<i>Kürk</i>)	Chemise (<i>Gömlek</i>)	Bolster (<i>Minder</i>)	Pillow (<i>Yastık</i>)	Coffee Cup (<i>Fincan</i>)	Cooking Pot (<i>Tencere</i>)	Rose Water Sprinkler (<i>Gülâbdan</i>)	Bracelet (<i>Bilezik</i>)
Sash (<i>Kuşak</i>)	Underwear (<i>Don</i>)	Pileless Rug (<i>Kilim</i>)	Quilt (<i>Yorgan</i>)	Coffee Tray (<i>Kahve Tepsisi</i>)	Bucket (<i>Bakrač</i>)	Incense Burner (<i>Buhurdan</i>)	Ring (<i>Yüzük</i>)
Robe (<i>Kaftan</i>)	Riband (<i>Uçkur</i>)	Fine Felt (<i>Kebe</i>)	Linen (<i>Çarşaf</i>)	Pot (<i>Sahan</i>)	Cauldron (<i>Kazan</i>)	Candlestick (<i>Şamdan</i>)	Earring (<i>Küpe</i>)
Loose Robe (<i>Entari</i>)	Inner Dress (<i>Zibin</i>)	Coarse Carpet (<i>Keçe</i>)	Mattress (<i>Döşek</i>)	Coffee Making Pitcher (<i>İbrik</i>)	Skimmer (<i>Kevgir</i>)	Clock (<i>Saat</i>)	Button (<i>Düğme</i>)
Cloak (<i>Ferace</i>)		Rug (<i>Kaliçe</i>)	Wrapper (<i>Boğça</i>)	Bowl (<i>Leğen</i>)	Ladle (<i>Keççe</i>)	Mirror (<i>Ayna</i>)	Seal (<i>Hatim</i>)

the increase in front-stage materials may indicate that the increasing socialization and frequency of interaction with others led people to obtain new products.

If the amount of back-stage materials remained constant or decreased while the front-stage materials were increasing, then this situation would strongly support my proposal.

Moreover, an increase in the amount of back-stage materials does not falsify my proposal. Rather the increase in back-stage materials strengthens the idea that meeting up continually with others had effects on consumption patterns. In addition to the increasing number of the materials, their spread among society, i.e. the growing number of people using them, also has the same significance in relation to the change in consumption patterns. Additionally, the ratio of the cost of front-stage materials to total wealth may also give us information about consumption behavior. If the value of the front-stage materials increased in proportion to wealth over time, this may indicate that people started to change their consumption patterns. Therefore, this study does not analyze the changes in consumption patterns based on a search for a new set of materials that are the products of Westernization, but rather aims to find the roots of the change in consumption behavior by focusing on the internal dynamics. In other words, “new” consumption patterns, here, are not related to new Western materials, but a change in quantity while the materials used remained the same.

To summarize; this study aims to reveal the transformation of consumer behavior in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century by analyzing inheritance inventories for the years between 1694 and 1800. While previous studies have generally claimed that “Westernization” triggered consumerism, it may not be valid. This is because in the transition from the seventeenth century to the eighteenth century the Ottoman Empire experienced changes in political, social, and economic areas which may have fundamentally affected consumption behavior. In the next chapter, I discuss how material culture

studies became a topic within the discipline of history. Additionally, I include a literature review in order to demonstrate this process more precisely in both European and Ottoman historiographies. The third chapter, on the other hand, aims to deepen the arguments about the new urban life of Istanbul started from the beginning of the eighteenth century through a discussion of the secondary sources regarding loss of the legitimacy of the imperial center and its effects on the urban life of Istanbul, the consumption of coffee in both homes and public spaces, a broader discussion of socialization, and lastly the softening of boundaries between social groups and changing patterns of consumption. The last two chapters will establish links between the above-mentioned developments and changing consumer behavior and will be supported by a more detailed analysis of the inheritance inventories.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Material Culture and Consumption Studies: An Overview

Material culture studies have been associated with consumption studies in history. Studies focused on the transitional period from the early modern to the modern period in particular discuss material culture along with the concepts of consumption, conspicuous consumption, the Industrial Revolution, and industrious revolution. Economic and sociological discussions take part in those historical studies that are interested in patterns of consumption, as the field of consumption is open to different kinds of research. While the economy focuses on financial issues and production, the sociology deals with the cultural aspects of consumption.³⁸ However, it is noted that studies concerning consumption ultimately overlap with each other. Even so, as this is a historical study, the literature review will be done with a specific focus on discussions of material culture in historical studies.

Although it is possible to classify consumption studies in different ways, I prefer to classify those studies regarding their conceptual frameworks.³⁹ A capitalist discourse was widely used in the early stages of consumption studies.

³⁸ R. A. Stebbins, *Leisure and Consumption, Common Ground/ Separate Worlds*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 1.

³⁹ Sara Penell wisely classified consumption studies in 1999 based on methodological tools. According to her classification there were roughly three different types of approach within consumption studies, namely economic, enumeration and semiotic.

Fernand Braudel was one of the early scholars who paid considerable attention to the connection between the rise of capitalism and the birth of consumer society.⁴⁰ His study deals thoroughly with consumption itself with no reference to symbolic or cultural elements.⁴¹ However, a more influential approach was suggested in the book titled *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*.⁴² The joint authors of the book took the topic of consumption from three different perspectives: economic, socio-historical, and political. The pioneering work of Neil McKendrick, an economist, in this study, emphasized the importance of the “demand side” in the Industrial Revolution rather than the “supply side,” which was highlighted numerous times. His approach questions the roots and rise of consumer capitalism. It is evident that capitalism is the fundamental concept for him, which constitutes the basis of his explanations of the origins of consumer society. He uses two concepts, namely “modernity” and “consumption”, to mean the same basis to seek the origins of the “consumer society in England as a precursor to modern mass consumerism.”⁴³ In this conceptual framework that searches for the origins of consumer society based on capitalism, the only culture emphasized is middle-class culture as one of the other common concepts of capitalism. According to him, people’s demand triggered the Industrial Revolution, or consumer revolution, which resulted in the emergence of

⁴⁰ F. Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800*, Harper and Row Publishers, New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London, 1967.

⁴¹ Peter Burke, “Res et Verba, Conspicuous Consumption in the Early Modern World”, ed. Brewer, Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London, New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 148.

⁴² McKendrick, Brewer, Porter, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, Indiana University Press, 1982.

⁴³ R. Batchelor, p. 95.

consumer society at the final stage. Emulative fashion was the product of this idea, which gave shape to the literature for a long time.

The influence of Thorstein Veblen in the formation of this thesis is undeniable. The term “conspicuous consumption,” produced by Veblen, finds a place in the majority of studies. Concerning Veblen, the “leisure class” mainly deals with consumption to show how rich they are in terms of income and wealth.⁴⁴ According to this approach, people’s aim in consuming was to display their wealth and their attachment to a specific social group. Therefore, consumption became a “compulsory action” rather than a “voluntary action.”⁴⁵ The purpose of the consumption of certain goods denotes people’s intention to exhibit their social groups. Therefore, it means that the increase in consumption is an alternative way for people to clarify their social groups. This structure has influenced the majority of subsequent studies. Although historians benefited from this perspective, others criticized it. The opponents asserted that because the people of the eighteenth century did not have the consciousness of consumerism, this theory was not applicable to them.⁴⁶

Peter Burke’s article on the symbolism of materials and conspicuous consumption emphasizes the other weakness of the theory; according to him, inconspicuous consumption is a better way to trace an individual’s characteristics and their belonging to a specific group.⁴⁷ This is because

⁴⁴ Macaba, p.4

⁴⁵ Grassby, “Material Culture” 2005, pp. 595, 596.

⁴⁶ Colin Campbell, “Understanding Traditional and Modern Patterns of Consumption in 18th Century England; A Character Action Approach” in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London, New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 43.

⁴⁷ Colin Campbell, “Understanding Traditional and Modern Patterns of Consumption in 18th Century England; A Character Action Approach” in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London, New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 43.

conspicuous consumption is an intended movement whereas people make themselves obvious only by the help of inconspicuous consumption.

The other main critique directed at this view was formed around the motivations of the consumer. The first approach asserted that the last link in the chain that triggered the Industrial Revolution was the motivation of social emulation. However, some people are suspicious about this motivation. Theoretically, Colin Campbell shares McKendrick's view that eighteenth-century England witnessed the consumer revolution. But he criticized the reasons for emulation that McKendrick suggests which was to explain the motivations of people as the reason for consumption.⁴⁸ Referring to early modern people, he mainly asks the question: "Did they regard their activity as consumption?"⁴⁹ He calls attention to the "unintended or ironic outcomes of conduct engaged in out of quite different motives."⁵⁰

Jan de Vries, an economist and historian, criticizes the concept of the consumer revolution from a different point of view. He writes that the eighteenth-century consumer revolution in England is an unacceptable view. According to him, even if there were a change in consumption or production, it would not be appropriate to limit it to the boundaries of Britain and the period of the eighteenth century.⁵¹ On the other hand, his approach to the consumer revolution is different from McKendrick's view. As a summary, he asserted that "the new household behavior" of the eighteenth century led to the industrious

⁴⁸ Campbell, "Understanding Traditional" 1994, p. 40.

⁴⁹ Campbell, "Understanding Traditional", 1994, p. 43.

⁵⁰ Campbell, "Understanding Traditional", 1994, p. 55.

⁵¹ Jan de Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods", in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London, New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 107.

revolution, which then resulted in the Industrial Revolution.⁵² Although he shared McKendrick's focus on the demand side, they reached different conclusions.

McKendrick's economy-oriented perspective was also criticized by historians for his archival materials. Lorna Weatherill contributed to the socio-cultural aspects of the consumer revolution by excluding the economic aspect completely. As she aims to focus on the culture she asserts that the concept of industrial revolution does not take place through the conceptual framework of the study.⁵³ Even if she highlights the socio-cultural transformation, she maintain the capitalist discourse as well. In this context, her main aim is to examine whether people's material lives reflected their social position.⁵⁴ She uses a huge empirical data set from the inheritance inventories of people who lived in eight dissimilar regions of Britain. She constructs her argument based on the changing social lives that affected consumption patterns throughout the century. Statistical data indicates that the motivations of consumers were far from social emulation, though she does not entirely reject the concept of emulation. In her study using huge amounts of statistical information, she tries to verify the accuracy of social emulation through documentation, which means this study, was developed in light of the empirical data.⁵⁵

Although the above study is a precursor of the field, there are also other examples that pay attention to culture. For example, Amanda Vickery explains

⁵² De Vries, "Between Purchasing Power", 1994, p. 107.

⁵³ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, London: Routledge, 1996, p. xv.

⁵⁴ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, London: Routledge, 1996, p. xv.

⁵⁵ Sara Penell, "Consumption and Consumerism in Early Modern England", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 42, No: 2, 1999, pp. 549-564.

the female mode of consumption by using cultural elements, such as a change in daily routine, and their effects on the materials, even though she does not prefer to use large statistical datasets for her case study of Lancashire.⁵⁶ The joined point of these studies is their critical view of social emulation because they both claim that social emulation cannot be verified by the social realities obtained directly from the inheritance inventories.⁵⁷

Those studies were brought together in a book titled *Consumption and the World of Goods*. The editors of the book write that its aim is not to claim that modern history started with consumer society, but that it may be possible to take the topic of modernization from several perspectives, and the consumer revolution is one of these possibilities.⁵⁸ As stated several times, the book includes a variety of essays in which each of the studies tries to shed light on a different obscurity of consumer studies. This study with an additional two volumes was criticized for being filled with studies of England and concentrating on modern Western society without including many studies that deal with other parts of the world.⁵⁹

It is obvious that the studies are separated into two according to their approaches towards McKendrick's view that asserts that the consumer revolution began in England in the eighteenth century. While some of the studies support this approach and build their studies based on the same

⁵⁶ Amanda Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and Her Possessions: 1751-81", in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London, New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 274.

⁵⁷ Amanda Vickery, "Women and the World", 1994, p. 276.

⁵⁸ Brewer, Porter, "Introduction", in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 1994, p. 7.

⁵⁹ Craig Clunas, "Modernity Global and Local: Consumption and the Rise of the West", *The American Historical Review*, Vol.104, No.5, 1999, pp. 1506, 1507.

proposition, others confine their studies to demonstrating the weaknesses and invalidity of this proposition. Recent studies are constructed in the same pattern but with an increase in the emphasis on culture and semiology. For example, the birth of consumer society is questioned within the framework of changing tastes.⁶⁰ Another frame is constructed on the changing daily routines of people, which cause a change in the material culture.⁶¹

Although the perspectives have diversified, it is clear that the concept of “consumption” has dominated material culture studies in history. While the early stages of consumption studies were united under the umbrella of capitalist discourse and endeavored to seek the origins of modern society along with consumerism, by understanding the importance of culture and symbols the discussions became multifaceted in European studies. However, the conceptual framework of consumption studies and material culture seems to be different among Ottomanists. To make the comparison, the following part will focus on the conceptualizations of Ottoman material culture studies.

Looking at the global streams of historiography, it seems that Ottomanists followed parallel tendencies as well. Starting from the twentieth century, Ottoman history adopted political history in company with state documents concerning political issues. However, as the direction of global tendencies inclined towards social history, scholars directed their historical agenda to social issues as well. By this impact, the history of daily life, activities, and social life in the Ottoman Empire received much more scholarly attention. However, as the empire was a geographically huge, different localities had different traditions and daily activities, all of which need to be investigated

⁶⁰ Bruno Blonde and Ilja van Damme, “Retail Growth And Consumer Changes in a Declining Urban Economy: Atwerp 1650-1750”, *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 63, No. 3, August 2010, p. 641.

⁶¹ Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture And its Meanings*, England: Ashgate, 2010, pp. 12, 13.

by historians. This inclination explains the popularity of certain archival documents that concern social issues, such as sharia court records and *tahrir* registers. Although the majority of the early examples did little more than transliterate archival material, some of them have tried to shed light on the subjectivities of different localities.⁶² This new set of sources prepared the backdrop for more empirical studies, in addition to allowing ordinary people to participate in historical studies as the main characters.⁶³

Despite these efforts, the political conditions of Turkey in the 1980s and '90s affected studies in a large extent, which is clear from the early examples of material culture studies. As will be discussed in the following paragraphs, the transliteration of archival documents started to dominate the field. Except for some scattered attempts, social history in Ottoman historiography proceeded by revealing local subjectivities rather than consolidating the conceptualizations.

The cultural turn in Ottoman historiography emerged following the long dominance of anti-decline paradigm works.⁶⁴ This new tendency of material culture studies started almost concurrently with European studies. Although the problematizations and discussions of Ottoman historiography about material culture do not overlap with the European ones, the fact that Ottomanists have

⁶² For example; Ronald C. Jennings, "Urban Population in Anatolia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon and Erzurum", *IJMES*, Vol. 7, No.1, 1976.; Ronald C. Jennings "Divorce in the Ottoman Sharia Court of Cyprus, 1580-1640", *Studia Islamica*, No.78, 1993.; Haim Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City Bursa: 1600-1700*, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1988.; Amnon Cohen, *Economic Life in Ottoman Jerusalem*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.; Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials: Rural Administration around Sixteenth-Century Jerusalem*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

⁶³ Dana Sajdi, *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2014, p. 21.

⁶⁴ Dana Sajdi, *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2014, p. 4.

begun to use inheritance inventories as an archival document is evidence of the same tendency. However, the way of using these documents distinguishes Ottoman history from European history. As the discussions conducted are different from each other, the picture seems dispersed.

In the first place, it is possible to separate the studies into two. The first one regards “wealth distribution” which is, unfortunately, one of the unpopular subfields of economic history,⁶⁵ and is studied by a narrower circle of scholars compared to socio-cultural inclined scholars. The other one, on the other hand, pays considerable attention to more cultural issues around the central concept of consumption. Unlike the limited number of examples of work on wealth distribution, there are many more examples concerning the socio-cultural aspect of material culture studies.

The pioneers of the study of wealth distribution in Ottoman history are Colette Estabiet and Jean-Paul Pascual.⁶⁶ Following them one of the most prominent economic historians of the Ottoman History, namely Ömer Lütfi Barkan, examined the Edirne military inventories through the perspective of wealth distribution.⁶⁷ After a long gap, Boğaç Ergene and Ali Berker suggested a new quantitative method for researchers using the example of the Kastamonu inheritance inventories.⁶⁸ A year later Hülya Canbakal revealed a study on the

⁶⁵ Boğaç Ergene, Ali Berker, “Wealth and Inequality in 18th Century Kastamonu: Estimations for the Muslim Majority”, *IJMES*, 2008, p. 23.

⁶⁶ Colette Estabiet and Jean-Paul Pascual, “Damascene Probate Inventories of the 17th and 18th Centuries: Some preliminary Approaches and Results”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 1992.

⁶⁷ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Edirne Askeri Kassamına Ait Tereke Defterleri, 1545-1659”, *TTK Belgeler*, No: 3, 1966.

⁶⁸ Boğaç Ergene, Ali Berker, “Wealth and Inequality in 18th Century Kastamonu: Estimations for the Muslim Majority”, *IJMES*, 2008.

wealth distribution of Ayntab in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with comparisons to Vidin, Ruse, Sofia, Damascus, and Cairo, in which she concluded that the wealth framework of Ayntab demonstrated unique characteristics compared to other regions of the empire.⁶⁹

Keeping abovementioned studies aside, material culture studies based on inventories are generally conducted around the concept of consumption. Although they conjoin on the same concept, these studies do not propound an integrated framework. There are three main phases in the development of material culture studies: in the early phase inheritance inventories were transliterated and published in, works of the second phase commented within the framework of Westernization and Tulip Age paradigms, and the most recent studies, by scrutinizing the decline paradigms, emphasized the internal dynamics which gave new shape to people's social lives.

The examples of the earliest phase were the products of the political conjuncture of the period. This unproblematic approach to archival documents contributed to the literature as transliterations of the inventories.⁷⁰ Starting with such an intellectual environment, material culture studies evolved into more sophisticated studies over time. In the meantime, Ottomanists suggested different approaches, such as Westernization and modernization that helped scholars explain the changing material culture habits of the elites. In particular the concept of the "Tulip Age" has been studied politically and socially as the starting point of the new era within the broader framework of Westernization. All these studies have taken shape under the influence of the decline paradigm, which is considered to be the chief factor shaping the discussion.

⁶⁹ Hülya Canbakal, *17. Yüzyılda Ayntab : Osmanlı kentinde toplum ve siyaset*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2009.

⁷⁰ Oktay Özel, Gökhan Çetinsaya, "Türkiye'de Osmanlı Tarihçiliğinin Son Çeyrek Yüzyılı: Bir Bilanço Denemesi", 2002, p. 10.

Recent studies have started to emphasize the internal dynamics that changed patterns of material culture, rather than to use the approach of Westernization. These studies utilize the conceptual framework of European studies, looking closely at global concepts such as “consumption” and “conspicuous consumption”. In short, three main streams dominate the field of material culture. Except for a few recent ones, almost none of those studies correspond to the problematizations and the contextualizations of European material culture studies. It is interesting that Ottoman studies of material culture have built their literature independent from their European predecessors.

In fact, it would not be wrong to claim that the sole similarity between Ottoman and European material culture studies is their archival documents. That is to say, inheritance inventories are the main instruments for historians who are concerned with material culture in both European and Ottoman studies, even though they did not share the same pool of questions. A criticism of both is their focus on the inheritance inventories of the elites, which stop us from seeing ordinary people’s lives. Now that we have looked at the historical process of historiography and material culture studies, to analyze three different groups and their approaches. to the accompaniment of their works.

The first group of material culture studies was content with the transliteration of inheritance inventories. As mentioned above, as a result of the political situation the scope of these early works remained shallow, as they aimed to contribute to social history through directly transliterated inventories. Rather than situating those studies within a more general framework of socio-economic history, they preferred to concentrate on the family lives without positioning them in public life.⁷¹ In other words, the direct transliteration of

⁷¹ Fekete Lajos, “XVI. Yüzyılda Taşralı Bir Türk Efendi Evi”, trans. Tayyib Gökbilgin, Yavuz Cezar, “Bir Ayanın Muhallefatı: Havza ve Köprü Kazaları Ayanı Kır İsmail Oğlu Hüseyin (Müşadere Olayı ve Terekenin İncelenmesi)”, Bayram Ürekli & Alpay Bizbirlik, “Karaman Valisi Çelik Mehmed Paşa’nın Terekesi”, Yunus Özger, “Bayburtlu Şair Zihninin Ölümü ve Tereke Defteri”, *A.Ü. Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Sayı: 26, Erzurum, 2004., Z. G.

inheritance inventories and a non-integrated conceptual framework provide a limited contribution to the obscurities of Ottoman history.

On the other hand, the second group united around the concept of Westernization. The beginning of the eighteenth century was seen as a turning point as Western influence became tangible.⁷² As the idea of Westernization was directly linked to the decline paradigm, changes in political and social life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were explicated as the beginnings of decline.⁷³ This interpretation saw material culture as one of the main determinants of Westernized society, and argued that it increased the consumption among the elites within the Tulip Age politics. Thus in a sense, it reminds us of McKendrick's view that equates modernity with consumption. However, as these two concepts overlap each other for Ottomanists, they become distant from their original meanings. The function of the inheritance inventories, in this approach, is to seek the traces of the consumption of Western products as evidence of Westernization, which means that newly-consumed materials are seen as the signs of the Westernization. Therefore, the consumption of Western goods such as mirrors, binoculars, watches, and some textiles, was used to estimate the degree of Westernization.⁷⁴ In short, they

Yağcı & Serdar Genç, "XIX. Yüzyılda Balıkesirli bir Paşa: Giridizade Mehmed Paşa ve Serveti", *The Journal of International Social Research*, Vol. 2.6, 2009.

⁷² Can Erimtan, "The Perception of Sadabad: The Tulip Age and Otoman Safavid Rivalry", in ed. Dana Sajdi, *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*; London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014, p. 43.; Hamadeh, Shirine. "Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque: Modern Constructions of the Eighteenth Century", *Muqarnas*, Vol. 24, 2007, pp. 185, 186.

⁷³ Dana Sajdi, *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2014, p. 4.

⁷⁴ Tülay Artan, "Terekeler Işığında 18.Yüzyıl Ortasında Eyüp'te Yaşam Tarzı ve Standartlarına Bir Bakış: Orta Halliliğin Aynası", in (ed.) Tülay Artan, *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, p. 50

claimed that the transformation in material culture was directly influenced by the West. Both the change in culture and material culture was associated with external factors.⁷⁵ This causality has been criticized for its reductionist character, which identifies Ottoman society as passive and open to Western influence.⁷⁶

Fatma Müge Göçek contributed to this perspective which is a controversial study.⁷⁷ The study claims that the precondition of modernization is the formation of a bourgeoisie class. Therefore she endeavored to find this class in the Ottoman lands by doing a class analysis. Aside from the theoretical discussions throughout the study, to support her claims she analyzed the inheritance inventories of the three different social groups of the Ottoman Empire, namely the elites, the army, and ordinary people. She analyzed inventories to find out which class used Western products. She concluded her study by reverting to the traditional argument that Westernization first started among the elites. The study received several criticisms about both the political conclusions that she reached and the insufficient proportion of the archival documents that she used.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Rhodes Murphy, "Westernisation in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire: How Far, How Fast?", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, No: 23, 1999, p. 117.

⁷⁶ Tülay Artan, "18. Yüzyılda Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı", *Toplum ve Bilim*, No: 83, Winter, 1999-2000, p. 313.

⁷⁷ Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

⁷⁸ Review: *Rise of Bourgeoisie; Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, Reviewed by Carter V. Findley, *The American Historical Review*, 1997, Reviewed by Christoph Herzog, *Die Welt des Islams*, 2002. As the representativeness constitutes one of the most important problems of the using inheritance inventories, it seems this amount of register does not enough to reach to the conclusions comparing to the examples in European which utilized huge statistics.

Although the groups follow each other, this does not mean that they emerged chronologically. All these groups still have subscribers who contribute to the literature. Consequently, it would not reflect the truth to claim that the conceptual framework of Westernization has been abandoned in literature. Nowadays even if we encounter the concept of Westernization less frequently, it has not completely disappeared. Fatih Bozkurt's study for example, is a contribution to the same tendency.⁷⁹ With regard to its contextualization and problematization, the study analyzes the inventories within the Westernization paradigm as well. He asserts that the cultural impacts of the West converted the Ottoman society into a Western-guided society, and suggests that the history of Republican Turkey could be better understood if considerable attention was paid to the Western influence that started at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The discourse of this study demonstrates that the concept of Westernization and the decline paradigm continue to be way to understand the process that started in the eighteenth century.

Participants of this perspective claim that the Tulip Age was the starting point for the transformation of the empire. Even the changing tastes of architecture during the Tulip Age have been interpreted as the effects of Western culture.⁸⁰ Supported by the decline paradigm, these studies divide Ottoman society into pre-Westernization and post-Westernization.⁸¹

As the decline paradigm has received critiques and lost its strength, new explanations have spread. Dana Sajdi explicitly summarized the revisionist

⁷⁹ Fatih Bozkurt, *Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddî Kültüründe Değişim (1785-1875 İstanbul Örneği*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Sakarya University, 2011.

⁸⁰ Rhodes Murphey, "Westernisation in the Eighteenth Century Ottoman Empire: How Far How Fast?", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, No: 23, 1999, p. 124.

⁸¹ Jane Hathaway, "Rewriting Eighteenth Century Ottoman History", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol: 19, No: 1, 2004, p. 29.

approach in four steps; thinking of the Ottoman Empire as adaptable, paying attention to internal dynamics that symbolizes modernity before the European perspective.⁸² Already this attitude and efforts of re-periodization have begun to bear fruit.

In this fresh beginning for Ottoman history, at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, a new trend investigated the Ottoman Empire. According to these revisionists, the transformation in material culture can only be understood by looking at internal factors, yet without losing sight of more global issues such as the eighteenth-century consumer revolution in Britain or the motivations for conspicuous consumption. They claim that the discussion about Westernization has degraded Ottoman society to a passive form and shown it as ready for the impacts of Western societies.⁸³

Tülay Artan is one of the first scholars to apply the most recent concepts of European studies, such as consumption and conspicuous consumption, to Ottoman history.⁸⁴ She asserts that cultural transformation should be analyzed at different levels rather than perceiving Ottoman society as inactive. In this framework, rather than dealing with the specific examples it is essential to look at the extensive changes in consumption patterns that affected the daily lives and behavior of the masses.⁸⁵ Her studies reveal the effects of changing urban life on the material lives of people. She claims that actions taken for the political

⁸² Dana Sajdi, *Ottoman Tulips*, 2014, p. 6

⁸³ Tülay Artan, “18. Yüzyılda Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı”, 1999-2000, p. 313.

⁸⁴ Tülay Artan, “18. Yüzyılda Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı”, 1999-2000, pp. 292-323.

⁸⁵ Tülay Artan, *Terekeler Işığında 18.Yüzyılda Ortasında Eyüp’te Yaşam Tarzı ve Standartlarına Bir Bakış: Orta Halliliğin Aynası*, İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998.

purposes of elites had an impact on the lives of the ordinary people. Building along the Bosphorus coastline, for example, was a result of military and political failures. The aim of the elite's *yalı* construction was to reinforce the sultan's legitimacy, and it had considerable effects on the material lives of ordinary people.⁸⁶ The visibility of the elite's lives may have increased the conspicuous consumption among ordinary people. On the other hand, Artan resists the idea of the cultural domination of the West by emphasizing the impossibility that Western influence on the elites could be the sole cause of the increase in consumption.⁸⁷

The same point of view is shared by Donald Quataert.⁸⁸ He situates the cultural transformation of the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century within the framework of consumerism, and claims that Westernization is an outdated approach to be avoided. He adds that to understand the cultural turn, scholars should leave out the discourse of Western impact and Westernization in Ottoman literature. Therefore, the line of the new fields of discussion concerning consumption was determined. The edited book namely *Consumption Studies and the History of Ottoman Empire: 1550-1922*, in this sense, opened new windows and varied attitudes toward consumer culture in Ottoman history. The essays in the book, which examine different aspects, assume the same sensitivities as him. Salzmann's study, in particular, which considers the dates

⁸⁶ Tülay Artan, *Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of Eighteenth Century Bosphorus*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Boston: MIT, 1988.

⁸⁷ Tülay Artan, "18. Yüzyılda Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı", 1999-2000, p. 313.

⁸⁸ Donald Quataert, *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550-1922*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.

between 1550-1730, shares the same approach with the third group by opposing the arguments of the Tulip Age and Westernization.⁸⁹

Selim Karahasanoğlu shared the similar perspective with those, and produced a study that criticizes the Tulip Age. Like Salzmann he completely rejects the traditional tenets of the Tulip Age “legend.” According to him the shift in the consumer behavior of society was related to commercial capitalism rather than to the passion directed at luxury items or moral corruption. His case study is the inheritance inventory of Nevşehirli Damat İbrahim Paşa, who became the symbol of the Tulip Age and who was long accused of being the initiator of luxurious Westernized consumption during this period. However, the analysis shows that he did not spend much more than previous viziers. All in all, Karahasanoğlu concludes that the Tulip Age was not the starting point of Westernization or modernization, and that moreover this period does not show any indicators of “abnormal” luxury consumption.⁹⁰

Apart from criticizing the concept of the Tulip Age, the introduction of new consumer goods such as coffee and tobacco and the changes in social life created an alternative perspective that tackled the Westernization paradigm. One of the recent examples of this approach belongs to Dana Sajdi.⁹¹ With a particular focus on coffee and tobacco, she contributes to the literature of consumption studies in Ottoman history. She mainly criticizes the known historiography of the Tulip Age, and opens new gates to understand Ottoman history from different perspectives. One of the most important studies of the

⁸⁹ Ariel Salzmann, “Tulip Age: Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture (1550-1730)”, ed. Donald Quataert, *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550-1922*, USA, University of New York Press, 2000, p. 97.

⁹⁰ Selim Karahasanoğlu, *A Tulip Age Legend: Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in the Ottoman Empire (1718-1730)*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Binghamton University, 2009, p. 229.

⁹¹ Dana Sajdi, *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2014.

field belongs to Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph Neumann.⁹² However, even if an effort has been made by some individual studies, food consumption has failed to develop into a productive field,⁹³ as the food consumption of ordinary people has not emerged as one of the topics of the field.

The revisionists, in short, prefer to focus on the internal dynamics of the empire, which they see as the basis for the increase in consumption and the changing activities of daily life. In this view, it is not a denial of the Western impact, but rather a claim of cross-cultural interaction. Morloes Cornelissen's recent and detailed study examines the inventories of the Dutch ambassador and other Dutch people in the Ottoman Empire during the first half of the seventeenth century, and shows that there was mutual interaction between the European and Ottoman cultures.⁹⁴ The shared aim of the last view is to denote that the transformation came about as a result of the demands of society. The source of the demand was the changing urban life. They believe that the resolution of the transformation in Ottoman society is only possible through analyzing the internal dynamics, while not ignoring the more global issues. Substantially, this view reminds one of Jan De Vries's view and claim about the emergence of the consumer revolution in Europe. As mentioned in detail previously in this chapter, he claims that the consumption revolution occurred because of people's demands. In a sense, both of the views show us that the

⁹² Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph Neumann, *Soframız Nur Hanemiz Mamur: Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Yemek ve Barınak*, Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006.

⁹³ Tülay Artan, "Aspects of the Ottoman Elite's Food Consumption: Looking for "Staples," "Luxuries," and "Delicacies" in a Changing Century", *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction*, (ed.) Quataert, Donald, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press 2000, pp. 107-200.

⁹⁴ Morloes Cornelissen, *The World of Ambassador Jacobus Colyer: Material Culture of the Dutch 'Nation' in Istanbul During the First Half of the 18th Century*, Unpublished P.h.DThesis, Sabancı University, 2016.

changing social life was not a result of the conditions but a reason that creates its results.

Among all these claims, it seems wise to ground my study on a combination of those approaches rather than standing on a single pillar. As the nature of science is cumulative, all of these studies and approaches deserve to be taken into consideration. Blending the approaches of both European—specifically British—and Ottoman material culture studies oriented me to focus on the relationship between urban life and consumer behavior, without disregarding the concepts such as the consumer revolution, consumerism, and Westernization. Thus, I aim to reveal the changes in consumer behavior in the Ottoman Empire by focusing mostly on the internal dynamics of the region. Putting the internal dynamics of the Ottoman Empire into the center of the study, the eighteenth century has great importance as a turning point in many areas. It is a fact that moving from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century the empire experienced significant political, economic, and social transformations.

On the other hand, the eighteenth century is considered to be the beginning of the consumer revolution in European history.⁹⁵ Above all, by the beginning of the eighteenth century the sultan had returned to the capital city, Istanbul, from Edirne and studies show us that the city, which had been ruined and desolated during the absence of the sultan, started to be reconstructed and resulted in vivid social life in Istanbul.⁹⁶ Taking the internal and external importance of the eighteenth century into consideration, I thought it would be meaningful to focus the study on the eighteenth century.

⁹⁵ Campbell, “Understanding Traditional”, 1994, p. 40.

⁹⁶ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007.

CHAPTER 3

CHANGING DYNAMICS OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ISTANBUL: LOSS AND RECOVERY

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the eighteenth century has been reconsidered by revisionist Ottomanists with different perspectives that attach more importance to this era when compared to previous studies. Rather than portraying this century, on the basis of concepts like Westernization and modernization, as a period in which military victories came to an end and traditional institutions were corrupted, and hence as a period that led to the inevitable decline of the Ottoman Empire in the face of the military and technological supremacy of the West, this century has begun to be reconsidered as a critical period in which significant changes occurred, and explained through concepts like transformation, change, adaptation, and reorganization.⁹⁷ In other words, according to the revisionist Ottomanists, the eighteenth century was characterized by a new dynamism dominated mainly by internal dynamics, rather than an inevitable decline as described in previous studies.

On this ground, within the scope of this study, the revisionists explain the changes that the Empire went through in the eighteenth century, in terms of material culture and consumption, based on the socio-economic and cultural

⁹⁷ Cemal Kafadar, The Question of Ottoman Decline, *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, No: 4, 1997, 1998, pp. 30-75. Can Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West? The Origins of The Tulip Age and Its Development in Modern Turkey*, London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies; New York: Distributed in the USA by Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Jane Hathaway, "Rewriting Eighteenth Century Ottoman History", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol: 19, No: 1, 2004.

changes and revival that occurred in Istanbul. When the existing literature is analyzed, it can be seen that within the framework of the decline paradigm, the change in the world of material culture is explained based on the increasing use of Western materials in the Empire.⁹⁸ Although this approach is more pertinent to the period that starts with the nineteenth century, I argue that, in addition to external factors, internal dynamics were also influential in the changes that occurred in the eighteenth century in the sphere of material culture and consumption patterns. Three developments in Istanbul in particular, whose historical roots lie before the eighteenth century, provided the ground for the changes in the material world and consumption behavior of urban Istanbulites.

First, it can be mentioned that the Sultan's abandonment of Istanbul at the end of the seventeenth century, and his de facto use of Edirne as the new capital, had adverse effects on urban life in Istanbul. It should be noted that Istanbulites, by revolting after a short period of time, forced the Sultan to return to the city, and it can be said that this led to a stronger revitalization of urban life compared to before, especially with the Sultan's attempts to reinstate his legitimacy through architectural interventions that resulted in a new era that fostered socialization. This period also coincides with the so-called Tulip Era, in which, as it is claimed, consumption increased among the elites, and their lives were displayed ostentatiously. In this regard, this study also makes it possible to understand how the urban Ottomans reacted to the phenomenon of the Tulip Era.

The second development was the vitalizing effect of coffeehouses on city life, which started long before the eighteenth century. In addition to the introduction of coffeehouses as new public spaces for the male members of the society, the fact that coffee consumption in the home also became a daily ritual

⁹⁸ Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, demise of empire : Ottoman westernization and social change*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.; Fatih Bozkurt *Tereke Defierleri ve Osmanlı Maddî Kültüründe Değişim (1785-1875 İstanbul örneği)*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Sakarya University, 2011.

for women resulted in changes in material culture in line with the spirit of the era.

Lastly, it can be argued that the blurring the lines between the social groups, whose historical roots lie in the seventeenth century, which diverged from the traditional structure of Ottoman society, was another development that was influential in the material changes of the era, especially in terms of changes in symbols of social status and the proliferation of elements of material culture.

These three developments, which, I think, changed the consumption patterns of the Ottomans living in Istanbul, especially in the first half of the eighteenth century, also constitute the context of this study. On the other hand, it should be noted that the eighteenth century experienced ruptures within itself, which created trends in the opposite direction compared to the first half of the century. In this regard, in addition to the economic troubles that started with the 1760s, the earthquakes and fires that the capital went through during the second half of the century had significant negative effects on the socialization processes, which, in turn, interrupted the continuity of the changes in consumption patterns. This chapter will elaborate on those arguments mentioned briefly above, and it will analyze the connections between those developments and the changes in material culture and consumption patterns. Based on the discussions provided in this chapter, the following chapters will analyze the traces of social consumption patterns in Istanbul on the basis of the Galata probate registers.

3.1 Facing Off The Political Failures And The Shift Of The Legitimacy

Starting in the seventeenth century the Ottoman Empire began to move away from the political and military successes that had provided and enhanced its legitimacy since its foundation. The struggle with the Safavids in the East in the middle of the century, which was followed by the Cretan crisis in the West and the Karlowitz Treaty, signed in 1699 upon the failure of the siege of Vienna, can be considered among the factors that were influential in the initiation of the

loss of the empire's military legitimacy in the eyes of Ottoman society.⁹⁹ It should be noted that the Sultan Mustafa II's move from Istanbul to Edirne immediately after the Karlowitz Treaty, with the encouragement of Feyzullah Efendi, negatively affected the lives of Istanbulites and led to a significant decline in the urban life of Istanbul. The Sultan's resettlement in Edirne was experienced by Istanbulites as an event with negative effects at various levels. This event proved the power of Feyzullah Efendi over the Sultan, about which society had already been complaining for a while, and on this ground strengthened the Istanbulites' demand for justice.¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, the Sultan's abandonment of Istanbul also removed the public order and prosperity that he provided from the capital, and the parallel decrease in the demands of the palace and the ruling elites to maintain commercial life in Istanbul shook the economic viability of the city.¹⁰¹ As Abou El Haj also mentions, Istanbul's economy was heavily damaged in this period. Furthermore, in addition to all these, the fires affecting the city during the seventeenth century also forced the inhabitants of the city to leave.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Donald Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu: 1700-1922*, İstanbul: İletişim, pp. 73-79.

¹⁰⁰ Rifaat Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul, 1984, p. 4.

¹⁰¹ Rifaat Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul, 1984, p. 4. Though the departure of palace residents and ruling elite was a serious blow for the commercial life of the city, this decline, indeed, was not independent of the macro economical conditions at hand.

¹⁰² Through the fires occurred in Cibali in 1633, in Galata and the Suriçi in 1660, once again in Galata in 1689, in the city part covering Süleymaniye and the Haliç in 1693, and once more in Galata in 1696, along with the city life, the cityscape was also marred. Feridun Dirimtekin, "Ecnebi Seyyahlara göre Onyedinci Yüzyılda İstanbul'un Medeni ve İçtimai Hayatı", *İstanbul Enstitüsü Mecmuası*, Vol.V, İstanbul Baha Matbaası, 1958, p. 59.

When the whole political environment of the seventeenth century is considered together with these fires, it can be said that Istanbul experienced a difficult century both in economic and social terms. Within this picture, it is possible to portray the society in the passing from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, as urbanites living in a city left to its fate with significant losses in terms of justice and income.¹⁰³ Under the influences of these adverse conditions, as a result of the 1703 revolt, which brought the *ulema*, military powers, and merchants together, the sultan and his high officials were forced to accept the demands of those who participated in the revolt, and they returned to Istanbul from Edirne.¹⁰⁴ This process, in which the Istanbulites realized that they could get what they want from the center of power, triggered new processes throughout the eighteenth century in terms of power-sharing struggles, and in this sense, it can be said that the position of the sultan as the only power ended in this century.¹⁰⁵

As a result of the political and social developments mentioned above, the Ottoman sultans and elites went beyond the traditional methods of legitimacy and tried to regain their political dignity in the eyes of both the *reaya* and the new ruling elite through architectural works and consumption.¹⁰⁶ This

¹⁰³ Yi Eunjeong, "Introduction" in *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage*, Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004. pp. 1-19.

¹⁰⁴ Rifaat Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1984, p. 19.

¹⁰⁵ Artan, as an example for Rifat Abou-El-Haj's concept of power sharing, contrasts the festivals in 1582 and 1720. In the former, the Sultan is depicted as alone whereas in the latter both Sultan and the Pasha's are seen together. Artan considers this new depiction as an attempt at demonstrating the increasing participation of elites in governance to public. Tülay Artan, "18. Yüzyılda Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı", *Toplum ve Bilim*, No:83, Winter, 1999-2000, pp. 314,315.

¹⁰⁶ Tülay Artan, "18. Yüzyılda Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı", *Toplum ve Bilim*, No:83, Winter, 1999-2000, pp. 299, 300.

reconstruction movement is particularly important because the only construction process comparable with it in terms of scope can be found in the fifteenth century when the city was captured by the Ottomans. However, it should be noted that the fifteenth-century reconstruction movement was based on the urgent needs of the Istanbulites, while the eighteenth-century reconstruction process was a product of the needs of the elites for legitimacy, which they tried to regain through ostentatiousness, rather than the needs of the city.¹⁰⁷

The inclusion of the Bosphorus coastline in the reconstruction movement as an alternative to the traditional places where the Sultan and the elites had been living, occurred at the end of this process that was characterized by the palace's concerns about becoming visible. The palace encouraged especially the palace women to build new coastal palaces in this region, mainly with two aims: to make their lives apparent to the Istanbulites; and to intimidate the husbands of the palace women, who were trying to establish their own personal power domains as alternatives to the sultan.¹⁰⁸ This was so simply because the sultan and his entourage were not the only center of power in this period, and he had already lost the monopoly over the use of architecture as an instrument of legitimacy.¹⁰⁹ The husbands of the palace women, who were high officers and the ruling elite, were also trying to persuade the powerful households of the era of their power through the edifices that they constructed.

¹⁰⁷ Halil İnalcık, "İstanbul: An Islamic City", *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 1, 1990, p. 255.

¹⁰⁸ Tülay Artan, "18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı," *Toplum ve Bilim*, No:83, 1999-2000, p. 300. In her subsequent studies, Artan cites that beside the contribution of the elite women to the city's architecture they attempted to change the daily rituals by marriages, which also increased their functionality in the same period. Tülay Artan, "Royal Weddings and the Grand Vezirate", in *Royal Court in Dynastic States and Empires*, eds. Duindam, Artan & Kunt., Leiden: Brill, 2011, p. 355.

¹⁰⁹ Tülay Artan, "18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı," 1999-2000, p. 300.

The use of architecture as a means of gaining respect in society was not specific to this period. It is known that the empire had been using architecture as a method for centuries to consolidate its military successes. For instance, sultans known for their military achievements, like Mehmed II and Süleyman I, had used the capital as a window to display their power through the architectural monuments that they had constructed.¹¹⁰ However, what makes the eighteenth century different from the previous eras is, on the one hand, the fact that architecture as a vehicle of legitimacy was used by a wide range of groups, and on the other hand, the fact that it was used to fill the gap of military successes instead of consolidating military legitimacy. In this regard, it can be said that the architectural movement facilitated by a wide range of power centers with a concern for gaining political prestige led to a revival of urban life in Istanbul during this period, which in turn accelerated the socialization processes among individuals and groups.¹¹¹

While he was returning to Istanbul, Mustafa II had already recognized both the power of the Istanbulites against his power and their discontent with respect to urban life. Hence, following his return, he set to work to re-earn their respect and to calm society by reshaping urban life in Istanbul. An architectural process aimed at reviving urban life began, and this architectural movement gained momentum after the earthquake of 1719.¹¹² Istanbulites contributed to this revival by socializing and actively participating in urban life. One of the

¹¹⁰ Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Sarayı: 15. Ve 16. Yüzyılda Mimari, Tören ve İktidar*, İstanbul : YKY 1991. 2006, p. 257. "...the architectural institutions and ceremonial organization of the Topkapı Palace, perfectly reflected the system of Ottoman absolute monarchy and helped to perpetuate it."

¹¹¹ Helene Desmet Gregoire, "Giriş" *Doğuda Kahve ve Kahvehaneler*, (eds.) Helene Desmet Gregoire, François Geogron, 1999, p. 21.

¹¹² Tülay Artan, "18. Yüzyılda Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı", *Toplum ve Bilim*, No: 83, Winter, 1999-2000, p. 304.

main arguments of this study is that this revival in urban life provided the ground for the increase in socialization processes in which Istanbulites started to see each other more frequently.¹¹³ This study claims that the traces of this increase in socialization can be observed in consumption patterns.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the visibility of power was ensured by the construction of a large number of monuments ranging from the palaces built along the coast to modest fountains built in the neighborhoods.¹¹⁴ At this point, it should be noted that the architectural works built in this era were long considered in the literature as markers of Western influence on Ottoman architecture, which is usually assumed to have begun in the Tulip Era.¹¹⁵ However, later studies have shown that the Western motifs in these works and the influence of Western architectural currents on them constitute only a minor part of Ottoman architecture.¹¹⁶ As recent critical studies clearly put forward, it is not possible to observe a significant Western influence even on the architectural works that the ruling elite constructed in this period.¹¹⁷ It is also possible to analyze the changing urban life and urban environment in Istanbul within the context of increasing socialization activities and the increasing frequency of the publicity of the urbanites, which were made possible by this

¹¹³ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, p. 19.

¹¹⁴ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, p. 13.

¹¹⁵ Ali Uzay Peker, "Western Influences on the Otoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of İstanbul," *Eigteeenth Century Life*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 2002, pp. 142-152.; Ali Uzay Peker, "A Retreating Power: The Ottoman Approach to the West in the 18th Century" in *Power and Culture: Hegemony, Interaction and Dissent*, (ed.) Jonathan Osmond and Ausma Cimdina, Edizioni Plus, pp. 73, 74.

¹¹⁶ Günsel Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı 1700-1850*, Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1977, pp. 15-29.

¹¹⁷ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, p. 14.

architectural movement discussed above. In this sense, the use of the palaces on the Bosphorus coastline by those in power as a means of displaying their ostentatious lives is noteworthy. As Artan quotes from Küçükçelebizade, throughout the eighteenth century the empire allocated land to over 200 elites to build their constructions,¹¹⁸ which means that the Bosphorus coast was then the most populated it had ever been.¹¹⁹ Although most of them do not exist today, the Bosphorus coastline was filled with the palaces built by the elites during this period like Çırağan (1719), Şevketabad, Hayrabad, Hüsrevabad (1720), Hümayunabad, Feyazabad (1722), Hürremabad (1723), Emnabad (1724-5), Neşetabad (1726), and Şerefabad (1728).¹²⁰

In addition to the palaces on the coastline, which indirectly affected the consumption habits of the Istanbulites, another architectural initiative during this period was related to the *mesires* (recreation areas) and gardens, which not only had a direct influence on the daily lives and consumption patterns of the urbanites, but also put their stamp on social life in the eighteenth century and contributed to the change in the silhouette of the city. The effect of such spaces on consumption patterns can be explained by the fact that they transformed the traditional rituals of socialization. The fact that the works of art from this century that portray the *mesires* and gardens depict a wide range of people from all class, sex, and age groups gives us an idea about the extent to which individuals participated in social life in the eighteenth century. For example, in miniatures of the period, these places are depicted as public spaces where

¹¹⁸ Tülay Artan, *Architecture as a Theatre of Life, Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus*, Unpublished Ph. D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989, p. 36.

¹¹⁹ Tülay Artan, *Architecture as a Theatre of Life, Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus*, Unpublished Ph. D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989, p. 12.

¹²⁰ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefâ: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010, pp. 46-52.

women are also present.¹²¹ Another example can be given from Robert Walsh, who was working in the British Embassy. While describing Kağıthane Deresi in the early nineteenth century, he mentions that Muslims and non-Muslims, and people of all classes used this area to relax and have fun.¹²²

These gardens and recreation areas (*mesire*) were responses to the new demands of Istanbulites.¹²³ To answer those demands, not only were new recreation areas (*mesire*) constructed, but also old ones were renovated. Moreover, even the old private gardens of the sultan were transformed into public spaces in accordance with this new desire.¹²⁴ For instance, we know that between the years of 1718 and 1720, Sadrazam İbrahim Pasha renovated the private gardens (*hasbahçe*) of Beşiktaş, Dolmabahçe, Kandilli, Tekfur Saray, Karaağaç, and Davud Paşa.¹²⁵ In this regard, Küçüksu Gardens and Sultaniye Hasbahçesi were built in 1749 by Sultan Mahmud I. In short, it is possible to consider these recreation areas (*mesire*) as more developed and populated forms

¹²¹ Tülay Artan, *Architecture as a Theatre of Life, Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989, p. 6.; Fariba Zarinebaf states that the content of the lawsuits of women in the eighteenth century affirms the increasing presence of women in the urban areas in Istanbul. Fariba Zarinebaf, "Women and The Public Eye in The Eighteenth Century", *Women in the Medieval Islamic World*, (ed.)Gavin Hambly, St. Martin's Press, 1998, p. 304.

¹²² Thomas Allom, *İstanbul Manzaraları: Rumel'ide ve Batı Anadolu'da Gezintilerle*, İstanbul; Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2012, p. 122.

¹²³ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, p. 166.

¹²⁴ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, p. 48.

¹²⁵ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, p. 168.

of the types of socialization that had existed since the sixteenth century.¹²⁶ From this perspective, the eighteenth century can be conceived as an era of cultural expansion, rather than as “the starting point of the end” as is claimed by the decline paradigm.¹²⁷

This cultural expansion was made manifest in the recreation areas and gardens, which contributed to socialization by extending the duration of the gathering of different social groups. When the social aspect of consumption is considered, it is possible to say that those spaces also had the capacity to transform consumption patterns and material culture. It is likely that Istanbulites used these areas to display their status outside their households via their belongings, in a similar way to the abovementioned concerns of the palace about being visible. It can even be said that coexisting with different groups might create a social milieu that made it possible to observe others and imitate them. In this regard, it should be noted that the increase in consumption for conspicuous purposes cannot be explained solely based on the motive of emulating the elites, but also reflects the fact that people’s greater exposure to each other was effective in changing patterns of consumption.

In addition to the coastal palaces and recreation areas, another significant architectural feature of the era was the fountains.¹²⁸ In addition to the monumental fountains like the Bab-ı Hümayun Çeşmesi (1719) across from the Topkapı Palace, the III Ahmet Çeşmesi (1728-29) in Üsküdar built in the reign

¹²⁶ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, p. 167.

¹²⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Krizler ve Değişim 1590-1699”, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi*, İstanbul: Eren, 2004, p. 545.

¹²⁸ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim, p. 123. Maurice Cerasi, “Open Space, Water and Trees in Ottoman Urban Culture”, *Environmental Design: Water and Architecture*, 1985, p. 43.

of Ahmet III, and the Tophane Çeşmesi built by Mahmut I, many fountains were also built in this era in the new settlements outside the city walls, as well as in recreation areas.¹²⁹ Other shareholders of power and leading figures of the era, who were inspired by this act of the sultan, also contributed to the increasing number of fountains in the city.¹³⁰ The fountains made it possible for those holding power to become visible in a short period and with low costs.¹³¹ In the context of using architecture as a means of legitimacy as discussed above, the building of fountains was preferred by an even more extensive range of groups since they could be built quickly and with low cost.

In addition to the quantitative increase in the number of fountains built in the eighteenth century, we observe that there was also a qualitative proliferation in terms of the status of those who were financing their construction compared to the previous centuries.¹³² In this regard, according to this study, this increase in the construction of fountains in this era has more profound meaning, the analysis of which is beyond the scope of this study. For instance, those fountains can be seen as architectural works that made it possible for the emerging social classes to demonstrate their social status. In other words, building a fountain

¹²⁹ Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, “Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture in the 18th Century”, In *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*. Vienna, 1983. p. 175.; Gülçin Canca Erol, “İstanbul’da III. Ahmet Dönemi Osmanlı Mimarisi”, *Özgür Tarih*, Cilt.1, No:1, 2017.

¹³⁰ Tülay Artan, “18. Yüzyılda İstanbul: Uzlaşma ve Yeniden Yapılan Dönemi,” in *Bizantion’dan İstanbul’a: Bir Başkentin 8000 Yılı*, İstanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2010, pp 309, 310.

¹³¹ Shirine Hamadeh, “The Obsession with the Fountains in the Eighteenth Century İstanbul,” *Muqarnas*, Vol. 19, 2002, p. 125.

¹³² Hamadeh states that the number of fountains built in İstanbul have been 75 in 16th century, 135 in 17th century and 350 in the 18th century. please see. Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim, p. 123.

might become a marker of the social status in this era. Hamadeh notes that while in the sixteenth century the majority of the financers of the fountains were those with the title of *paşa*, and in the seventeenth century high ranking military officers stand out in this regard, in the eighteenth century in addition to those high ranking military officers, we also see those with the title of *ağa* as financers of the fountains.¹³³ Although recent studies have highlighted the ambiguity of the content of the title of *ağa* in the eighteenth century, still it can be said that it was mainly held by men whose social status was on the rise.¹³⁴ As I will discuss in the next chapter, a similar pattern can be observed in consumption patterns. It is possible to say that consumption increased among all social layers, especially in the period of 1700-1750.

Based on the fact that public spaces create the opportunity for people to display themselves, there are two possible reasons for the construction of fountains by the emerging social classes: the first is the concern to convey a message to the society regarding social status, and the second is the fact that those fountains created a space for their financers to display themselves and their belongings. This is so because the fountain, which could be constructed independently of other buildings in this century, on the one hand provided an opportunity for socialization through the creation of a square (*meydan*),¹³⁵ and on the other hand it can be considered as a new and alternative public space which made new socialization rituals possible and which gave the opportunity to

¹³³ Shrine Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul", *Muqarnas*, vol. 19, 2002, p. 126.

¹³⁴ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, p. 128.

¹³⁵ Shirine Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle", 2009, pp. 141, 142.

its financier to demonstrate his belongings.¹³⁶ Tophane Çeşmesi can be seen as a good illustration of this point, since, as Robert Walsh narrates, together with the bazaars established around it, it was one of the most crowded places in Pera.¹³⁷ In other words, in a similar vein to other belongings, fountains can also be considered conveyers of the messages of their financiers with respect to their social status. As will be discussed in the following chapter, the increase in the consumption of certain goods, and the expansion of their use during the first half of the century, also supports this point. This is because one can argue that there is no qualitative difference between increasing one's social status by means of clothes or household goods, and by means of constructing a fountain in the name of philanthropy.¹³⁸

Through the architectural movement of the first half of the eighteenth century, Istanbul shed the remnants of its stagnant urban life from the previous century, and gained a vivid urban life manifested in the new spaces like coastal palaces, gardens and *mesires*, and fountains in which all social strata came together and socialized.¹³⁹ Moreover, certain barriers preventing women's participation in public spaces were also eased so that they also became a part of this vivid social life, which in turn enhanced this tendency towards increased socialization.¹⁴⁰ On this ground, it can be said that Istanbulites' perception of the city changed during the eighteenth century. They socialized more, and their

¹³⁶ Shrine Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul", 2002, pp. 141, 142.

¹³⁷ Thomas Allom, *İstanbul Manzaraları: Rumel'ide ve Batı Anadolu'da Gezintilerle İstanbul*; Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2012, p. 140.

¹³⁸ Leslie Peirce, "The Material World", in *The Early Modern Ottomans*, p. 221.

¹³⁹ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, p. 13.

¹⁴⁰ Tülay Artan, "18. Yüzyılda İstanbul: uzlaşma ve Yeniden Yapılanma Dönemi", in *Bizantion'dan İstanbul'a: Bir Başkentin 8000 Yılı*, İstanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2010, p. 308.

consumption patterns started to change in line with this increasing socialization. To put it differently, the architectural movement that started with the power's concerns about legitimacy, led to an increase of spaces of socialization, and increasing socialization in turn provided the urbanites with the opportunity to display their belongings to each other, as well as the ground to shift the focus of consumption from basic needs to other spheres.

In conclusion, based on the discussions provided above, this study claims that the change in material culture during the eighteenth century should be seen as an organic component of the social processes that the Ottoman Empire was experiencing, rather than an extension and a simple product of the consumer revolution that occurred in Europe towards the end of the seventeenth century, as it is usually understood by the Westernization approach. It is within this framework that changing consumption patterns – as a result of the accelerating socialization processes outside the households, increasing publicity, and the invigoration of the urban life – that were manifested in the quantitative and qualitative changes in clothes and adornments will be analyzed in the third chapter of this study based on the inheritance inventories.

3.2 Socialization in Coffeehouses and Its Effects on Material Culture

The introduction of coffee into Ottoman society had a far deeper impact on the society than the possible effects of a drink might have. Not only was this product consumed by society, but it also altered the routine of everyday life and created a sociality around it through coffeehouses.¹⁴¹ Although the effects of this socialization process were not always met by the government in a peaceful way,

¹⁴¹ Ariel Salzmann, “The Age of Tulips: Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture (1500-1730)”, pp. 90, 91. in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550-1922: An Introduction*, (ed.) Donald Quataert, USA, University of New York Press, 2000.

this product managed to win the war against power in time, and it took its place in the daily routine. This part of the study will analyze the possible effects on material culture and consumption patterns of the public and semi-public spaces added to eighteenth-century Istanbul by coffee consumption. According to Peçevi, coffee was first consumed by Ottomans in 1516 in personal areas, and in 1550 the first coffeehouse opened in the capital, after which the consumption of this drink gained popularity.¹⁴² Towards the end of that century, the number of coffeehouses in the capital increased radically, and both the contemporaries of the time and modern Ottoman historians have targeted the coffeehouses as the cause of social unrest in the capital in the seventeenth century.¹⁴³ Since this sharp increase in the number of coffeehouses, and thereby the increasing number of people socializing in them, were perceived by the state as a political threat, the palace tried to close them several times throughout the century.¹⁴⁴

Within the same line of reasoning, some modern historians from a political perspective have also analyzed the coffeehouses in terms of their influences on the political agenda of the empire, by considering them as “public spaces” with a capacity to provide the society with a political identity.¹⁴⁵ In

¹⁴² *Peçevi Tarihi*, trans. Murat Uraz, Istanbul, Nesriyat Yurdu Yeni Sark Maarif Kutuphanesi 1968-1969.

¹⁴³ Cengiz Kırılı, *The Struggle Over Space: Coffeehouses Of Ottoman İstanbul: 1780-1845*, Binghamton: Binghamton University, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, 2000, p. 46.

¹⁴⁴ During the reigns of sultans Selim II, Ahmed I, Murad III and Murat IV, employing a coffeehouse was prohibited several times. For further information about *yençeri esnaf* relations see: Cemal Kafadar, *Esnaf Yençeri Relations: Solidarity and Conflict*, Montreal: McGill University, Islamic Studies, Unpublished M. A. Thesis, 1981.

¹⁴⁵ Cengiz Kırılı, “Coffeehouse: Leisure and Sociability in Ottoman İstanbul”, in *Leisure Cultures in Urban Europe, 1700-1870*, (eds.) Peter Nigel Borsay and Jan Hein Furnee, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016, pp.161-181. Uğur Kömeçoğlu, “Homo Ludens ve Homo Sapiens arasında Kamusalılık ve Toplumsallık: Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri” in *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri: Mekan, Sosyalleşme ve İktidar*, (ed.) Ahmet Yaşar, Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009.

other words, modern researchers have conceived of this process in terms of the political climate created by the coffeehouses, and they have highlighted the capacity of public spaces to make people see themselves as subjects of a political agenda.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, based on the fact that the number of janissaries going to coffeehouses increased during this period, and that even some janissaries became *esnafs* by opening their own coffeehouses, some modern researchers have analyzed this period in terms of the change in the traditional Ottoman social structure, and have conceptualized this emerging phenomenon in an era in which janissary was also allowed to become a *esnaf* as the “janissary-*esnaf* class.”¹⁴⁷ This issue will be analyzed in detail in the following section in terms of the influences of the dismantling of the traditional class structure on material culture, mainly through the changes in social status symbols. Below, the coffeehouses are evaluated in terms of their contributions to urban life and socialization processes in Istanbul.

Although there is significant literature on the relationship between coffeehouses and the political history of the Ottoman Empire, it is not possible to say that the effects of coffee consumption itself as well as the public space it created via coffeehouses on the daily routines and material culture are adequately questioned in Ottoman historiography.¹⁴⁸ In line with those studies claiming that coffee consumption affected socialization processes both directly

¹⁴⁶ Especially, the dethronement of II. Osman has been studied in the context of coffee houses’ potential of politicization. Moreover, the Janissary rebellions in the years 1631-1632 and the dethronement of IV. Mehmet should be regarded in the same context.

¹⁴⁷ Cemal Kafadar, *Esnaf Yeniçeri Relations: Solidarity and Conflict*, Montreal: McGill University, Islamic Studies, Unpublished M. A. Thesis, 1981, p. 62.

¹⁴⁸ Alan Mikhail, “The Heart’s Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House” in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2014, pp. 133-171.; Eminegül Karababa and Güliz Ger, “Early Modern Ottoman Coffeehouse Culture and the Formation of the Consumer Subject” *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 37, No.5, 2011, pp. 737-760.

and indirectly, this study argues that coffee consumption played a significant role in the change of material culture during the eighteenth century.

It should be noted that the sociality created by coffee consumption was interrupted during the seventeenth century by various attempts of the palace. For instance, in addition to, drinking coffee together in coffeehouses was banned for the last time by Sultan Murad IV following the 1633 fire in Istanbul. However, despite these attempts, based on the narratives of that time, it can be concluded that coffee consumption both inside and outside the home was already the main activity in the everyday lives of the Ottomans. For instance, when we look at Seyyid Hasan's work dated 1662 (1072), in which he notes his daily activities, we can see that coffee consumption had already become a *sine qua non* for his daily routine, since, according to his notes, he drank coffee at almost all hours of his day.¹⁴⁹

The situation was no different in the eighteenth century. Ignatius Mouradgea D'ohsson, in his book in which he wrote about his visit to Istanbul, shares his observations on coffee consumption as follows:

...at all levels of the state, men, women, children drink coffee, not just at breakfast, after lunch or after dinner, they drink coffee at all hours of the day without hesitation. Wherever it is, whether it is a statesman, a city-dweller, a Muslim, a Christian, whether at home, shop, a flat, a store; whether you visit a village or a city; the host will offer you coffee. If the visit takes a long time, a second coffee comes after a while; even a little later, then a third coffee comes.¹⁵⁰

As these narrations reveal, coffee not only gained a permanent place in household consumption patterns in the eighteenth century, but it also created its

¹⁴⁹ "...ekşilice maan bir tencerede pişmiş sarı asma ve üveyik ve peynir ve asel ve kaymak ve kavun ve kahve ile ziyafet itmek ..." 149 "...sarraç Ali Çelebi imiş ve avdetle yarak burgazda sultan kethüdası davet idüb ve kavun kesüb kahve içürmüşdür..." 149 "...ve Muhammed dede ile sabah kahvesini içdik..." Seyyid Hasan, Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, varak p. 8

¹⁵⁰ Mouradgea D'Ohsson, *VIII. Yüzyıl Türkiye'sinde Örf ve Âdetler*, trans. Zerhan Yüksel, Istanbul: Kervan Kitapçılık, p. 59.

own material culture. In other words, the changes in the consumption patterns of households led to changes in their material culture as well.¹⁵¹ This is so simply because coffee consumption brought with it a new set of material culture elements, such *ibrik*, which was used to prepare the coffee, coffee trays (*kahve tepsisi*), which was necessary to serve it, and the coffee cup used to drink it. The changes in those elements of the material culture will be analyzed in the next chapter in detail. Here, it should be noted simply that the consumption habits of society were not changing simply for conspicuous ends, but were being reshaped by the changes in daily routines, which in turn renewed the daily needs and hence made the satisfaction of those new needs necessary both in qualitative and quantitative terms.

The quantitative increase and qualitative proliferation of these products required for the preparation of coffee due to the rise in the number of visitors, and the fact that they became markers of social status, triggered another form of consumption. At this point, it can be said that material culture studies, which rest on the claim that individuals' self-identities and social status are shaped by their belongings, are also relevant for the Ottoman society.¹⁵² The increasing coffee consumption in the Ottoman Empire and the opening of coffeehouses, when considered together with the change in daily routine, arguably helped women get rid of the constraints of the male existence in the house. This is so because this situation allowed women to turn their households into a semi-public

¹⁵¹ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Consumer Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, 1996, p. 81.

¹⁵² Conscious consumption, in contrast to unconscious consumption, is a better indicator of the class of a person. "Res et Verba, Conspicuous Consumption in the Early Modern World" in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (eds.) Brewer and Porter, London, New York: Routledge, 1994.

space where they could socialize while men spent time in the coffeehouses.¹⁵³ For instance, Lady Mary Montagu, based on her visit to Istanbul in 1718, lists the daily routines of Ottoman women such as spending money and going to bathhouses, and it is noteworthy that the most time-consuming activity in her list was women's visits to each other.¹⁵⁴ Another work namely *Risale-i Garibe* from the eighteenth century also supports this point by mentioning the increase in the number of guests in the houses, though in a pejorative sense: "...those rogues don't lock their doors, and turn their home into a women's market by hosting 500 women a day..."¹⁵⁵ These narratives show that women's coming together in their houses reached a significant level in this century so that it even became the target of criticisms.

Since the elements of material culture play an important role in the shaping of social relations,¹⁵⁶ it can be thought that those women hosts may have used their homes in these occasions as a means to display their status to other women. It is reasonable to say that they were trying to display their social status through both their home decoration and their coffee utensils. Interior decoration, furnishings, and the enhancement of comfort, all became important with the increasing socialization at homes. Those home utensils like bolsters (*minder*), floor rugs, candlesticks, incense burners, rosewater sprinklers, mirrors, and watches, which served to provide others with comfort and aesthetic

¹⁵³ Alan Mikhail, "The Heart's Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House" in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2014, p. 148.

¹⁵⁴ Lady Mary Montagu, *Embassy to Constantinople: The Travels of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*; (ed.) Christopher pick, new York: 1988, p. 189.

¹⁵⁵ Hayati Develi, *XVIII. Yüzyıl Hayatına Dair: Risale-i Garibe*, Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2001, p. 28.

¹⁵⁶ Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Consumer Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, 1996, p. 165.

satisfaction rather than simply answering their basic needs, must have been valued more by households compared to the past. For instance, the fact that, in addition to coffee cups and cup holders were also used while serving coffee in this period can be seen as an extension of this increasing value attributed to those utensils.¹⁵⁷ In short, owners used all these products to give a message to their guests concerning themselves, their lives, and their social status.¹⁵⁸ To put it differently, coffee cups and other utensils were among the inanimate witnesses of those moments of socialization.¹⁵⁹

The fact that the size of the houses in Istanbul increased during the eighteenth century¹⁶⁰ can also be seen as a product of the same process. It is reasonable to think that the increase in the number of visitors led to an increase in the size of rooms as well, since those rooms where guests were welcomed began to be decorated with more objects, and they started to be used as showplaces. The emergence of specialized rooms in the eighteenth century, like the coffee room (*kahve odası*), *divan odası*, and *mabeyn odası*, is also worth noting, because we know that in the seventeenth century rooms had been multifunctional and not specialized in terms of their use. Among those specialized rooms, the coffee room appears especially important for this study. Although the existence of coffee rooms in the houses of eighteenth century

¹⁵⁷ *Kahve Molası: Kütahya Çinileri ve Seramiklerinde Kahvenin Serüveni*, Pera Müzesi Küçük Kitaplar Dizisi 2, İstanbul; 2015, p. 22.

¹⁵⁸ Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Consumer Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, 1996, p. 9.

¹⁵⁹ “..kahve fincanı da, ne olursa olsun, paylaşımın, sohbetlerin, suskunluğun ve bu insanların anılarının odağında yer almaktadır.” Helene Desmet Gregoire, “Giriş”, *Doğuda Kahve ve Kahvehaneler*, (eds.) Helene Desmet Gregoire, François Georgeon, Helene Desmet Gregoire, p. 23.

¹⁶⁰ Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi*, Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, 1984.

Istanbul was quite rare, the fact that we encounter them in some of the *istibdal* registers can be seen as a good example of my point, discussed throughout this section, regarding the changes that coffee created in the daily routine and sociality as well as in the architectural design of the houses.¹⁶¹

Starting in the sixteenth century, when coffee consumption changed household routines, coffeehouses changed urban life in the Islamic cities of the Eastern Mediterranean.¹⁶² It seems that the vividness of the streets filled with coffeehouses was particularly influential on the extension of time spent outside the household as it intensified the process of overflowing from the households to the streets that lasted throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁶³ For example, the fact that the lights of coffeehouses stayed on even after the lights of mosques were turned off makes it possible for us to say that coffeehouses supported the nightlife in the city for men. That is to say, coffeehouses encouraged them to spend more time outside their homes than they usually did. While it was possible, before coffeehouses, to go to a *meyhane* or mosque to spend time in the evening, coffeehouses became an alternative means to participate in city life at night to have a drink, see someone, and have fun.¹⁶⁴ However, it should be noted that this point was relevant only for men, and that is why some researchers have also referred coffeehouses as “houses of men.” Therefore, gender-based

¹⁶¹ “*İstibdal* is a transaction between individuals and waqfs through which estates (houses, lands etc.) belonging to waqfs are bartered with real properties (houses, lands, shops etc) belonging to individuals.” H. Gökçe Özkaya, “Vakıf İstibdal Kayıtları, İstanbul’da Barınma Kültürü ve Kent Yapısına Dair Neler Sunar?” *TALİD*, No: 16, 2010, p. 469; H.Gökçen Akgün Özkaya, *18.Yüzyılda İstanbul Evleri*, İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2015.

¹⁶² Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East*, Seattle : Distributed by University of Washington Press, 1985, p. 127.

¹⁶³ “Cemal Kafadar ile Dünya Tarihçiliği Üstüne,” *TALİD*, No: 15, 2010, pp. 414, 415.

¹⁶⁴ Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, 1985, pp. 65, 66.

discrimination in Ottoman society continued with coffeehouses.¹⁶⁵ For instance, although we see that *hamams* were allocated to women in certain days, this was not the case for coffeehouses. However, we know that men and women convened in open spaces in this period.

The fact that there was no attempt by the palace to close the coffeehouses during the eighteenth century¹⁶⁶ might be related to the state's unwillingness to interrupt the vividness created by coffeehouses in the cities. In this sense, the fact that we encounter 150 coffeehouses in the Bostancıbaşı registers of Galata not only shows the prevalence of coffeehouses but also supports the point that coffeehouses were not seen as a threat by the palace in this century.¹⁶⁷

The fact that coffeehouses were perceived as the second basic need, following newly built houses even in the newly established neighborhoods, and that *waqfs* also considered coffeehouses as part of their income-generating facilities, makes it possible to understand coffeehouses as one of the main components of the “architectural revival movement” discussed in the previous section.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, the increasing interest, in aesthetic terms, in the landscape on which a coffeehouse was going to be built, can also be seen as a sign of the value attributed to the image in an era in which everyday life was being reshaped. Furthermore, the fact that the decoration of coffeehouses was

¹⁶⁵ Helene Desmet Gregoire, “Giriş”, *Doğuda Kahve ve Kahvehaneler*, (eds.) Helene Desmet Gregoire, François Georgeon, Istanbul: YKY, 1998, p. 22.

¹⁶⁶ Cengiz Kırılı, *The Struggle Over Space: Coffeehouses Of Ottoman İstanbul: 1780-1845*, Binghamton: Binghamton University, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, 2000, p. 56.

¹⁶⁷ BOA, *Bab-ı Asafl, Defterhane-i Amire Defterleri*, A.DVN.d 832.

¹⁶⁸ Alan Mikhail, “The Heart’s Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House” in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2014, pp. 139, 140.

inspired mainly by the elites' aesthetic values shows us that coffeehouses also provided the society with the opportunity to mimic the conspicuous lives of the elites, which had already gained significant attention via the architectural movement.

Contrary to Western literature that links changes in consumption patterns either to increases in production or simply to a desire to obtain things that is assumed to be emerging in the free time outside of production processes, I think that focusing on the internal dynamics and social changes that dominated the Empire during this century would be more helpful to understand the changes in Ottoman material culture and consumption patterns. To put it differently, this study, as opposed to a conception of Ottoman material culture within the framework of Western literature, claims that the changes in routines of everyday life were much more influential than the presumed effects of Westernization on the changes in consumption relations. Although there is a commonly held idea that the early modern Ottomans cared more about those belongings that they carried on themselves, in terms of conveying social messages, than those in their homes, it can still be argued that the products at home may also have changed in this process both in qualitative and quantitative terms. Considering the processes of socialization that coffee made possible both at home and outside the household through coffeehouses,¹⁶⁹ it can be said that coffee increased interest in the lives of others and the motivation to mimic those lives. On this ground it can be argued that coffeehouses, where different social strata spent time together, can also be seen as spaces in which the rigid social hierarchy of Ottoman society was, in a sense, eliminated.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Helene Desmet Gregoire, "Giriş", *.Doğuda Kahve ve Kahvehaneler*, (eds.) Helene Desmet Gregoire, François Georgeon, 1998, p. 23.

¹⁷⁰ Helene Desmet Gregoire, "Giriş", *Doğuda Kahve ve Kahvehaneler*, (eds.) Helene Desmet Gregoire, François Georgeon, 1998, p. 35.

Moreover, when considered from a different perspective, it can be seen that the understanding of consumption developed further in the eighteenth century based on the democratization and commercialization that had been created by coffeehouses throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁷¹ However, contrary to those studies focusing only the quantitative changes in consumption, I think that this change should also be considered as a qualitative one, and I claim that this qualitative change was rooted mainly in internal dynamics rather than being a pure product of Western stimulus. It is within this framework that the quantitative and qualitative changes in the selected household goods like textile products, kitchen utensils, and decorative objects will be elaborated in the next chapter through a detailed analysis of the inheritance inventories.

3.3 The Change in Patterns of Social Relationships

Along with the changing urban landscape of Istanbul, the social structure also changed. The constituents of the social structure in the eighteenth century were significantly different from those of previous centuries, especially compared to the era that is conceived as the “classical period.”

According to those studies that analyze Ottoman history until the fifteenth century, Ottoman society in the classical period was divided with clear lines into two classes, the *askeri* and *reaya*. The military class included those people granted religious and administrative responsibilities by the sultan, in addition to the palace people and state officials like *ilmiye*, *seyfiye*, and *kalemiye*. On the other hand, the *reaya* was comprised of all the villagers, city dwellers, and nomads, who were obliged to pay tax regardless of religion, sect,

¹⁷¹ Eminegül Karababa, Güliz Ger, “Early Modern Ottoman Coffeehouse and the Formation of the Consumer Subject”, *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 37, 2011, p. 738.

and race.¹⁷² Although this categorical division can be considered enough to explain Ottoman society until the fifteenth century, it can be said that this rigid division began to loosen and social mobility between different strata began to increase as a result of the processes that started in the middle of the sixteenth century.¹⁷³ The recruitment of people outside of the *devşirme* system to the janissaries that started in the reign of Murat III, the divergence of the Janissaries from their military occupation through their involvement in *esnaf* networks, the selling of the janissary titles to the *reaya*, and the mass migration from Anatolia to Istanbul that continued also in the eighteenth century, can be pointed to as the reasons that made this change in the social structure possible.

As discussed in the previous section, coffeehouses, as of the end of the sixteenth century, were the places where different social strata came together and socialized. This event of “coming together,” which, in retrospect, signifies a remarkable change in society, was conceived by the writers of the era as a threat to social hierarchy.¹⁷⁴ As mentioned by several Ottomanists concerning the decline of the empire, Koçi Bey put his discontentment into words regarding the disappearance of class differentiation, which had been regulated by the *kanunnames* in the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Halil İnalçık, “Osmanlı Toplum Yapısının Evrimi”, *Türkiye Günlüğü*, No: 11, 1990, p. 31.

¹⁷³ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Kentlerde Toplumsal Yaşam” in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi*, vol.2, Istanbul: Eren, 2004, pp. 545, 546.

¹⁷⁴ Cengiz Kırılı, *The Struggle Over Space: Coffeehouses Of Ottoman İstanbul: 1780-1845*, Binghamton: Binghamton University, Unpublished Ph. D Thesis, 2000, p. 49.

¹⁷⁵ Halil İnalçık, “The Ottoman Decline and Its Effects Upon the Reaya”, *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change*, 1969, pp. 11-15.

This was so because coffeehouses were becoming the new places where social boundaries could be overcome.¹⁷⁶ This feature of coffeehouses arose on the one hand from the heterogeneity of their customer groups, and on the other from the fact that they were places in which a critical discourse against those in power flourished on the basis of the political character that coffeehouses gained during this century. Based on the abovementioned influences of the coffeehouses on Ottoman society, it is possible to say that they were also a significant factor in the relaxation of the rigid division between the rulers and the ruled that was in effect until the end of the sixteenth century.

The palace tried to take action at various times against the coffeehouses to protect the traditional social structure, since in addition to the discontent with the changes in the social structure that they brought, the coffeehouses were seen as one of the leading causes of the social uprisings that occurred throughout the seventeenth century. However, those attempts to reinstate the traditional social structure were futile since the coffeehouses were not the only cause of those social changes. On this ground, it should also be noted that attempts to explain those changes solely on the basis of the influence of coffeehouses are not adequate either. In this period, the primary factor that led to a far deeper crisis in the social structure was the convergence of janissaries and *esnafs* despite the social codes which differentiated these two classes.

The first step towards two-way mobility between the *reaya* and military classes was taken in the reign of Murad III with the decision of the center that allowed members of the *esnaf* class the right to become janissaries in 1692. Following this decision, the number of janissaries almost doubled by the end of the seventeenth century. For instance, the fact that the ratio of the *esnaf* population in the guild increased throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth

¹⁷⁶ Cengiz Kırılı, "Coffeehouses: Leisure and Sociability in Ottoman Istanbul", in *Leisure Cultures in Urban Europe c. 1700-1870*, (eds.) Peter Borsay and Jan Hein Furnee, manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016, p. 170.

centuries strengthens this observation of the “*esnafization*” of the janissary army.¹⁷⁷ Traditionally the center had recruited people to the guild through the *devşirme* system. However, with the corruption of the *devşirme* system through the years, and with the beginning of the recruitment of Muslim *esnaf* to the guild, Ottoman society started to perceive the janissary guild as distant from military successes. Although contemporaries understood this situation mainly as corruption, from a different perspective it is also possible to see this process as a contribution to the process of the formation of different social groups.¹⁷⁸

The second phase of this two-way mobility was the beginning of the inclusion of janissaries in the *esnaf* networks. This process has been conceptualized as the “*esnafization* of janissaries.”¹⁷⁹ It should be noted that at that time there was a monetary depreciation resulting from worsening financial and economic conditions, which started at the end of the sixteenth century and continued throughout the seventeenth century. The *esnafization* of janissaries occurred as the salaries of the janissaries were declining, while the physical conditions of the military were becoming more difficult. It is within this context that the janissaries became a part of Istanbul’s commercial life and *esnaf* organization, despite the codes to which they were historically subjected. There were two major ways in which the janissaries participated in the *esnaf* class, the

¹⁷⁷ Suraiya Faruqi, “Kentteki Toplumsal Yaşam”, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi*, vol: 2, 2004, p. 716.

¹⁷⁸ Moreover, when the anti-decline paradigm that we have covered in former sections is taken into account, this process, rather than being an end, can be explained through concepts of organization or adaptation.

¹⁷⁹ Cemal Kafadar, “Janissaries and Other Riffraff of Ottoman İstanbul: Rebels Without a Cause?” *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, No: 13, 2007, pp. 125, 126.

first of which was participation in the traditional commercial activities, and the second was racket collecting from wealthy merchants.¹⁸⁰

It is known that, especially when this process of participation in commercial activities was at its highest, janissaries maintained their commercial activities during their time on military expeditions, and even rejected joining expeditions for the sake of those activities.¹⁸¹ Although the concept of *esnafization* was first used in the literature only within the scope of the guild networks, Cemal Kafadar, in his later studies, has added that janissaries also participated in Istanbul's commercial networks through large-scale commercial activities.¹⁸²

In the end, janissaries, which categorically belonged to the military class, became an organic component of the *esnaf* structure of the Ottoman subjects. By the eighteenth century, they were the executors and protectors of the commercial affairs in the city par excellence. This situation increased the common interests of the *esnaf* and the janissaries, and the class position of the janissaries started to shift from a position that was close to the central power to one that was in alliance with the subjects. In other words, the group whose interests the janissaries had to protect became the production sector rather than the state.¹⁸³

The opening of coffeehouses and the abovementioned developments concerning the networks of the janissaries and *esnafs* were not independent processes. This is so because, similar to the other groups in society, the

¹⁸⁰ Cemal Kafadar, "Jannisaries and Other Riffraff of Ottoman İstanbul: Rebels Without a Cause?" *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, No: 13, 2007, p. 118.

¹⁸¹ Cemal Kafadar, "Jannisaries and Other Riffraff of Ottoman İstanbul: Rebels Without a Cause?" *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, No: 13, 2007, p. 119.

¹⁸² Cemal Kafadar, "Jannisaries and Other Riffraff of Ottoman İstanbul: Rebels Without a Cause?" *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, No: 13, 2007, p. 125.

¹⁸³ Donald Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1700-1922*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000, pp. 84, 85.

janissaries also started to spend most of their time in the coffeehouses, in parallel with the establishment of coffeehouses as a leisure activity. In other words, with the expansion of coffeehouses, the opportunities for the janissaries to socialize in public spaces other than *bozahanes* also increased. The influence of the coffeehouses was not limited to the socialization processes, since the janissaries also started to open their own coffeehouses, thereby enhancing not only their participation in the *esnaf* networks but also formation of their political identity by coffeehouses. In the later centuries, this change was seen as the main reason for the janissaries' loss of military qualifications, and hence of the empire's military failures.

The internal social unrest and uprisings that lasted throughout the seventeenth century were the products of such a social structure. In contrast to previous incidences of social unrest, the converging interests of the janissary guild and *esnaf* on the basis of the abovementioned restructuring processes on the one hand, and the political climate emerging through the influence of coffeehouses, on the other hand, provided the new social groups with the opportunity to question the ruling elites. With the fluidity between the social groups, the guild started to lose its military qualifications; however, at the same time, it gained political strength. On this ground, the guild participated in so many uprisings throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that it became possible to question the absolute power of the center. The traditional ties between the janissaries and the elites provided the janissaries with a much more flexible social status, which in turn enhanced the decisive role that they had on the internal politics of the empire.¹⁸⁴ The Patrona Halil Rebellion in particular, which ended the Tulip Era and in which the janissaries participated intensely, has been interpreted as a reaction to elite consumption in the Tulip Era.

¹⁸⁴ Donald Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1700-1922*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000, pp. 84, 85.

The participants in the rebellions that lasted throughout the seventeenth century were limited neither to janissaries nor to Ottoman subjects, but had a wide ranging social base that was made possible by the new social convergences, coalescences, and syntheses. If we define an urbanite, in a sense, as a city dweller who has the capability to give direction to the emerging political processes, then, contrary to the claims of traditional understandings, it is possible to say that this had started in Istanbul long before the Tulip Era.¹⁸⁵ The janissary rebellions, which occurred six times throughout the seventeenth century in 1622, 1632, 1638, 1655, 1687, and 1688, can also be considered within this context. Although those rebellions were identified with the janissaries, it should be noted that, given the restructuring of the janissary guild discussed above, the term janissary here refers not only to those subjected to the requirements of the military class but also to a group that encompasses the *esnafs* as well. In a similar vein, although it had not been possible in the previous social structure, the 1703 rebellion was able to bring together different social groups like the *ulema*, military, and merchants of Istanbul. This situation reveals the controversial character of the empire's claim about the absoluteness of its power.¹⁸⁶

In addition to the coalescence and the reorganization of the inhabitants of Istanbul in the manner mentioned above, peasants, who were joining into the urban life of Istanbul through migration from the Anatolia, were also influential in the formation of new social groups. In this respect, migrations to Istanbul from Anatolia in the eighteenth century are also important. Although the phenomenon of immigration to Istanbul was always the part of an agenda of

¹⁸⁵ Cemal Kafadar, "Jannisaries and Other Riffraff of Ottoman İstanbul: Rebels Without a Cause?" *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, No: 13, 2007, pp. 119, 120.

¹⁸⁶ Rifaat Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1984, p. 6

power since the sixteenth century, it was in the seventeenth century that the phenomenon of immigration began to affect urban life adversely, while in the eighteenth century that had to be stopped completely, which necessitated the evacuation of those who had come previously.¹⁸⁷

Immigration to Istanbul was intensified in this time due to the misconduct of the rulers in Anatolia that the peasants were subjected to, banditry, and threats to the safety of life. All these reasons led the peasants to migrate to Istanbul and to settle in the newly formed outer neighborhoods of central districts like Galata, Eyüp, and Üsküdar, to live a secure life.¹⁸⁸ However, in addition to the population explosion in Istanbul, factors like the deterioration of the production-consumption balance and the decrease in tax revenues from the rural areas, which were conceived by the palace as a threat to the social welfare,¹⁸⁹ led the sultans to enact many royal decrees throughout the century commanding the prevention of those migrations and the evacuation of those who had already migrated. Nevertheless, the very fact that the center enacted so many royal decrees, like those in 1721, 1724, and 1729, shows us that those attempts to prevent migration from Anatolia to Istanbul were unsuccessful in stopping the migration trend of the century.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, Migration into the Eighteenth Century ‘Greater İstanbul’”, *Turcica*, No: 30, 1998, p. 163-165.

¹⁸⁸ Cengiz Şeker, *İstanbul Ahkam ve Atik Şikayet Defterlerine göre 18.yüzyılda İstanbul’a Yönelik Göçlerin Tasvir ve Tahlili*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Istanbul: Marmara University, 2007, p. 46.

¹⁸⁹ Engin Çağman, *On Sekizinci Yüzyılda İstanbulda Esnafılık: Gıda Sektörü*, Marmara University, Istanbul, Unpublished Ph.D, 2011, p. 204.

¹⁹⁰ Münir Aktepe, *XVIII. Asrın İlk Yarısında İstanbul’un Nüfus Meselesine Dair Bazı Vesikalar*, p. 4.

Although those immigrants mainly participated in agricultural activities, they also joined non-agricultural sectors.¹⁹¹ This means that the gradual *esnafization* of Anatolian peasants and their participation in the military through registration to the janissary guild, and the *esnafization* of the janissaries, were two interactive processes that created a social structure in which social groups began to intermingle and share common interests. Within this context, the interaction of these newly emerging social groups with material culture also becomes essential to understanding the ways they identified and represented themselves. This is so because it is quite reasonable to think that those new social groups – including those who were already urbanized and those who were trying to become urbanized – who were involved in political processes and started to socialize especially via coffeehouses, also reflected themselves through elements of material culture. In this respect, I think that those new groups, who were both soldiers and *esnafs*, and who were prospering in terms of wealth, also manifested their identities through material culture either directly through clothing or indirectly through the objects that they used in their homes. To put it differently, I think that the changing daily routines of those new groups might also be reflected in the world of material culture.

¹⁹¹ Cengiz Şeker, *İstanbul Ahkam ve Atik Şikayet Defterlerine göre 18.yüzyılda İstanbul*, 2007, p. 81.

CHAPTER 4

1694-1750 OUTWARD EXPANSION AND CHANGE IN CONSUMER BEHAVIOR

Ottomanists who deal with social life in Istanbul in the eighteenth century write that urban life had revived after the seventeenth century and that urban people increased their visibility in the public sphere.¹⁹² As mentioned in detail in the previous chapter, the state opened new public spaces such as parks and *mesires*, which enhanced the social interaction in which ordinary Ottomans started to participate. These Istanbulites, who came to the new public places and spent time in the same areas, came from various ages, genders, religions and social groups.¹⁹³

Although recent studies have highlighted the revival of the city, the question of how this revival effected consumption has not yet been answered in detail. Consumption studies of the eighteenth century are still dominated by the concepts of Westernization and modernization. This study, on the other hand, explains the effects of the revival in city life on consumption, independent from the Westernization paradigm, by reviewing the case of Galata.

¹⁹² Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007; Madeline Zilfi, “Women and Society in Tulip Era 1718-1730”, p. 295 in *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*, (ed.) Amira El Azhary Sonbol, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996. Artan criticizes the increasing visibility of the non-elite women during the eighteenth century. Tülay Artan, “Forms and Forums of Expression: Istanbul and Beyond: 1600-1800”, pp. 396-401, in *The Ottoman World*, (eds.) Christine Woodhed, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2012.

¹⁹³ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, p. 164.

The change in consumption patterns in Ottoman historiography is often understood through the specific materials of Western origin labeled “luxury,” such as mirrors, binoculars, and clocks, and their proliferation among different social groups.¹⁹⁴ However, as Tülay Artan excellently puts it, the change in consumption is different from fashion and the desire to consume, as it is more related to changes in routine, and mass changes in behavior.¹⁹⁵ In other words, it is possible to say that the shift in consumption patterns is different from the change in the material itself. Change, on the other hand, is connected directly to the quantitative and qualitative change in the traditional consumer behavior.¹⁹⁶ From this point of view, the quantitative analyses indicate general trends in consumption while the qualitative analyses imply the abstract meanings of the materials.¹⁹⁷ In this framework, this study analyzes the 1905 individual inheritance inventories from the 20 *sicils* throughout the eighteenth century without concern for finding materials originating from the West, and reveals how change occurred in traditional consumption patterns.

Galata was one of the three kadiships (*Bilad-ı Selase*) of Istanbul, together with Eyüp and Üsküdar. Although travelers of the early modern age and some scholars of today identify Galata with the non-Muslim population, this description is far from being true for the eighteenth century. Following the

¹⁹⁴ Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, New York : Oxford University Press, 1996. Fatih Bozkurt *Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddî Kültüründe Değişim (1785-1875 İstanbul Örneği)*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Sakarya University, 2011. Mustafa Orçan, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Modern Türk Tüketim Kültürü*, Ankara: Harf Eğitim Yayıncılığı, 2014.

¹⁹⁵ Tülay Artan, “Terekeler ışığında 18.Yüzyıl Ortasında Eyüp’te Yaşam Tarzı ve Standartlarına Bir Bakış: Orta Halliliğin Aynası”, pp. 50, 51.

¹⁹⁶ Tülay Artan, “Terekeler ışığında 18.Yüzyıl Ortasında Eyüp’te Yaşam Tarzı ve Standartlarına Bir Bakış: Orta Halliliğin Aynası”, p. 57.

¹⁹⁷ Richard Grassby, “Material Culture and Cultural History”, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 35, No.4, Spring 2005, p. 593.

conquest of Constantinople in the fifteenth century, a Muslim community began settling in the district through the constructions such as the navy yard (*Tersane*) in Kasımpaşa, the arsenal (*Tophane*), and the *Acemioğlu Okulu* at Galatasaray. Therefore that Galata had a Muslim population, especially around those spaces. The increasing numbers of mosques and fountains, as well as the construction of the Yeni Cami by the mother of Sultan Mustafa II following the fire of 1696, means that there was a large Muslim majority in this district.¹⁹⁸ It is perhaps because of the area around the inner walls, later called Pera, that people have identified the region with the non-Muslim population. In the eighteenth century the Galata Kadışip was defined as a larger region including the districts of Kasımpaşa, Beşiktaş, Tophane, Fındıklı, and İstinye.

The revival of urban life in the eighteenth century meant that people went beyond their daily routines, and ordinary Ottomans visited public spaces and increased the frequency of their home visits. In this context, increasing socialization could be counted among the factors that affected consumption behavior, in addition to the development of capitalism and monetization.

Although the increase in production in the West, especially in Britain, and growing trade networks affected the consumption behavior in the Ottoman Empire, one hardly sees materials of Western origin in the analyzed registers. This does not mean denying the effects of these developments in the economy and production processes on consumption. It means that social life, in addition to production processes, is one of the factors that affect and change consumption.

The change in material culture that occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century caused an increase in consumption and increased the urge to spend. Although the use of new products is not a surprise for those who follow fashion and who want to present themselves socially, this situation emphasizes a

¹⁹⁸ Edhem Eldem, “İstanbul: İmparatorluk Başkentinden Perifileşmiş Bir Başkente”, in *Doğu ile Batı Arasında Osmanlı Kenti: Halep, İzmir ve İstanbul*, (eds.) Eldem, Goffman, Masters, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, p. 170.

change in consumption due to objects. This study aims to understand the effects of change in social conditions on consumption, emphasizing the social aspect of consumption, regardless of the change of material.

4.1 Changes in the Garment Preferences Between 1694 and 1750

Although it is rarely discussed, changing social conditions and the increasing participation of city life, independent from the production and trade, seem affected the consumption behavior of the Ottomans including the clothing. As Rhodes Murphey writes, “clothing played a particularly important role in defining the individual by providing a visible means of differentiating him from others.”¹⁹⁹

The appearance of women in public spaces had become the target of the state at that time. As Faroqhi quotes from Helmecke's study in German, the state had issued a series of edicts in this period that brought limitations on women's existence.²⁰⁰ The reason behind this series of edicts was women's insistence on going to new social spaces. In short, it is possible to say that the gradual increasing contact of women with public spaces reached a degree that enable rulers taking precautions about the situation. A person from ulema, Kadı Sadreddinzade Telhisi Mustafa Efendi highlights this inconvenient situation in 1722 with these words: “...at this time, banal people, especially the women have too much permits, even...”²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Rhodes Murphey, “Forms of Differentiation and Expression of Individuality in Ottoman Society”, *Turcica*, No: 34, 2002, p. 136.

²⁰⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997, p. 125

²⁰¹ “bu evkatda süfeha hususan nisvan taifesi ziyade ruhsatyab olup, hatta sadabad cemiyyetinde daahi üzerine layık olmayan ekber-i kibarın...” Selim Karahasanoğlu, *Kadı ve Günlüğü Sadreddinzade Telhisi Mustafa Efendi Günlüğü 1711-1735 Üstüne Bir İnceleme*, p. 106.

Men also contributed to the revival of city life by visiting the coffeehouses, parks, and gardens, which intensified the participation in public life. The diversification of the participants in terms of gender, religion, and age resulted in a diversification of clothing as well, which may also serve to develop existing traditional consumption patterns in a different direction. This chapter will elaborate on how the above-mentioned social interaction affected consumption, with a particular focus on clothing products.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the clothing can be split into two sub-categories as front-stage and back-stage. The first group consists of the materials that people used while they were in touch with others and reinforced a social image that were not basics and owned to “nourish the soul”.²⁰² These products include furs (*kürk*), robe (*kaftan*), loose robe (*entari*), cloak (*ferace*), and sash (*kuşak*).²⁰³ Jewelry such as bracelets (*bilezik*), rings (*yüzük*), buttons (*düğme*), and earrings (*küpe*) are also analyzed with the same logic of front-stage items of clothing.

On the other hand, back-stage items of clothing that were worn on the skin and cannot be seen by others such as underwear (*don*), chemise (*gömlek*), riband (*uçkur*), and inner dress (*zıbin*) are also included in the analysis. While the stability rather than fluctuation in the consumption of back-stage materials may strengthen the social aspect of consumption, an increase in the number of front-stage materials is noteworthy in terms of seeing the effect of the revival of social life on consumption habits.

Fur is one of the front-stage materials and was a necessity in Ottoman society in winter. Additionally, this material was also a distinctive marker of

²⁰² Lorna Watherhill, The meaning of consumer behaviour in late and early eighteenth century England, in *Consumption and the World of Goods* p. 213.

²⁰³ For detailed information about the robes and their designs please see. Görünür, Ögel, “Osmanlı Kaftanları ile Entarilerinin Farkları ve Kullanışları”, *İTÜ Dergisi*, Vol: 3, s.1, 2006, pp. 59- 68.

status among the society, with species such as pine marten (*zerdeva*), sable (*samur*)²⁰⁴, ermine (*kakım*), squirrel (*sincab*), and sheep (*kuzu*). In the analysis, it was observed that the fur ownership rate between 1694-1724 was 64 percent while it increased to 74 percent between 1725-1750. For example, we know that Elhac Osman, who died in the Elhac Ömer neighborhood in 1732, had five pieces of fur, of which we see the type of three, including one *nafe*²⁰⁵, one pine marten, and one marten (*sansar*). A *zimmi* who died in the same year in Beşiktaş had five pieces of fur, of which one is *sincab* and two are *nafe*.²⁰⁶ The register does not specify the type of the remaining two furs. These two examples enable us to see two people's interest in fur, who have characteristics and wealth that can be described as ordinary Ottoman.

Fur is one of the products in which social hierarchy becomes apparent in clothing. In the *fermans* issued in this period, it is stated that mainly men wore inconvenient furs such as lynx (*vaşak*) and ermine (*kakım*).²⁰⁷ Therefore, it is evident that "democratization of consumption" could be used as a concept that identified the situation between the years of 1700 and 1750.

It should be noted that a similar increase in sash (*kuşaks*) is visible, which is one of the categories of front-stage clothing materials. While the ownership rate for sashes (*kuşak*) was 55 percent from 1694-1725, it increased

²⁰⁴ *Samur*: Both the fur of sable and the clothing made of it. for detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, pp. 201, 202.

²⁰⁵ Galata Court Records (GCR) No: 273/ 36a2 *Nafe*: A clothing made of fur from animal abdomens. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 179.

²⁰⁶ GCR No: 271/140a1.

²⁰⁷ Betül İpşirli Arğıt, "Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Giyim Kuşam", *Antik Çağ'dan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, (ed.) Coşkun Yılmaz, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, pp. 245, 246.

to 63 percent between 1725-1750. Continuing with the two above-mentioned examples, we can see from the registers that Elhac Osman had one sash (*kuşak*) and a non-Muslim İsbendon had three. Women's sashes (*kuşak*) were much more varied. To take a typical example, in the inventories of two non-Muslim women who died in the Bereketzade neighborhood in 1725, it is observed that the first woman owned four sashes (*kuşak*), one of pearl and three of silver.²⁰⁸ The other non-Muslim woman whose name was Harim had a total of five sashes (*kuşak*), two of pearl and two of silver while the last is recorded without specification.²⁰⁹

In this period, sashes (*kuşak*) started to be worn in various fabrics and colors. A total of 35 types of this product are registered. 10 of them are colors, red, yellow, white, black, blue, purple, green, dark green (*nefti*), violet (*meneviş*) and dark blue (*laciverd*); 7 of them are gemstones, silver, gold, pearl, diamond, emerald, *pirinç*, and jewels (*cevahir*); 15 of them are fabrics, *tiftik*, *hatayi*, *kutni*, *çuka*²¹⁰, *bogasi*, *alaca*, *kaşmir*, *yemeni*, *celayi*, *beledi*, *kırım*, *çatma*²¹¹, *magrib*, *cezayir*, *sakız*; and lastly 3 of them are decorations *kılabdan*, *işleme*, and *telli*.²¹²

As will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, after 1750 the situation seems to have changed slightly with regard to sashes (*kuşak*). The

²⁰⁸ GCR No: 258/ 27-b3.

²⁰⁹ GCR No: 258/ 30-a1.

²¹⁰ *Çuka/Çuha*: Fabrics made of cotton. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 82.

²¹¹ *Çatma*: A firm woven, luxurious silk velvet fabric with embossed flowers, for detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 68.

²¹² *Telli*: a tem that indicated the employment of metal yarn, presumably in larger quantities than those present in the ordinary variety. Suraiya Faroqi, "Women, Wealth and Textiles in 1730s Bursa" in *Living the Good Life*, 2017, p. 225.

number of colors fell by half in the second half of the century, by which time there is no chance of finding colors other than white, blue, red, and purple. That is to say, reflections of the expansion and socialization of the eighteenth century can be seen in consumption.

A similar increase can be seen in the rate of loose robes (*entari*). The ownership rate of this product increased from 49 percent to 63 percent in about 50 years. The aforementioned non-Muslim woman who died in the Bereketzade neighborhood and possessed four sashes (*kuşak*), also had four loose robes (*entari*); one of them was *hatayi*, another was *telli hatayi*, and the last two were *sandal*.²¹³ On the other hand, a non-muslim woman Harim had only one registered loose robe (*entari*) despite her five sashes (*kuşak*).²¹⁴ Hadice, a Muslim woman who died in 1728 in the Kethüda neighborhood of Kasımpaşa, owned five loose robes (*entari*) but only four of them were registered with their type: one *diba*,²¹⁵ one *alaca*, one *sarı*, and one *telli sarı*.²¹⁶ In the same year, another Hadice died in the Müeyyidzade neighborhood. She owned five loose robes (*entari*) as well: one *bogasi*, one purple, and the remaining three have no registered qualities.²¹⁷ In the same year again, a Muslim woman named Fatma died in a neighborhood called Okçu Musa. The Kassam registered three loose

²¹³ GCR No: 258/ 27-b3 *Sandal*: A type of fabric woven from lines of cotton and silk, For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 202.

²¹⁴ GCR No: 258/ 30-a1.

²¹⁵ *Diba*: A luxurious silk fabric with flower embroideries with French origins (Brocard). For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 89.

²¹⁶ GCR No: 269/ 22-a1.

²¹⁷ GCR No: 269 / 15-b2.

robes (*entari*) in her inventory, one *diba*, one green, and the last *telli hatayi*.²¹⁸ It is possible to list more examples; however these samples show us that regardless if they were Muslim or non-Muslim, women and men had various kinds of loose robes (*entari*) in large numbers. The one thing that needs to be stressed is that, considering their titles and wealth, all these people were ordinary Ottomans who lived and died in Galata.

On the other hand, the ownership rates of robes (*kaftan*), which were the top layer of clothing, saw a decline. While the rate of ownership was 46 percent between the years 1694–1724, it decreased to 34 percent in the years 1725–1750. Despite the decrease in ownership rates in the first half of the eighteenth century, the variety of colors doubled comparing to numbers in the second half of the century. The colors that could be found in the second half of the century are limited to purple, white, yellow, and red, while in the first half of the century there were a variety of colors, such as green in different tones, pink, and orange.

Cloak (*ferace*), as an everyday item of clothing for both men and women, saw an insignificant decrease in ownership from 47 percent to 44 percent. Presumably, the small decline in numbers does not indicate a decrease in the use of this item among the society. Additionally, a diversification of colors for this product could not be observed between those years.

The ownership rates and mean numbers of front-stage items of clothing show that the consumption of those items increased due to the revival of social life (see Figure: 1). At the same time, it is possible to say that the items of clothing are varied in terms that reflect personal tastes.²¹⁹ As Nancy

²¹⁸ GCR No: 269 / 33-a3.

²¹⁹ Zilfi asserts that the changing tastes of clothing in the eighteenth century could be observed through the decorative features such as ribbons, cording, braid and buttons which is also valid for this study as well. Madeline Zilfi, “Whose Laws? Gendering the Ottoman Sumptuary Regime”, in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, (eds.) Suraiya Faroqhi and Chritoph K. Neumann, Istanbul: Eren, 2004, p. 129.

Micklewright notes, “clothing choices demonstrate the identification, real or desired, with particular groups.”²²⁰ In short, the increase in the number of places and times where people spent time together and the rise in the number of home visits affected the interest in front-stage items of clothing as well.

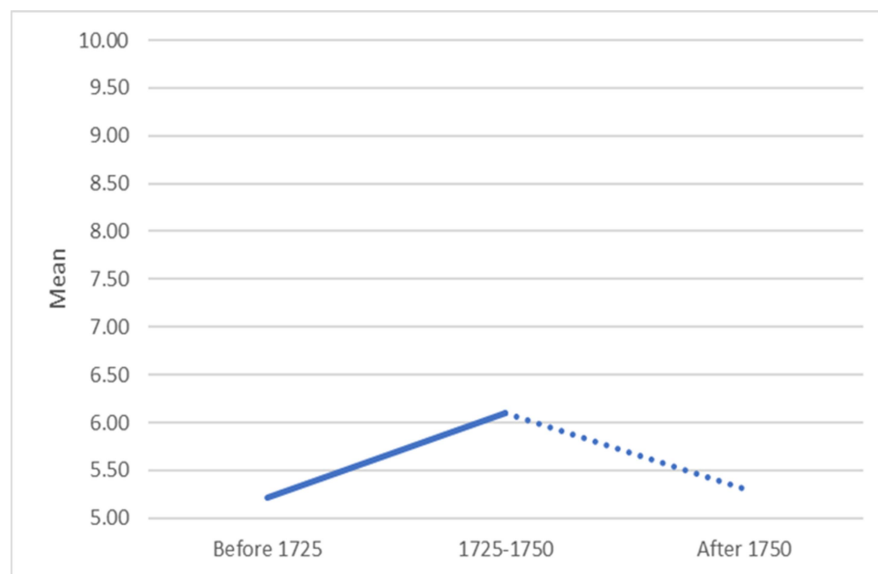


Figure 1: The Mean Numbers of Front-Stage Clothing, (Fur, Sash, Robe, Loose Robe, Cloak)

It is possible to verify this not only by quantitative but also in qualitative features. An analysis of qualitative features of the inventories shows that there is a gradual increase in the number of colors and types of fabrics of items between the two quarters of the first half of the eighteenth century. For example, while in the first quarter there were 12 kinds of furs registered, in the next quarter it is possible to find 16 kinds of furs. In fact, the changing numbers of kinds may indicate a type of limitation on the use of inheritance inventories as a historical source, because *kassams* were not obliged to register an item with its all

²²⁰ Nancy Micklewright, “Public and Private for Ottoman Women of the Nineteenth Century” in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies* (ed.) D. Fairchild Ruggles, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000, p. 156.

specifications. Therefore, although in some cases we have specifications that describe the material; in other cases we have nothing to identify them. This situation yields a limitation on using the inheritance inventories as a historical source and should be taken into consideration.

However, as this study uses a large amount of data, it is possible to make some inferences. According to the data that we have, we can see that as people used these new social spaces more frequently over the first half of the eighteenth century, the consumption of front-stage materials increased as well. On the other hand, the consumption of back-stage items of clothing remained stable, in contrast to the consumption of front-stage materials. From these results it is clear that socialization had a role in changing the consumption behavior of society. This increase in the consumption of front-stage materials proves that socialization triggered consumption.

Looking at the back-stage materials, ownership rates of underwear (*don*) was stable at 40 percent and that of chemises (*göMLEK*) remained around 48 percent. It is even possible to observe a decrease in the number of ribands (*uçkur*) and *zıbins*. Ownership rates of *uckurs* decreased from 19 percent to 17 percent and inner dress (*zıbin*) from 34 percent to 24 percent. In short, the opening of social life and the participation in urban life did not affect the consumption of back-stage products of clothing (see Figure: 2).

On the other hand, there is an observable increase in the number of products used while participating in social life. In other words, while the traditional consumption behavior of ordinary Ottomans perceived the front stage clothing as a necessity, it seems that the social conditions of the eighteenth century have changed their perception. Even it is even possible to argue that the intensity of socialization made front-stage materials more necessary than before for ordinary people.

Parallel to graphics, the content of the law codes (*kanunname*) of the eighteenth century also shows that traditional clothing codes and expenditures changed in this period. Although it is generally assumed that those codes were

issued because of the incipient relations with the West and Western culture, this study argues that the issuance of law was the consequence of an increase in consumption dominated by internal changes.²²¹

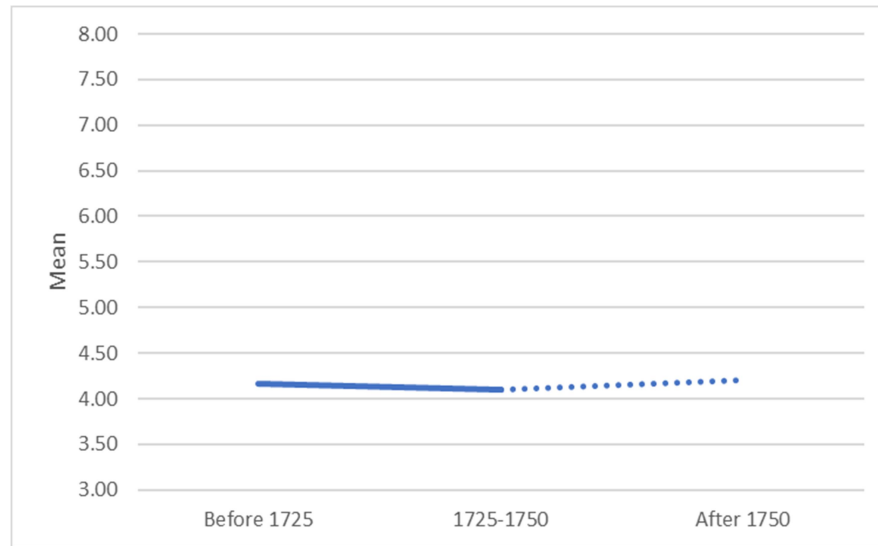


Figure 2: Mean Numbers of Back-stage Clothing, (Inner Trousers, Chemise, Riband, Inner Dress)

In fact, since the sixteenth century the state had used clothing laws to make clear the social hierarchy and to distinguish the Muslim population from non-Muslims, which enabled a state-centered social order.²²² However, the intensification of the issuance of codes and the change in their content may be an indicator of a crisis that occurred in the social, economic, and political

²²¹ Betül İpşirli Arğit, “Clothing Habits, Regulations and Non Muslims in the Ottoman Empire” *Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, No: 24, 2005, p. 86.

²²² Donald Quataert, “Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire 1720-1829”, *IJMES*, No: 29, 1997, p. 406.

realms.²²³ In short, in the context of this study, it seems that wearing different colors and textures and spending time in leisure activities were the indicators of this crisis. For example, the clothing law issued by Ahmet III in 1725, implies that ordinary women wore clothing of various colors and decorations in the streets.²²⁴ Although the majority of studies have interpreted this law as targeting the "Western" clothing that was starting to be used by the Ottomans, it is clear that there is no expression in the *ferman* that associates it with Westernization.²²⁵ The only phrase that is associated with Westernization is "non-muslim imitated headgears".²²⁶ However, it is not appropriate to attribute this phrase to the whole text and interpret it to mean that clothing was westernized. This expression does not only imply the "newly arisen" Western clothes, but it also implies the new colors and textures of the traditional clothes as well. "*Nevzuhur*" means simply that which is newly arisen, and it also refers to new colors and textures rather than just new styles of "fashionable" clothing items.²²⁷ Additionally, as scholars have approached the code with the

²²³ Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire 1720-1829", *IJMES*, No: 29, 1997, p. 406.; Madeline Zilfi, *Whose Laws? Gendering the Ottoman Sumptuary Regime*, in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, (eds.) Faroqhi and Neumann, Istanbul: Eren, 2004, p. 127.

²²⁴ Ahmed Refik Altınay, *On İkinci Asrı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı*, İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988, pp. 86-88. For the transliteration of the document please see <http://www.kadisicilleri.org/yayin.php>, İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı sicil (H. 1138-1151/M. 1726-1738), ed.. Fuat Recep vd. İstanbul: İSAM, 2010, pp. 97-99.

²²⁵ Madeline C. Zilfi, "Goods in the Mahalle: Distributional Encounters in Eighteenth Century İstanbul", *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire: 1550-1922*, (ed.) Donald Quataert, State University of New York Press, 2000, p. 299

²²⁶ "kefere avretleri taklid serpuşlarında "

²²⁷ "... word *nev*, meaning mostly "new," "fresh," and "novel," was virtually synonymous, and was widely used to indicate all things contemporary or characteristic of the present moment in time. While the Arabic words or phrases seem to define "modern" mostly with negative connotations, in Ottoman usage the Persian word was given a positive emphasis by reference to

preconception of Westernization, expressions such as “*çeşit çeşit*” have been interpreted to mean that women were dressed as Westerners or non-Muslims; however in contrast to this opinion, “*çeşit çeşit*” can also indicate the increase in the variety of clothing items. Presumably, the state emphasized the expansion in the range of color used, the increase in decorative items, and the differentiation of the fabrics. At another point, the edict implies an increase in consumption with an emphasis on waste:

..not to go out with the big collared *ferace* and not to use more than three rounds of muslin (*yemeni*) and not to use more than a finger width of bands, if it is done, people who contrive the action will be prescribed by cutting the big collars, and if they still do not pay attention to those cautions and are persistent to continue, they will be taken and exiled to different regions by the imam of the neighborhood...²²⁸

According to Sadreddinzade it is possible to see the implementation of this law in this period. The notes that he wrote in 1726 are as follows:

When the women, who used six to seven muslins in on their head and had *çoban* collared cloaks (*ferace*), are identified, their collars cut and splitted, ...! Well done! Quite well done, God bestow The god bestow continuity and determination.²²⁹

According to the information conveyed by Sadreddinzade, the center had started to seriously punish women for inappropriate clothing, even cutting the

anything “current,” “contemporary,” “up to-date,” “new-fangled” or “fashionable.” Hence the term *tarz-ı nev* is generally used to signify any “new style” in artistic creation. Tülay Artan, “Eighteenth Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in Topkapı Museum”, *Ars Orientalis (Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century)*, Vol. 39, 2011, pp. 113,114.

²²⁸ “...kebir yakalı ferace ve üçdeğirmi mikadarı haddi itidalden ziyade yemeni ile zokağa çıkmıyub ve bir barmakdan ziyade şirit istimal itmamek ve iderler ise yakaları kat olunmağla tenbih ve inzar ve bundan sonra dahi mütenebbih ve müteyakkız olmyub kiraren müşahade olunur ise ahiz ve diyari ahare nefyü icla ile tedib olunacakların mahalle imamlarına...”

²²⁹ “Tebdil alemler tayin olunup altı yedi değirmi yemeni ile frengi başlı avretlerin yemenilerin ve çoban yakası tabir eyledikleri yakaların kat ve şakk eylemişlerdir, isabet! Amma ne isabet Allah devam ve sebat vere..” Selim Karahasanoğlu, *Kadı Ve Günlüğü Sadreddinzade Telhisi Mustafa Efendi Günlüğü 1711-1735 Üstüne Bir İnceleme*, p. 110.

cloaks (*ferace*) on the street that were made of more fabric than was needed. Among the notes he took in 1727 there are similar expressions that reveal his discomfort concerning women's clothes:

Nowadays, for women, tying six to eight round muslin to their heads and having these freaky shapes are banned several times, but they still did it, so, when they did this, the muslins of some of those have been ripped on their heads and a stamp is put on their foreheads.²³⁰

As can be seen from the section quoted above, using thick strips and using more than three lengths of fabric was banned by the state. Therefore, as we know that the elements of material culture do not change during this period, the criticisms of the authors to their contemporaries may be related to the levels of consumption and the ornamentation of the existing products. Because, as can be seen from visual materials from the eighteenth century, the clothing norms of the society had not changed.²³¹

The authors of the eighteenth century mention the excessive interest of Ottoman society in consumption and luxury. In the current literature, the emphasis on luxury is always associated with materials of Western origin such as binoculars and clocks; however, consuming "more than enough" is also a type of luxury consumption. Because there are no Western objects that the literature has labeled as luxury items in those inventories,²³² it means that the

²³⁰ "Bu eyyama gelince nisvanın başlarına altı-sekiz değirmi yemeni bağlanıp, ucube şekillerine kerraren merraren yasaklar olunub, kabil olmamağıb, bu esnada birkaçının başlarından yemenileri paralanıp ve alınlarına damga urdular. Yalan şahidi gibi şimdi bir mikdar nizam bulur gibi oldu. Bilmem netice pezir olur mu?" Selim Karahasanoğlu, *Kadı Ve Günlüğü Sadreddinzade Telhisi Mustafa Efendi Günlüğü 1711-1735 Üstüne Bir İnceleme*, 2013, p. 110.

²³¹ Gül İrepoğlu, *Levni : Painting, Poetry, Color*, İstanbul: Society of Friends of Topkapı Palace Museum: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture, 1999. Esin Atıl, *Levni ve Surname: Bir Osmanlı Şenliğinin Öyküsü*, İstanbul: Koçbank, 1999.

²³² Fatih Bozkurt states that western style products in İstanbul terekes in 1830's and onwards on the other hand, Şükür Hanioglu locates the wide use of western products on late 1800's. Fatih Bozkurt, *Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Değişim*, 2011.; Şükür Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008, p. 27.

mentioned interest in the luxury did not refer to Western objects, but rather to overconsumption. The increasing ownership of items of clothing on the one hand and the growing necessity for these items on the other indicates the luxurious consumption of traditional items like fur and robes (*kaftans*).

On the other hand, mean numbers and ownership rates of jewelry, such as bracelets, rings, buttons, and earrings, did not show an increase similar to that of front-stage clothing (see Figure: 3)

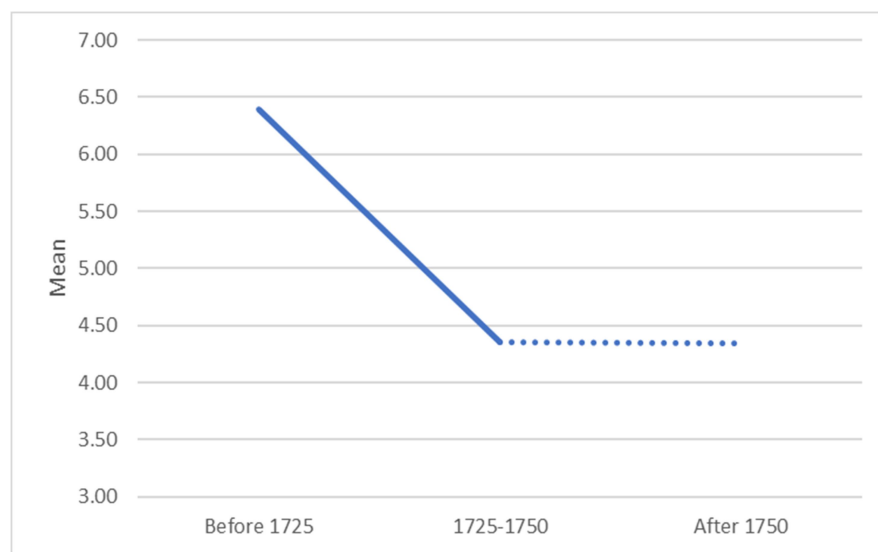


Figure 3: Mean Numbers of Jewelry, (Bracelet, Earring, Ring, Button, Seal)

. The fact that jewelry served as a means of investment likely had an impact on this situation. It is also possible that ordinary Ottomans spent their money on clothing and household goods rather than jewelry. There is a slight increase in jewelry ownership between the two periods. Bracelet ownership increased from 12 percent to 17 percent, rings from 8 percent to 9 percent, and earrings from 18 percent to 20 percent. A study concerning the consumption habits of women between the years of 1716 and 1745 claims that non-Muslim women owned more jewelry than Muslim women in Üsküdar. However the present analysis does not verify this conclusion, at least for the district of Galata;

on the contrary, the Muslim women of Galata owned much more jewelry than non-Muslim women.²³³

Apart from other types of jewelry, buttons decreased from 6 percent to 3 percent. Regarding this point it can be argued that buttons occupy a specific situation separate from the others. According to a basic argumentation of consumption and material culture, clothing and apparel are used to reveal the self-identification. As frequently used in material culture and consumption studies, "we are what we wear." As mentioned before, clothing laws in the sixteenth century did not allow non-Muslim subjects to express themselves, their pleasures, or their wealth. In fact, the aim of the dress codes that regulated the clothing of Ottoman subjects was to homogenize the clothing of the groups and *to confine the individual*.²³⁴

As conveyed by Rhodes Murphy, the military official Süleyman Agha, when he was in an assignment distant from Istanbul, asked for some kind of clothes that he had. When his wish to have some of his clothes brought to him was unfulfilled, he insisted that at least the silver buttons be sent to him.²³⁵ As the example demonstrates the Ottomans specifically used precious buttons as adornments for their ordinary clothes.

In other words, clothing laws in the sixteenth century were very different from those of the eighteenth century, because these laws, in the context of social hierarchy, had content about the clothing of Muslims and non-Muslims. In particular the codes issued by Selim II in 1568 and Murat III in 1577 aimed to intervene in the clothing of the non-Muslim population. The dress code issued

²³³ Betül İpşirli Argıt, "Üsküdar'da Yaşayan Kadınların Maddi Durumları ve Gündelik Hayatları", *Uluslararası Üsküdar Sempozyumu VI*, İstanbul, 2008, p. 421.

²³⁴ Rhodes Murphey, "Forms of Differentiation and Expression of Individuality in Ottoman Society", 2002, p. 137.

²³⁵ Rhodes Murphey conveys the story from the Fekete's work. Murphey, "Forms of Differentiation and Expression of Individuality in Ottoman Society", 2002, p. 140.

by Selim II attempted to organize the clothing of non-Muslim subjects with the following expressions:

...Because the men and women of the Christian and Jew residents of Istanbul, all wear colorful and fringy broadcloths and tie colorful muslins and wear atlas, kutnu²³⁶ robes (kaftan) and colorful *çakşır*²³⁷ like the military class do, and because they wear *edik* (shoe) and *başmak*²³⁸(shoe) of the muslims, the price of these materials increased, and as a result, people cannot buy them, so, non-muslims are informed about not to wear muslim clothes.²³⁹

According to a decree issued during the reign of Murad III, the non-Muslim population was prohibited from dressing like Muslims with those words:

...The Jews and the Christians no longer wear their traditional clothes of muslin and shoes, they rather prefer to wear ready garments, they both have engrain the thin muslins they both have the thin muslins dyed and wrap themselves by using those as *gürde* and some of their *başmaks*

²³⁶ *Kutnu/Kutni*: Cotton weaving; sateen. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 161, 162.

²³⁷ *Çakşır*: A type of male trousers either ending on knee or ankle level, for detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 59.

²³⁸ *Başmak*: A widely used shoe type with short toe box and hardened heel counter, for detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 29.

²³⁹ "... istanbulda sakın olan kefereden yehud ve nesaranın erleri ve avretleri saçaklu ala çukalar giyüb ve ala dülbendler alup sipah ve sayir tayife gibi dülbendler sarunub ve atlas ve kutnu ve gayri kumaş kaftanlar ve ala çakşırklar giyüb ve müslümanlar giydüğü iç edük ve paşmağı ve papuçı giydükleri ecilden dülbend ve çuka ve kumaş ve ayak kabı ziyade behaya çıkub alınmadığın ve kefere tayifesi müslümanlar libasın giymamaek hususun bildirmişsin..." Dülbend: A thin white fabric woven from either linen or cotton. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 98.

(shoes) are white and some of them are red which is similar to muslims...²⁴⁰

The same expressions were used during the seventeenth century as well. For example, the 1630 dress code aimed to regulate the clothing habits of the non-Muslims living in Galata:

...Whereas the fact that the non -muslims do not ride horses and are not allowed to wear a sable fur and kalpak and *frenk kemha* and atlas, that they do not go out in the style and the manner of the muslims and do not wear a parus cloak (*ferace*) and they are identified and belittled by their clothes and their manners, is from the necessity of the religion, it is neglected for a while.²⁴¹

As far as can be understood from the dress codes, the state allowed non-Muslims to wear basic and colorless items of clothing both to separate them from Muslims and maintain the social hierarchy.²⁴² However, even if the state put some limitations on the clothing of non-Muslims, people may have developed alternative ways to convey themselves. By looking at the frequency with which the dress codes were issued, it can be assumed that people did not obey the dress codes, since if social organization had been carried out perfectly in terms of clothing, presumably the state would not have felt the need to issue those codes.

²⁴⁰ "... Yehuda ve nasara tayifesi libasların ve dülbendlerin ve babuçların kadiemeden giyegeldikler üzre giymeyüb hazır libaslar giyüb ve ince dülbendleri boyadub sarınub ve dülbendlerin gürde idüb ve başmakları dahi bazısının beyaz ve bazısının al renkde olub ehl-i islama müşabih envai etvar ve evzaları olduğu ilam olundu..."

²⁴¹ "... kefare taifesi ata binmayub ve samur kürk ve kalpak ve firengi kemha ve atlas giymeyüb ve avretleri dahi müslüman tarzında ve üslubunda gezmiyüb ve parus ferace giymayub mahasal libaslarında ve tarsi üslublarında tahrir ve tezlil olunma şeran ve kanunen mühimmatı diniyyeden iken bir mice zemandan beru ihmal olunub..." Kemha: A type of silk cloth with silver or gold thread embroidery. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 153.

²⁴² Yavuz Ercan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Gayrimüslimlerin Giyim, Mesken ve Davranış Hukuku", *OTAM*, pp.119-120. Ahmed Refik Altınay, *Onuncu Asrı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı*, İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988, pp. 47, 48.

The inventories analyzed in this study provide an opportunity to observe how non-Muslims exceeded the limitations of the state in practice. In fact, in most of the non-Muslim cases, it is possible to see “illegal clothes” such as red robes (*kaftan*) or yellow loose robes (*entari*). In other words, while the laws of the state were practically implemented by a part of non-Muslim subjects, some found ways to reflect their identity and social status through clothing.

Since the basic argumentation of material culture studies asserts that materials are part of one’s personality these codes force people to identify themselves a certain way through their clothes. Moreover, individuals could have different tastes, and those tastes may incline them to select different colors, fabrics, or styles. But for the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, it seems that identifying themselves through clothes was far from true.

For example, non-Muslims were required to wear blue and purple, and not to wear fabrics like *atlas*, *kutnu*, or fabrics made from silk, and women were forbidden to wear *seraser*²⁴³, *yaka*, or *arakiye* styles of stylish clothes. Moreover, their shoes and headwear were also determined by the state. Thus the non-Muslim people of the Ottoman Empire were prevented from reflecting their tastes in their clothing. The inheritance inventories show that there were two ways to make a difference through clothes: embroidered fabrics, and jeweled buttons.

As an example of the first alternative, I analyzed the inventory register of one Armenian woman who died in Galata. She had nothing more than the dress codes allowed; basic dresses such as robes (*kaftan*) and loose robes (*entari*) were as simple as the dress code specified. However, the complementary components of the dress such as *makrame*, riband (*uçkur*), and underwear (*don*),

²⁴³ *Seraser*: A valuable type of fabric embroidered with silver and golden threads. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 204.

were sewn from embroidered fabrics. It seems that she preferred to show her refined tastes through embroidered fabrics.²⁴⁴

As for the second alternative, as an integral part of the dress, buttons create a big difference even in the most straightforward dresses. Inlaid jewels can transform a simple dress into a quite ostentatious one. Moreover, inlaid jewel buttons provided an alternative way to show off one's wealth with no risk of disobeying the dress codes because there were no laws against using jewels in dresses. Take the example of Zuli, the daughter of Yani, who had nothing that contradicted the dress codes. However, aside from her large variety of jewelry, such as bracelets and a variety of rings, it seems that she complimented her dresses with a variety of buttons of gold and pearl. She also had some rarely used accessories such as a golden hood. This means that although Zuli was a Christian woman who obeyed the rules, her inventory reveals that she used jewelry and buttons to display her fancy style.²⁴⁵

But it should be noted that she was a rich woman who had the means to have all she wanted. Although she was rich, she did not possess anything contradictory to the dress codes. However, she did possess numerous pearl and gold buttons and she had a silver brooch, which she could use on her simple clothes. In that way, she must have aimed to show off her prosperity through small and stylish jewelry with gemstones.

To summarize, the state issued dress codes to categorize the society into Muslim and non-Muslim. Mainly, those codes aimed to render the invisibility of non-Muslims with clothes. However, people found new ways to express themselves through clothing in different ways. Some people preferred to wear forbidden materials such as sable (*samur*) furs or colorful items of clothing. On the other hand, some people preferred to stay within the limits of the dress

²⁴⁴ GCR No: 172/ 48-b1.

²⁴⁵ GCR No: 172/ 21-b1.

codes, but used details to express themselves. The embroidered fabrics, buttons, brooches, and other jewelry such as rings, earrings, and bracelets were used as indicators of their identification. In short, despite the state's efforts to take measures in terms of clothing, it is clear that both Muslim and non-Muslim subjects found alternative ways to convey their tastes.

Consequently, there are significant differences in content between the eighteenth-century clothing laws and the social conditions of the time. Laws in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries aimed at preventing non-Muslims from dressing as Muslims. The dress codes of the eighteenth century, on the other hand, attempted to prevent overconsumption and conspicuous consumption, and while the laws of the state that were introduced in early periods targeted non-Muslims only, the laws that we encounter in the eighteenth century aimed at preventing women from the public space and overconsumption, regardless of their religious identity.

This means that the increased consumption of the eighteenth century has two faces: one is to consume quantitatively, the other one is qualitative. The edicts issued during the reign of Selim III point to the economic crisis that had existed since the middle of the century, therefore, aims to prevent the increase in consumption in this period. Different social conditions between the two periods may have made it possible to issue a similar edict with different purposes. It would be more reasonable to see the increase in the consumption of all product groups if consumption only grew due to economic conditions, the development of capitalism in the West, or the increase in production. In spite of the rise in front-stage items of clothing, back-stage clothing seems stable. To conclude, according to the inheritance inventories from the years between 1694 and 1750, developments in the daily rituals of ordinary Ottomans, such as the outward expansion of society and the use of common spaces, affected the consumption of front-stage items of clothing.

4.2 Changes in Household Goods Preferences Between 1694 and 1750

In the first half of the eighteenth century, Istanbulites began to use new spaces and rediscover traditional places. This social expansion was not limited only to new areas out of the house but included home visits. As Amanda Phillips has written,

...eighteenth century public spaces seem to have had a domestic equivalent, and with this came the need for special dishes and foods, as well as for handsome and fashionable furnishings especially to the cushion covers that lined back of the *sedir*.²⁴⁶

Accordingly, it is possible to think that the outward expansion of ordinary Ottomans was also valid for visits between homes. This makes it possible to classify household items as front-stage and back-stage as well, just like clothing. In this categorization, decorative objects and goods exhibited in the home represent front-stage materials. Because traditional Ottoman home decoration did not contain furniture similar to today, the textiles indicated the comfort and luxury of the home. This means that in addition to materials that provide comfort such as bolsters (*minder*) and cushions (*yastık*), floor rugs such as pileless rug (*kilim*), fine felt (*kebe*), coarse carpet (*keçe*), and rug (*kaliçe*) were the main aspects of Ottoman home decoration.

Apart from that, there is a separate category that includes decorative items. Those are rosewater sprinklers (*gülabdan*), incense burners (*buhurdan*), candlesticks (*şamdan*), mirrors (*ayna*), and clocks (*saat*). The exhibition of decorative items was crucial because they enabled people to show both their social status and their belonging to a social group.²⁴⁷ The household utensils mentioned above had the power to reshape the way the house was perceived by

²⁴⁶ Amanda Phillips, "A Material Culture: Ottoman Velvets and Their Owners, 1600-1750", *Muqarnas*, Vol. 31, 2014, p. 167.

²⁴⁷ Richard Grassby, "Material Culture and Cultural History", *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 35, No.4, 2005, p. 596.

others. Depending on the social environment of the eighteenth century, the increase in home visits may have changed the interest in the decoration of the house both qualitatively and quantitatively due to the desire to enhance both comfort and beauty.

On the other hand, the desire to host, especially after coffee became a routine of everyday life, may have caused a qualitative and quantitative change in the products that we can call kitchen utensils. While analyzing the inheritance inventories, the most common kitchen utensils are coffee cups (*fincan*), coffee trays (*kahve tepsi*), coffee making pitchers (*kahve ibriği*), pots (*sahan*), and basins (*leğen*); therefore, those utensils are included in this study. Either the quantitative and qualitative change or stability of those materials may indicate the effect of increasing home visits on consumer behavior.

There were back-stage materials used for sleeping and preparing a dish at home, which were not seen by visitors. Those materials were kept in built-in cupboards according to the traditional Ottoman way of living. As much as we know about the homes, there was no separate place for those activities. There were materials such as pillows (*yastık*), linens (*çarşaf*), quilts (*yorgan*), and mattresses (*döşek*), which were brought out at bedtime. Those materials occupied the back-stage category of household goods, and their consumption was simply to meet the requirements of the household. Therefore, one would not expect to observe an increase, just like the back-stage clothing products mentioned in the previous section. As those materials were used at a particular time of the day, it was impossible for them to be seen by others. Therefore I claim that socialization may not affect the consumption of these products compared to front-stage materials.

The other group of back-stage materials consists of kitchen utensils used to prepare dishes. While materials such as coffee cups, coffee trays, coffee making pitchers, pots, and basins were exhibited to guests, the back-stage kitchen utensils such as buckets (*bakraç*), cooking pots (*tencere*), cauldrons (*kazan*), skimmers (*kevgir*), and ladles (*kepçe*) were not seen by others.

Although it is possible to include more back-stage kitchen utensils such as pans (*tava*), and garlic presses (*havan*), the five most common materials have been chosen since these other products are not commonly encountered in inheritance inventories.

In short, while the outward expansion in the eighteenth century clearly emphasized uses of new social spaces, the house was also rediscovered with a new motivation. Therefore, socialization may not only have affected clothing, but also may have changed consumer behavior in a manner that included household goods.

This study aims to explore the relationship between socialization and consumer behavior by exploring every possible type of socialization. According to studies concerning daily life in the Ottoman Empire, the construction of houses in neighborhoods and dead ends (*cul de sac*) highlights the desire for privacy.

The ordinary houses of Istanbul were not divided into rooms according to daily activities such as eating or sleeping.²⁴⁸ Instead, the main room (*sofa*) functioned as the space to spend leisure time, eat, and sleep. Therefore, those spaces were transformed into rooms through the use of floor rugs, minders, and pillows in the daytime.²⁴⁹ The qualitative and quantitative particularities of those materials reveal the prosperity of the house. Those textiles “play a crucial part in furnishing the home.”²⁵⁰ While built-in cupboards held the back-stage materials,

²⁴⁸ Jennifer Scarce, *Domestic Culture in the Middle East: an exploration of the household interior*, Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland ; Richmond, Surrey : Curzon Press, 1996, p. 45.

²⁴⁹ Suraiya Faruqi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997, p. 171.

²⁵⁰ Amanda Phillips, Jennifer Scarce, *Domestic culture in the Middle East: an exploration of the household interior*, Edinburgh : National Museums of Scotland ; Richmond, Surrey : Curzon Press, 1996, p. 46.

niches on the wall were decorated with front-stage items.²⁵¹ The common depiction of Ottoman houses naturally reveals the front-stage and back-stage materials.

There is no furniture in the inheritance inventories such as couches, desks, or tables. As asserted by Amanda Phillips above, the lack of those items shows that the *sedir* was the only piece of furniture in Ottoman houses.²⁵² Therefore, textiles are considered to be the main component of the home furnishing of the early modern Ottomans.²⁵³ Starting with materials for comfort, it is clear that bolsters (*minder*) were used for sitting while pillows (*yastık*) were used for resting, and that both of them were essential. It seems that bolsters (*minder*) were considered important items both decoratively and functionally. On the one hand, they were required for hosting visitors, and on the other they were used for aesthetics. The rate of ownership, which was 67 percent between 1694 and 1724, increased to 74 percent between 1725-1750. Besides the increasing percentages, the diversification of the qualities indicates changing consumer behavior. It is known that the diversification of the textiles of bolsters and pillows was the distinguishing factor of decoration in Ottoman houses since the seventeenth century.²⁵⁴ In eighteenth-century Istanbul houses, the bolsters (*minder*) were blue, white, and red, and the fabrics people preferred to use were

²⁵¹ Jennifer Scarce, *Domestic culture in the Middle East: an exploration of the household interior*, Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland ; Richmond, Surrey : Curzon Press, 1996, p. 48.

²⁵² Amanda Phillips, “A Material Culture: Ottoman Velvets and Their Owners”, *Muqarnas*, 1660-1750, 2014, pp. 157, 158.

²⁵³ Amanda Phillips, “A Material Culture: Ottoman Velvets and Their Owners”, *Muqarnas*, 1660-1750, 2014, pp. 151, 157, 158.

²⁵⁴ Uğur Tanyeli, “Osmanlı Metropollerinde Evlerin Konfor ve Lüks Normları”, *Soframız Nur Hanemiz Mamur: Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Yemek ve Barınak.*, p. 347.

beledi, *yemeni*, *alaca*, *çuka*, velvet (*kadife*)²⁵⁵, *hayati*, *şayak*²⁵⁶, *kutni*²⁵⁷, and *şali*. The data shows that ordinary Ottomans did not prefer gold brocaded silk velvet (*çatma*) cushion covers during the eighteenth century.²⁵⁸ As for Phillips, although the color palette of the cushion covers included crimson, green, and gold details, it can be seen that it is a little bit different from ordinary Ottomans preferences.²⁵⁹ Suraiya Faruqi mentions that people's color choices around 1700 were limited to crimson and sometimes blue.²⁶⁰ She clearly states that the dominant colors of home furnishing, especially for cushion covers, in eighteenth-century Bursa were red and white,²⁶¹ which overlaps with the present data of Istanbul. Additionally, she states that *beledi* was used by many people as

²⁵⁵ *Kadife*: A soft, piled fabric woven from using silk, cotton or wool. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 136.

²⁵⁶ *Şayak*: A coarse type of cloth made of wool, used for daily wear, For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 217.

²⁵⁷ *Kutni*: A kind of silk , Redhouse, 1882.

²⁵⁸ The study of Amanda Phillips claims that the *çatma* cushion covers became one of the fashionable home decoration items of the eighteenth century, at least for the first half of the century. For detailed information about the use of cushion covers of the Ottomans please see Amanda Phillips, "The Historiography of Ottoman Velvets, 2011-1572, Scholars, Craftsmen, Consumers", *Journal of Art Historiography*, No: 6, 2012.

²⁵⁹ Amanda Phillips, "The Historiography of Ottoman Velvets, 2011-1572, Scholars, Craftsmen, Consumers", *Journal of Art Historiography*, No: 6, 2012, p. 2.

²⁶⁰ Suraiya Faruqi, "The Material Culture of Global Connections: A report on Current Research", *Turcica*, No: 41, 2009, p. 415.

²⁶¹ Faruqi, "Women, Wealth and Textiles in 1730s Bursa", *Living the Good Life*, 2017, p. 227.

a prestigious fabric in Bursa,²⁶² which does not hold true for Istanbul in the eighteenth century.

For example, we know that Elhac Hüseyin Ağa, who died in the Defterdar neighborhood of Tophane, had 18 bolsters (*minder*).²⁶³ Similarly, a Muslim woman named Emine who died in the Sururi Efendi neighborhood in Kasımpaşa, had 13 bolsters (*minder*).²⁶⁴ In the Camii Kebir neighborhood of the same district, a woman named Amine had eight bolsters (*minder*), four of which were velvet.²⁶⁵ A non-Muslim man named Kolancı Agop who lived in the same neighborhood had 16 bolsters (*minder*) as well.²⁶⁶

In addition to the bolsters (*minder*), floor rugs were also some of the primary materials widely used in Ottoman houses. According to the analyzed registers, pileless rug (*kilim*), fine felt (*kebe*), coarse carpet (*keçe*), and rug (*kaliçe*) were the most common floor rugs used in those houses. In this period an increase is observed for all floor rugs except the pileless rug (*kilim*). Although there is a slight increase in the numbers of fine felt (*kebe*) and *kaliçe*, a significant increase could be seen in the number of coarse carpet (*keçe*). The ratio of ownership rate of fine felt (*kebe*) was 32 percent between the years of 1694-1725, but it increased to 34 percent in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The fine felts (*kebe*) were named after the place where they were manufactured, such as *Yanbolu*, *Bursa*, *İmrozi*, *Cezayir*, *Şam*, *Anadolu*, *Kırım* and *Mardin*. Their colors were varied as well; red, white, blue, black, and

²⁶² Faroghi, “Women, Wealth and Textiles in 1730s Bursa”, *Living the Good Life*, 2017, p. 229.

²⁶³ GCR No: 175 / 18-b1.

²⁶⁴ GCR No: 175 / 6-a1.

²⁶⁵ GCR No: 246 / 76-b2.

²⁶⁶ GCR No: 303 / 51-b3.

orange. Rugs (*kaliçe*) were also named for their place of manufacturing; *Çerkes*, *Kürdi*, *Sincan*, Persian (*Acem*), and *Frenk*. *Frenk kaliçes* were uncommon, and were recorded in only five inventories for fifty years.²⁶⁷ The *frenk kaliçe* had prevalently used in the first half of the eighteenth century and the whole Galata district.

The earliest appearance of a *frenk kaliçe* is in the inventory register of Hasan, who lived and died in the Büyük Bali Paşa neighborhood of Kasımpaşa.²⁶⁸ Secondly, İbrahim Beşe, who lived and died in the Tomtom neighborhood of Tophane, had a *frenk kaliçe* as well.²⁶⁹ The next *frenk kaliçe* belonged to a Muslim man who died in the İlyas Çelebi neighborhood.²⁷⁰ The fourth *frenk kaliçe* belonged to Esseyid Abdullah Efendi who died in 1741 in the İbrahim Efendi neighborhood of Fındıklı.²⁷¹ The last *frenk kaliçe* belonged to Ahmed Beşe, who died in 1744 in the vicinity of Kuruçeşme.²⁷² It should be noted that *frenk kaliçes*, which we know were owned only by Muslims.²⁷³

²⁶⁷ GCR No: 246 / 28-a1, GCR No: 246 / 77-b1, GCR No: 273 / 19-b2, GCR No: 300 / 43-a2, GCR No: 303 / 75-b1.

²⁶⁸ GCR No: 246 / 28-a1.

²⁶⁹ GCR No: 246 / 77-b1.

²⁷⁰ GCR No: 273 / 19-b2.

²⁷¹ GCR No: 300 / 43-a2.

²⁷² GCR No: 303 / 75-b1.

²⁷³ *Frenk*: The word that used in the east to define westerners. Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü I*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1983, p. 635. A man of any European nation, Redhouse, 1882. Although the tern “frenk” generally connotes the European originated goods, as Gradeva mentions before it may not always indicate the region it comes from. “It is important to point out here that in many cases the ethnic/place attribute could actually have turned into a brand name, an imitation, and be produced far from the place of origins of the product.” Rossitsa Gradeva, On ‘Frenk’ Objects in Everyday Life in Ottoman

Although it is accepted in the literature that Western materials were first used by non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, in light of these findings this argument may need to be reconsidered.

A significant increase in the ownership rate of another floor rug can also be observed, namely the coarse carpet (*keçe*). The rate increased from 37 percent to 44 percent between the two periods. They were usually identified as *yan* (small or side) and *orta* (main or middle)²⁷⁴. The colors are similar to the fine felt (*kebe*) colors: red, blue, white, and black. The places of manufacture can be listed as Thessaloniki (*Selanik*), Perisa (*Acem*), Crimea (*Kırım*). Although there is a noticeable increase in the ownership rates of this product, there is no similar increase in its qualities, or at least the analyzed data does not suffice to reach another conclusion. Looking at the numbers, it seems that people had a small number of coarse carpets (*keçe*). However, Elhac Ahmed, who died in the Elhac Ömer neighborhood in 1728, had seven coarse carpets (*keçe*), three of which were Persian (*Acem*).²⁷⁵ Until 1750, nobody else had that many coarse carpets (*keçe*).

The pileless rug (*kilim*) did not follow a similar pattern. Although there was no radical decline, ownership rates of the rug, which were 26 percent between 1694-1724, fell to 23 percent between 1725-50. Considering that the pileless rug (*kilim*) is the most basic and cheapest kind of floor rug, it is remarkable that the number decreased. Because at this period consumption behavior changed its direction towards more sumptuous products. The color range of pileless rugs (*kilim*) was limited to red, blue, and yellow.

Balkans: the Case of Sofia, Mid-17th - mid-18th Centuries”, in *Europe’s Economic Relations With The Islamic World 13th - 18th Centuries*, 2006.

²⁷⁴ Amanda Phillips, “A Material Culture: Ottoman Velvets and Their Owners”, *Muqarnas*, 1660-1750, 2014, p. 158.

²⁷⁵ GCR No: 269 / 35-a1.

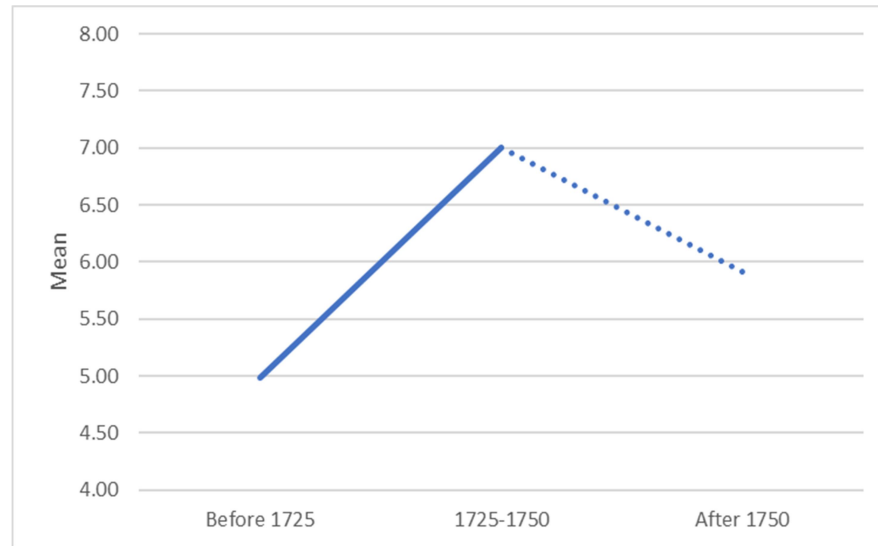


Figure 4: Mean Numbers of Front-Stage Home Textile, (Bolster, Pileless Rug, Fine Felt, Coarse Carpet, Rug)

In addition to all these, it is possible to talk about another category of front-stage materials, which are decorative items. On the one hand, they adorned the walls and rooms; on the other, they had functions in daily life.

The scope of this study has enabled me to choose five decorative items, namely rosewater sprinklers (*g  labdan*), incense burners (*buhurdan*), clocks (*saat*), candlesticks (*  samdan*), and mirrors (*ayna*), which were chosen based on their frequency in the registers. If consumer behavior was shaped by socialization, then those products, which are owned primarily “to nourish the soul”, should show an increase.

Two of these decorative materials, rosewater sprinklers and incense burners, were used in daily coffee rituals. In Ottoman society there was an emphasis on offering a pleasant scent in addition to offering coffee to visitors. This means that it is possible to think of these decorative materials within the category of coffee utensils. The French traveler Tournefort mentions the daily

rituals of the Ottoman houses that he observed during his stay in Istanbul in the seventeenth century.²⁷⁶ He states that while among the ordinary Ottomans, offering tobacco with coffee was a key ritual, in affluent families, guests were also offered pleasant incenses and fragrances with coffee and tobacco. The analysis shows that while in the years between 1694-1724 there were 52 rosewater sprinklers among 49 people, this increased in 1725-1750 to 82 rosewater sprinklers for 66 people. Expressing those numbers as percentages, it is seen that the ownership increased from 9 percent to 12 percent. This means that offering pleasant aromas gradually became popular among ordinary Ottomans. The majority of those rosewater sprinklers were Chinese porcelain (*fağfuri*) and *sim*. However, it is also possible to find samples of *çini*, *bakır*, *pirinç*.

At the same line, the numbers of incense burners increased as well. While there were 23 incense burners in the first quarter, the number increased to 65 in the second. That is to say that ownership rates increased from 4 percent to 10 percent, which indicates a significant increase. Like the rosewater sprinklers, the majority of incense burners were made of *fağfur* and silver. Inexpensive examples of this product made of copper, *pirinç*, and *tunç*, in addition to the expensive gold incense burners, are found in inheritance inventories too.

The owner of the gold incense burner was Musa Paşa, who lived in the Yeldeğirmeni neighborhood of Kasımpaşa. He also had other expensive decorative materials such as a silver rosewater sprinkler and seven clocks, one of which was ornamented with jewels while another was silver. Additionally, Musa Paşa had 166 candlesticks, 152 of which were silver.²⁷⁷ He had plenty of materials in his house, and each of them was quite expensive, therefore his

²⁷⁶ Joseph de Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, (ed.) Stefanos Yerasimos, Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005. p. 76

²⁷⁷ GCR No: 271 / 73-a1.

inventory does not reflect the daily life and consumption behavior of ordinary Ottomans.

While the number of candlesticks owned by Elhac Musa Paşa is remarkable, other than one or two people the highest number of candlesticks among ordinary Ottoman houses was five; a Muslim woman, Hanife, who died in the Firuz Ağa neighborhood in 1701 had 17 silver candlesticks.²⁷⁸ No other person owned that many candlesticks. Aside from Musa Paşa and Hanife, Saliha Hatun (d. 1717), Gerire Hanım (d. 1732), and Fatma Hatun (d. 1744) each owned five candlesticks. It is remarkable that all these people are women.²⁷⁹

Mirrors and clocks were new decorative materials in Ottoman society compared with the rosewater sprinklers and incense burners. These two products have emerged as the material forms of the Westernization paradigm. In the current literature, the use of these objects is interpreted as an indicator of Westernization. However, the data of this study shows that the people who had those items did not leave traditional Ottoman household goods behind.

Clocks were valuable front-stage materials of the eighteenth century. The types of clocks, such as *tombak*, pendulum clocks (*bandol*), and alarm clocks (*çalar*), were undoubtedly used as decorative objects in the houses. A study on Edirne in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries asserts that because the number of clocks was low in the city and all of them belonged to high-ranking people, owning a clock was a sign of the upper limit of luxury.²⁸⁰ In the first period between the years of 1694-1724 seven people owned two clocks and 29 people owned one clock. That makes 43 clocks for 36 people.

²⁷⁸ GCR No: 175 / 4-a2.

²⁷⁹ GCR No: 246 / 43-b2, GCR No: 271 / 123-a2, GCR No: 303 / 45-a4.

²⁸⁰ Uğur Tanyeli, "Osmanlı Metropollerinde Evlerin Konfor ve Lüks Normları", *Soframız Nur Hanemiz Mamur*, p. 349.

On the other hand, in the second quarter of the century the number of clocks significantly increased. 60 clocks were owned by twenty-two people in this period. Furthermore, 65 people had one clock each. This is a total of 125 clocks owned by 87 people, which means the ownership ratio of the clocks increased from 6 percent to 16 percent between two periods. The distribution of the clocks was mainly among Muslims with titles such as *elhac*, *beşe*, *esseyid*, *ağa* and *bey*. Only seven of the clocks were owned by non-Muslim men. Kolancı Agop, who died in the Camii Kebir neighborhood, had two of these seven clocks.²⁸¹ Although the majority of the clocks were owned by titled Muslims, there were a small number of women and men who owned clocks as well. Three women and four men had one clock each.²⁸²

With respect to this framework, it is possible to claim that, parallel to the case of Edirne, in Galata people used clocks not only for the sake of decoration and luxury but also for their functionalities.²⁸³ Considering the period's spirit of outward expansion and socialization, for which people would have needed clocks to schedule daily events, it seems likely that clocks proliferated because of their usefulness. However, this does not deny the clock's position among items of social status. The proliferation of clocks in the second quarter of the eighteenth century indicates that the clock had begun to be used by various kinds of people from different layers of society.

There is no significant increase in ownership rates of mirrors. This front-stage material increased from 9 percent to 11 percent. This may be an indication that the mirror was not as much of a front-stage product as the others. Although

²⁸¹ GCR No: 303 / 51-b3.

²⁸² GCR No: 166 / 18-b1, GCR No: 246 / 88-a1, GCR No: 303 / 57-b3; GCR No: 258 / 26-a3, GCR No: 271 / 14-a2, GCR No: 271 / 140-b3, GCR No: 271 / 4-a2.

²⁸³ Gülser Oğuz, *Bir Osmanlı kentine Taşınır ve Taşınmaz Mal Varlığına Dayalı Servet Analizi: Edirne Örneği*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Ankara University, 2013, pp. 134, 135.

it is possible to think that silver, emerald, and pearl ornamented mirrors were exhibited within sight of visitors, it is also possible to think that these expensive materials were kept in the closed built-in cupboards. But it is evident that wall mirrors were an integrated part of the room decoration.

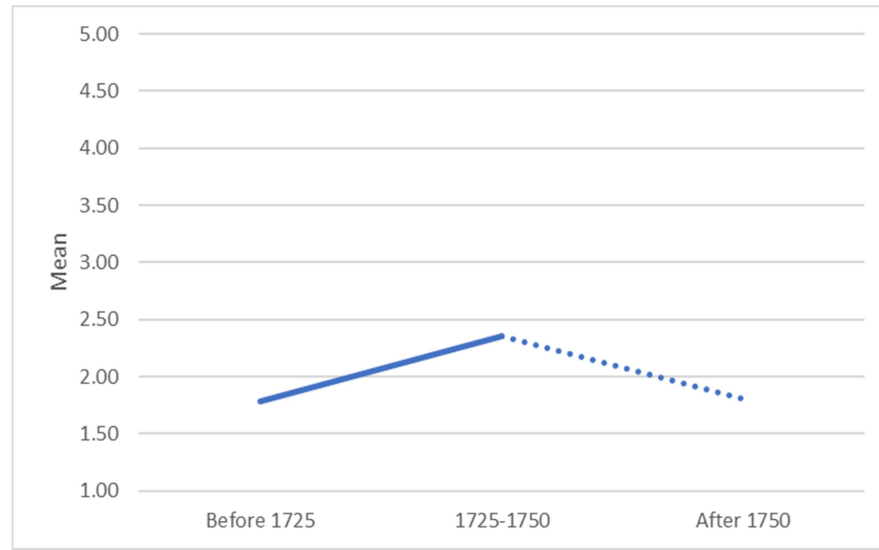


Figure 5: Mean Numbers of Decorative Items, (Rosewater Sprinkler, Incense Burner, Candlestick, Clock, Mirror)

It was of great importance in the social life of Ottoman society to offer and consume food together.²⁸⁴ Daily food and beverage consumption provided a basis for communication and interaction.²⁸⁵ There were ceremonial aspects of consuming food and beverages as well,²⁸⁶ so front-stage utensils used to offer

²⁸⁴ Ekrem Işın, “Sohber Mekanı Olarak Kahvehaneler”, in *Soframız Nur Hanemiz Mamur*, İstanbul: Alfa, 2016, p. 227.

²⁸⁵ Ekrem Işın, “Sohber Mekanı Olarak Kahvehaneler”, *Soframız Nur Hanemiz Mamur*, 2016, pp. 227,228.

²⁸⁶ Ekrem Işın, “Sohber Mekanı Olarak Kahvehaneler”, *Soframız Nur Hanemiz Mamur*, 2016, p. 227.

food must have gained importance, and the need for them increased for the homeowners. As highlighted in the previous chapter, the increasing consumption of coffee may have affected the interest in coffee utensils. Offering and consuming coffee at home was a sign of pleasure for women.²⁸⁷

In this context, utensils became front-stage materials and gained as much importance as decorative items. One can verify this situation in the inheritance inventories. In the 606 examined entries from the first quarter of the eighteenth century 258 coffee cups were owned by 40 people. On the other hand, in the 554 registers from the second quarter of the century 435 coffee cups were owned by 80 people. The ownership ratio of this product doubled over these years, increasing from 7 percent to 14 percent. Even though coffee consumption started in Ottoman society before the eighteenth century, coffee rituals and the change in daily routine seem to be rise in the first half of the eighteenth century. The increase in the number of coffee cups their proliferation among society indicates an increasing socialization associated with coffee consumption.

The primary manufacturing place of the coffee cups in the eighteenth century was Kütahya, and therefore the majority of the coffee cups are registered with that name. However, wealthier people generally preferred to use Chinese porcelain coffee cups. That was the reason behind İznik's pulling out of the Ottoman market.²⁸⁸ But, it is known that the state issued several *fermans* to revive the İznik production.²⁸⁹ It is obvious in the inventory registers that the most common type of coffee cups was Chinese porcelain (*fağfuri*).

²⁸⁷ Alan Mikhail, "The Heart's Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House" in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2014, pp. 162, 163.

²⁸⁸ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997, p. 175.

²⁸⁹ Ahmed Refik Altınay, *On İkinci Asrı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı*, İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988, pp. 63, 64.

There were also some other types of coffee cups, such as *Acem*, *portakal*²⁹⁰, and *çini*. From the beginning of the century, there were always people who had more coffee cups than a household would need. For instance, among many examples Ahmed Çelebi, who died in Kasımpaşa in 1694, had 19 coffee cups including the *Kütahya* and *Acem* types,²⁹¹ Hadice, who died in the Cihangir neighborhood in 1701, had 12 coffee cups,²⁹² and İmam İbrahim had 25 *fağfuri* coffee cups. I have also found coffee cups in “poor” people’s inventory registers which was already revealed by Faroqhi before.²⁹³

It is clear that ordinary Muslim women were the practitioners of the coffee rituals, non-muslims were not. It is striking to see that none of the non-Muslim inventory registers include coffee cups. Although representation of non-Muslims in the archival material is limited in this study, the 500 non-muslim registers analyzed are broad enough to make note of this.

Even though it is not as remarkable as the increase of coffee cups, one can see a slight increase in the number of coffee trays (*kahve tepsisi*) and coffee making pitchers (*kahve ibriği*), which are other products for preparing and serving coffee. Coffee trays increased from 32 percent to 37 percent, while coffee maker pitchers increased more significantly from 52 percent to 65 percent. The increase in these three products, coffee cups, coffee trays, and coffee making pitchers strengthens the idea that home visits were increased in the eighteenth century. Betül İpşirli Argıt maintains that the possession of coffee

²⁹⁰ *Portakal Fincan*: The Chinese porcelain coffee cups that were bring through Portugal.

²⁹¹ GCR No: 166 / 27-b1.

²⁹² GCR No: 177 / 34-a2.

²⁹³ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997, p. 175.

trays and coffee making pitchers differentiated rich women from poor in Üsküdar between 1716 and 1745 which are not verified in the case of Galata.²⁹⁴

The increase in the number of coffee cups and other coffee utensils per house seems to be meaningful in the eighteenth century, which was associated with outward expansion (see Figure 6). As the registered inventories were determined by the heirs, one cannot find all utensils in the registers. Therefore, the registration of any of the three coffee utensils shows that coffee was consumed at that specific house.

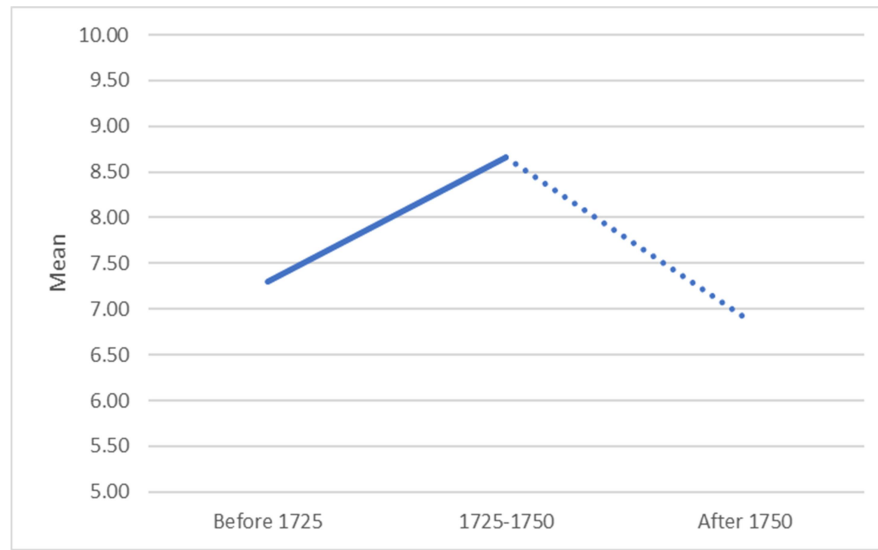


Figure 6: Mean Numbers of Front-Stage Kitchen Utensils, (Coffee Cup, Coffee Tray, Pot, Coffee Making Pitcher, Bowl)

Serving meals was another ritual that became more frequent in the second quarter of the eighteenth century therefore; pots, pans, and bowls gained an importance in conveying the high status of the owner.²⁹⁵ Pots (*sahan*) gained

²⁹⁴ Betül İpşirli Argıt, “Üsküdar’da Yaşayan Kadınların Maddi Durumları ve Gündelik Hayatları”, *Uluslararası Üsküdar Sempozyumu VI*, İstanbul, 2008, p. 424.

²⁹⁵ Yıldız Yılmaz, “Cutting a Fine Figure among Pots and Pans: Aghas of the Sultan’s Harem in the Eighteenth Century” in *Living the Good Life: Consumption in the Qing and Ottoman*

importance as front-stage utensils that were a convenient product to serve all kinds of food. The increase in the number of pots is an indicator that people were hosting more. The analysis of the registers confirmed this argument, as ownership rates of pots increased from 64 percent to 71 percent between the two periods. Although pots were widely used, the records do not always contain distinguishing features. However we are able to see some of those features, for example the most common two types were copper and bronze. As this analysis shows, the increase in the number of guests triggered the owning of front-stage materials. At the same time, this means that the number of materials that were owned “to nourish the soul” also increased associated with the thriving socialization. This also highlights the changing consumer behavior and changing cultural norms.

The examination of back-stage materials that were used to sustain the daily life in the house is also important to comprehend the change in consumer behavior. Pillows (*yasdik*), quilts (*yorgan*), linens (*çarşaf*), mattresses (*döşek*), and wrapper (*boğça*) were chosen as back-stage materials since they were rarely seen by visitors. Because there was no separate room used as a bedroom in Ottoman houses²⁹⁶ these items were stored in the built-in cupboards, and the beds were prepared in the same rooms at night. Thus, the place for these products was in closed cabinets, and their ties with social life were cut.

The ownership rate of quilts was stable at around 74 percent. The rate for linens increased insignificantly from 46 percent to 48 percent. Likewise, rates for mattresses decreased to 52 percent from 53 percent, which again does not have significance with respect to changing consumer behavior. It is seen that, there was no significant change in the consumption of back-stage materials. This

Empires of the Eighteenth Century, (eds.) Suraiya Faroqhi and Elif Akçetin, Leiden: Brill, 2017, p. 131.

²⁹⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997, p. 170.

means that socialization affected only the consumption of front-stage materials. If consumer behavior were determined only by economics, then there would be a total increase in the consumption of all materials. Because the consumption of the back-stage materials remained stable, this strengthens the argument that the effects of socialization changed consumer behavior.

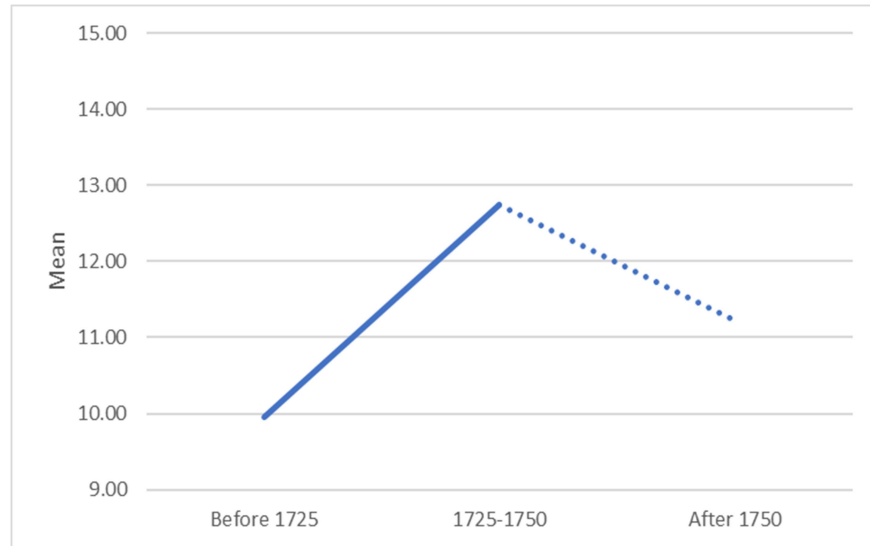


Figure 7: Mean Numbers of Back-Stage Home Textile, (Pillow, Quilt, Linen, Mattress, Wrapper)

The only material that displays a different trend is the wrapper (*boğça*). The ownership rate of this product increased to 33 percent from 26 percent between the two periods. One of the reasons behind this increase must be the rise of front-stage materials because the wrappers (*boğça*) were an essential product that was used to preserve the materials in built-in cupboards with a systematic order. In short, the increase in the front-stage materials necessitated more wrappers (*boğça*).

As there were back-stage materials of household goods, there were also back-stage kitchen utensils that were not seen by visitors. This study chooses cooking pots (*tencere*), buckets (*bakraç*), ladles (*kepçe*), skimmers (*kevgir*), and cauldrons (*kazan*), which were the most common items of ordinary kitchens.

When making quantitative analyses of those products, it is seen that there were no increases in both mean numbers and the rates of ownership (see Figure: 8). Cooking pots (*tencere*) decreased from 70 percent to 67 percent, ladles (*kepçe*) were stable around 16 percent, buckets (*bakraç*) from 13 percent to 19 percent, and skimmers (*kevgir*) from 16 percent to 19 percent. The only kitchen utensils that saw an increase in ownership rates were cauldrons (*kazan*), which increased from 10 percent to 16 percent between the two periods.

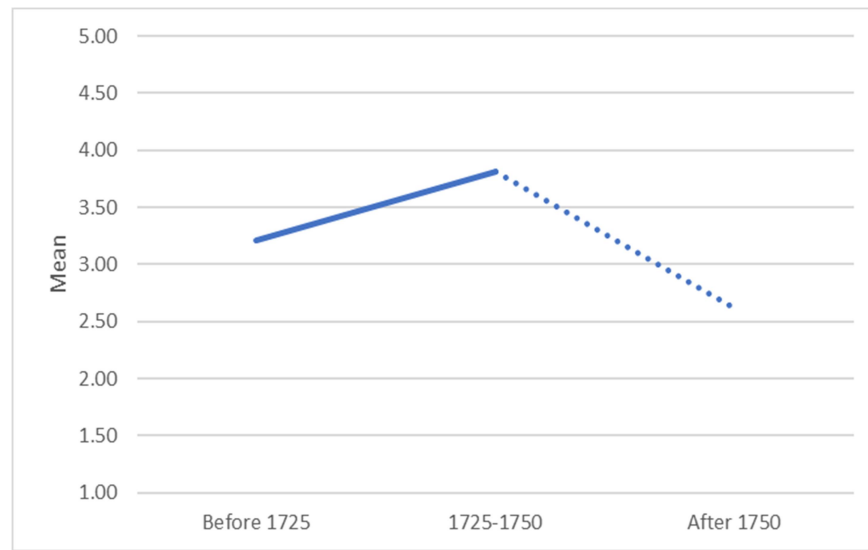


Figure 8: Mean Numbers of Back-Stage Kitchen Utensils, (Cooking Pot, Bucket, Cauldron, Skimmer, Ladle)

Although quantitatively there was an increase, one possible explanation may have to do with the limitations of inheritance inventories. The study focused on eighteenth-century Damascus inventories reveals that the number of kitchen utensils is far more than other materials such as clothing, furnishing, jewelry, etc.²⁹⁷ The existing analysis of this study, on the other hand, does not

²⁹⁷ Colette Establet, Jean Paul Pascual, “Şam’da XVII Yüzyıl Sonu ve XVIII Yüzyıl Başlarında Bardak, Tabak Ve Kapkacak”, *Soframız Nur Hanemiz Mamur: Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Yemek Ve Barınak*, İstanbul: Alfa, 2016, pp. 214-216.

verify this in the case of Galata. The number and the simplicity of the kitchen utensils raise doubts about the cooking rituals of ordinary Ottomans. As stated by Yerasimos, it is not common to find separate kitchens in ordinary Ottoman houses. According to the estimation of him, only 6 percent of houses had a separate kitchen.²⁹⁸ In the eighteenth century, however, the rate increased to nearly 50 percent. Even so, it would not be wrong to say that the kitchen was not an integral part of the Ottoman house in the eighteenth century.

The lack of "separate kitchen" does not mean that ordinary Ottomans had no place to cook in their houses. Small areas at the entrance of the houses and simple cooking materials were used to prepare a dish. These were cooking pots (*tencere*), fryers (*tava*), trays (*baklava/kadayıf tepsisi*), garlic presses (*havan*), drainers (*süzgü*), skewers (*şiş*), knives (*bıçak*), skimmers (*kevgir*), and ladles (*kepçe*). Based on both the food preparation area and the number of materials used, it can be said that the ordinary Ottomans did not have very sophisticated dishes at home.²⁹⁹

The inheritance inventories of grocers give an idea of the ingredients used in the dishes. The most common foodstuffs in the grocers were black-eyed peas, chickpeas, lentils, broad beans, *bulgur*, rice, clarified butter, onions, garlic, starch, and vermicelli. It is also possible to find cheese, olives, hazelnuts, peanuts, almonds, chestnuts, figs, grapes, *nardenk*, vinegar, pickles, honey, *pekmez*, *sucuk*, *pastırma*, and linden.

Studies concerning food in the early modern period in Istanbul show that several kinds of *esnaf* sold food, such as *kadayıfçı*, *kebabçı*, *muhallebici*, *börekçi*, etc. Considering the physical conditions of the kitchens, it is possible to argue that ordinary Ottomans might have bought more food than we thought.

²⁹⁸ Stefanos Yerasimos, "XVI. Yüzyılda İstanbul Evleri", in *Soframız Nur Hameniz Mamur: Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Yemek ve Barınak*, Istanbul: Alfa, 2016, p. 316.

²⁹⁹ Abraham Marcus, *On the Eve of the Modernity*, pp. 125, 126. In his study, Abraham Marcus depicts a different picture for residents of Aleppo in the eighteenth century which has also been criticized.

It is difficult to determine how the outward expansion affected food consumption. However, it can be concluded that consumption was directly related to socialization in terms of acquiring front-stage and back-stage products. Although the economy is one of the determinants of consumption behavior, it is not possible to think about it as just an economic activity.

The reflections of the internal dynamics of the empire on social life and its reconstruction of legitimation through city life had effects on consumption behavior. In the eighteenth century, the attempt of the government to regain its legitimacy, which had been weakened in the eyes of society, with architecture, helped to revive the urban life in Istanbul. The revival of socialization triggered cultural aspects of consumption. A significant rise in the consumption of front-stage materials is observed during this period. Both in household goods and clothing, there is a rise in the acquisition of front-stage materials.

On the other hand, the acquisition of back-stage materials did not show significant fluctuations. The existing situation highlights the influence of socialization on consumption behavior. Although the first half of the eighteenth century saw economic and social welfare, those conditions were not maintained in the second half of the century. The following chapter, therefore, will elaborate on the unfavorably changing social conditions and their effects on consumer behavior.

CHAPTER 5

1750-1800 DISAPPEARANCE AND CHANGE IN CONSUMER BEHAVIOR

The beginning of the eighteenth-century saw new patterns of socialization and outward expansion triggered by the return of Mustafa II to Istanbul from Edirne, and this process continued up until the middle of the century. The “positive” effect of this outward expansion and socialization was discussed in the previous chapter. Since the 1750s brought about economic, political, and social destruction, the developments in the second half of the century were not suitable to bring about as vivid and active a city life. Consequently, this part of the study aims to observe the trends in consumption following the reversal of the opening of society.

In the 1760s, the empire faced a serious economic crisis. Although this study highlights the social side of consumption, since the state of the economy directly affects social life it is important to understand consumption patterns. The Russo-Ottoman War of 1768-1774 caused an indirect decrease in consumption by resulting in an economic crisis. On the other hand, pandemics and natural disasters caused the people of Istanbul to become more private and leave behind the vivid city life. In particular the 1766 earthquake in Istanbul not only caused great economic losses but also caused the city residents to become more private. Although earthquakes were common in Istanbul compared to those of 1708, 1711, 1712 and 1715, the 1766 earthquake was particularly

devastating.³⁰⁰ In the same manner, although the disease had always been a risk for the imperial capital, the frequent plague pandemics had never been as devastating as the 1778 pandemic.³⁰¹ Panzac states that Dr. Brayer, who spent 9 years in Istanbul between 1778 and 1787, had witnessed plague cases in 7 of those 9 years.³⁰² Additionally, Panzac conveys from the letters of French trader Pausadet's : "Plague... laid waste in capital and the vicinity. Everybody is forced to flee; in the end all transactions have been prohibited."³⁰³ In the same year, Venetian *bailo* mentions the degree of the plague with those words: "Greeks, Armenians and Jews have left all *bedestens* and bazaars. Galata and Pera were no different; *Frenks* have left their trade offices and shops entirely."³⁰⁴ Although it is impossible to estimate the exact numbers of the dead people at the end of the plague Pausadet described the position of the capital with those words: "There's none this devastating in recent memory."³⁰⁵

The drastic plague that attacked the capital city can undoubtedly be listed among the factors that affected socialization and the gatherings with other levels of society, and thus influenced consumption related to socializing. Finally, city

³⁰⁰ P. G. İnciyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan, Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1976, p. 89.

³⁰¹ Daniel Panzac, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Veba (1700-1850)*, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997, pp. 21-23.

³⁰² Panzac, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Veba*, 1997, p. 52.

³⁰³ From French merchant Pausadet's letter on July 2, 1778, (conveyor) Panzac, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Veba*, 1997, p. 21.

³⁰⁴ From Venetian Bailo letter on July 17, 1778, (conveyor) Panzac, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Veba*, 1997, p. 22.

³⁰⁵ From Pausadet's letter on August 16, 1778, (conveyor) Panzac, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Veba*, 1997, p. 22.

residents had to deal fires on a regional basis due to the largely wooden architecture of the city. Since the scope of this study covers the Galata region, the fires in the walled area or Üsküdar are not addressed. As a result, these fires did not have an economic effect on the Galata region, and this study focuses instead on the following fires that cause loss of life and property in Galata: 1759 Odunkapısı, 1762 Cihangir, 1793 Balıkpazarı, 1755 Azapkapı, 1796 Arnavutköy.³⁰⁶ The other fires within the broader geography of Istanbul can still be considered among the reasons that prevented the opening up of society and contributed to the loss of property as much as the above-mentioned fires.³⁰⁷ Incicyan expresses that Istanbul has always been confronted with the fires. However, he highlighted the years between 1778 and 1795, since there were 27 big fires broke out in Istanbul between those years , in which in the range of 50.000 and 70.000 houses were burnt out in each of them.³⁰⁸

While the history of the imperial capital is divided into two halves during the eighteenth-century, it is not possible to see consumption in Istanbul through a monolithic model during the eighteenth century. Therefore, studies on the *kânunnames* related to clothing (the sumptuary dress codes) that take the clothing habits of the eighteenth century as a whole can be deceptive, taking into account the changing nature of the contents of the *kânunnâmes*.³⁰⁹ Additionally, it is also misleading to perceive this as a continuous process of Westernization.

³⁰⁶ Feridun Dirimtekin, “Ecnebi Seyyahlara göre Onyedinci Yüzyılda İstanbul’un Medeni ve İhtimai Hayatı”, *İstanbul Enstitüsü Mecmuası*, Vol.V, Istanbul Baha Matbaası, 1958, p. 59.

³⁰⁷ Panzac listed the eighteenth century fires of Istanbul; December 1731, May 1750, November 1767, August 1782, and September 1784. Panzac, “*Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Veba*” p. 8.

³⁰⁸ P. G. İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan, İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1976, pp. 83-86.

³⁰⁹ Betül İpşirli Argıt, “An Evolution of the Tulip Period and the Period of Selim III in the Light of Clothing Regulations”, *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, vol. 24, 2004, p. 11.

The eighteenth century is a period when traditional products were used, but peculiar conditions shaped consumer behavior. There must have been a change in trends between a period with an increased public sphere and social wealth, and a period with a series of disasters and a deteriorating economy.

In short, the economic crisis, wars, earthquakes, fires, and plague pandemics during the second half of the eighteenth century must have caused a change in consumer behavior through decreased levels of socializing. That is, if the increase of front-stage products during periods of increased socialization, as has been discussed in the previous chapter in detail, emphasizes the socialness of consumption, we would expect a decrease in front-stage products during periods of decreased socialization. This part of the study, therefore, explores the effects of decreased socialization and the inability to continue the vivid lifestyle of the first half of the century, on the qualitative and quantitative changes of front-stage and back-stage products.

Although the first half of the eighteenth century was vivid, during the second half of the century many of the Istanbulites had to face the hard truths of economic problems, earthquakes, fires, and pandemics. It can be said that these problems faced by the people interrupted the consumption model that was closely related to socializing.

It is not possible to consider the eighteenth century as a monolithic block in terms of economy, politics, or society. Instead, it is possible to divide the century into two, taking 1760 as the dividing point. The economic boom and expansion before 1760 were replaced by economic contraction and even crisis after 1760.³¹⁰ A similar division can be made about the wars in which the Ottoman Empire participated. The Russo-Ottoman War of 1760-1768 had a strong negative impact on the economy, which was already in recession.

³¹⁰ Mehmet Genç, *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet Ve Ekonomi*, İstanbul; Ötüken Neşriyat, 2016, p. 209.

Although the losses of land and the economic burdens resulting from the wars early in the century did not disrupt daily life, those following the Russo-Ottoman war resulted in an economic crisis which negatively affected the century.³¹¹ In particular the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, signed in 1774, and the Treaty of Jassy, signed in 1792, led to some of the greatest losses in the history of the empire.³¹² While the economic boom of the early century can be seen in every sector, the economic contraction afterward affected these sectors. Studies of tax income from the period have shown that production decreased primarily after the 1760s,³¹³ and after the 1770s the economy faced strong inflation.³¹⁴ Inflation and the steady increase of prices deeply affected the purchasing power of the society. The decrease in purchasing power led to ordinary Ottomans being unable to buy even the necessities, in contrast to purchase trends between 1694-1750 when they were able to buy more than necessary.

However, other aspects of life aside from the economy were also negatively affected in this period. Pandemics and disasters affected society in various manners. Just like in previous periods, the capital had to cope with plague from time to time. Although this disease could be seen making life difficult for the citizens both in the capital and in other regions of the empire at different times, the pandemic which started in 1778 and continued unceasingly for some time may have forced society out of the new areas. People not only must have abstained from going outside for sanitary reasons, but also must have

³¹¹ Mehmet Genç, *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, İstanbul; Ötüken Neşriyat, 2016, p. 209.; Donald Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1700-1922*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005, pp. 73-85.

³¹² Donald Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1700-1922*, pp. 75-77.

³¹³ Mehmet Genç, *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, İstanbul; Ötüken Neşriyat, 2016, p. 212.

³¹⁴ Mehmet Genç, *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, İstanbul; Ötüken Neşriyat, 2016, p. 218.

psychologically given up on the idea of socializing. It was even impossible to pass the materials of the dead to the next generation due to the destruction of the possessions of the dead for sanitary reasons during this period. As a result, it can be said that not only was there no purchasing power to buy new materials, but it was also not possible to transfer the products.

In addition to the plague, the great earthquake of 1766 in Istanbul and the other intermittent earthquakes must also have caused ordinary people to abandon city life, which weakened the socialization process. Disasters like earthquakes and fires are phenomena that directly harm material culture, much like the plague. The people who had lost their homes must have also lost their motivation while faced with the need to provide for their basic needs. Under these conditions, it is inevitable that the number of products within the society should decrease.

In short, the social and political conjuncture of the second half of the eighteenth century were not suitable to support the levels of socialization of the first half of the century. Consequently, a consumption pattern in the opposite direction as that mentioned in the previous chapter would support the idea of social consumption. This means that we would expect a decrease in consumption in times when society becomes less social. That is, the consumption, especially in the front-stage materials, decreased as a result of the disappearance of the influence of socialization. By this, it is important to make a comparison and state the differences of ratios of front-stage products consumed in the periods before and after the 1750s to reveal the motivations for consumption.

5.1 Changes in the Garment Preferences Between 1750-1800

It is understandable that the interest in front-stage clothing would decrease during a time when people's motivation to go out and be visible also decreased due to disasters and pandemics. The trends in front-stage clothing products also support this assumption. After 1750, there was a significant

decline in fur (*kürk*), sash (*kuşak*), robe (*kaftan*), and cloak (*ferace*), while the number of loose robe (*entari*) increased.

The rates of fur ownership fell from 74 percent to 64 percent. Almost all the of the 841 pieces of fur identified for this period belonged to Muslims holding titles such as *ağa*, *efendi*, *hanım*, etc., while a few of them belonged to a non-Muslim. However, the number of fur owners among those who held no titles is substantially different from before 1750. While it is possible to say that before 1750 those holding no titles frequently owned various types of furs such as squirrel, *nafe*, marten, sheep, ermine, sable, *cılkefa*, and fox, this changed after 1750 and certain products became the monopoly of certain groups. To give an example from before 1750, the inventory of a non-Muslim woman who passed away in 1701 in the Tomtom neighborhood of Tophane can be taken into consideration. It can be considered ordinary that this woman, who seems to have been an ordinary person, owned four furs, two of which were ermine and two of which were sable.³¹⁵ It is possible to give more examples, such as Havva, from the Molla Çelebi neighborhood of Fındıklı, who owned two *nafe* and one *karsık* furs according to his inventory registers.³¹⁶ This illustrates that ordinary Ottomans could ignore the hierarchy of dress codes imposed by the state.

There are two more interesting examples of the types of furs owned by those holding no titles before 1750. In the inventory of Fatma, daughter of Abdullah in the Piyale Paşa-i Sagir neighborhood of Kasımpaşa, who died in in 1744, three furs were recorded, one of which is “fake ermine.”³¹⁷ In the same year, two fake ermines were recorded in the inventory of a non-Muslim

³¹⁵ GCR No: 177 / 33-a2.

³¹⁶ GCR No: 246 / 41-a1.

³¹⁷ GCR No: 303 / 88-a1.

woman.³¹⁸ Although it is not possible to guess what fake ermine was, it can be deduced that it was an imitation of an expensive product. But since conditions changed after 1750, there was no longer a need for such fake products since society began to focus on basic needs. The fact that such products were in wider use brings to mind the concept of the “democratization of consumption,”³¹⁹ meaning that products traditionally owned by the wealthy started to be used by people who can be considered “ordinary.”³²⁰ This situation also reminds us of the concept of “imitation.” During the period before 1750, ordinary people may have begun imitating the consumption patterns of the classes above themselves. However, rather than illustrating this through only one product, revealing the same pattern in other products will reinforce this statement. Although the products named as *populuxe*, which are cheap imitations of aristocratic products, have been seen to be important for the realization of the consumer revolution, such products are not frequently encountered in the Ottoman case.³²¹ Even still, the study of Eminegöl Karababa that looks at consumption in Bursa between the years of 1650-1700 is worth considering; it was discovered that the decrease in the quality of certain textile products as stipulated in the *ihtisab kanunnamesi*.³²² Thus, it is possible to say that the *populuxe* goods that became widespread in

³¹⁸ GCR No: 303 / 62-a1.

³¹⁹ Eminegöl Karababa, *Origins of a Consumer Culture in an Early Modern Context: Ottoman Bursa*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Ankara: Bilkent University, 2006, p. 56.

³²⁰ Contrary to my inferences, Gülser Oğuz, in her article concerning the inventory of Amcazade, highlights the distinction between the quality of materials used by Amcazade and ordinary people. Gülser Oğuz, “Tereke Kaydından Hareketle Bir Osmanlı Vezirinin 18. Yüzyıl Başlarındaki Yaşam Tarzı: Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa”, *Milli Folklor Dergisi*, No: 22, 2010. p. 99.

³²¹ Cissie Fairchilds, “The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth Century Paris”, in *Consumption and The World Of Goods*, 1994, pp. 228.

³²² Eminegöl Karababa, *Origins of a Consumer Culture in an Early Modern Context: Ottoman Bursa*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Ankara: Bilkent University, 2006, pp. 68, 69.

European markets could be encountered in the Ottoman market as well, though on a much smaller scale.

Ownership of sashes (*kuşak*), which are among the front-stage products, also decreased from 63 percent to 52 percent in a similar manner as fur ownership. Although sashes (*kuşak*) in a variety of colors can be found in the previous period, during this period they can be found only in red, violet, and blue. Still, it is possible to encounter expensive models of this material such as with gold, silver, or pearl linings. Since such products are signs of wealth, it is important to know residents of which neighborhoods in Galata possessed such products in a time when society was under such negative conditions. In the inheritance inventories that were examined, the sashes (*kuşak*) with gold, silver, and pearl linings were found in 6 regions, which are Kasımpaşa, Tophane, Beşiktaş, Fındıklı, interior Galata, and exterior Galata, and in 41 neighborhoods linked to them. But, it is still possible to say that expensive sashes (*kuşak*) were concentrated in a certain area since the *kadı* of Galata was responsible for registering 127 different neighborhoods. It is interesting that not a single individual in İstinye owned such a product. A similar case is also valid for golden bracelets (*bilezik*). Although the ownership of these items is diffused to all over Galata except İstinye, the possibility of encountering residents in possession of these goods in neighborhoods such as Camii Kebir, Beyazıd, or Molla Çelebi is higher.

Ownership of robes (*kaftan*) also decreased from 34 percent to 12 percent. During this period, the number of robes (*kaftan*) decreased significantly; only 70 people owned a total of 137 robes (*kaftan*). In addition to the quantitative decrease, there was also a fall in quality as well. While it is possible to encounter robes (*kaftan*) of various colors, during this period we find only yellow, violet, and white. At the same time, only floral and stripe decorations were used. As described above, the pre-1750 robes (*kaftan*) were rich in color, design, and materials. Therefore, under the social conditions of the

second half of the eighteenth century, society seems to have pushed this product out of “social consumption.”

Ownership rates of cloaks (*ferace*) also fell from 44 percent to 39 percent, a considerable decrease. The majority of the cloaks (*ferace*) are made of broadcloth (*çuka*) whereas there were only six of the more expensive mohair (*sof*)³²³ ones and without exception in the hands of Muslim men. A mohair cloak (*sof ferace*) was recorded in 1780 in the inventories of İsmail Efendi from the Alaca Mescid neighborhood, Acemşah Ağa from the Cafer Dede neighborhood of Fındıklı, Esseyid Ibrahim Efendi from the Camii Kebir neighborhood, which is one of the large neighborhoods of Galata³²⁴; in 1786 one was again recorded in the Camii Kebir neighborhood in the inventory register of Mahmud Ağa³²⁵; in 1792 in the inventory of Osman Efendi who died in the same neighborhood³²⁶; and in 1800 in the inventory of Ibrahim Efendi who lived in Tophane.³²⁷ It is possible to say that although *sof* is an expensive product, it was widespread before 1750. In the period before 1750, a total of 71 mohair cloak (*sof ferace*) were used by individuals both holding and not holding titles. Süleyman, who passed away in 1717, possessed two mohair cloaks (*sof ferace*)³²⁸ in addition to three furs (*kürk*) and three robes (*kaftan*). Elhac Musa

³²³ *Sof*: A type of fabric and the gown woven from goat hair. For detailed information please see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969, p. 208.

³²⁴ GCR No: 454 / 4-b1, GCR No: 454 / 26-a3, GCR No: 454 / 85-b1.

³²⁵ GCR No: 484 / 81-a1.

³²⁶ GCR No: 517 / 46-b1.

³²⁷ GCR No: 548 / 75-b2.

³²⁸ GCR No: 246 / 68-b1.

Paşa, who died approximately 15 years later in 1732 in the Yeldeğirmeni neighborhood of Kasımpaşa, also had two mohair cloaks (*sof ferace*).³²⁹ This individual is particularly noteworthy in that the same register, which was referred to in the previous section, mentions that he also owned 29 furs, 14 sashes (*kuşak*) with jewels, 18 robes (*kaftan*), and 17 loose robes (*entaris*), which suggests that mohair (*sof*) was at the time a product that could be attained both by the wealthy and by ordinary people. After 1750, this product can be found in the inventories of only six people, all of whom hold the titles of *ağa* and *efendi*.

It is not possible to claim that the cloaks (*ferace*) were not used during this period due to the decrease in their numbers. The increase in the previous period points out the overuse of this material. The decrease after 1750 suggests a decrease in the practice of going out and the decrease of need as a result. In other words, since during this period people went out for necessities rather than for socializing, there was no need for extra cloaks (*ferace*). In fact, as in the case of furs, the accumulation of cloaks (*ferace*) in the hands of those holding titles after 1750 suggests that the “democratization of consumption” ended. Taking into account the study of Karababa, which focuses on consumption in Bursa between 1650-1700, it can be surmised that before the 1750s the more modest sections of society began using “elite” products more often.

The only front-stage product that shows a different trend from the others is the loose robe (*entari*). In contrast to the decrease in the ownership of the other products, the ownership of robes increased from 63 percent to 79 percent. The loose robes (*entari*) showed a variety in quality as well as an increase in quantity: it is possible to see loose robes (*entari*) in violet, red, yellow, blue, and white, and striped, fringed, floral, gilded, and fibred models. However, considering that loose robes (*entari*) were also used as nightgowns, it is difficult to understand which loose robes (*entari*) were front-stage products and which

³²⁹ GCR No: 271 / 73-a1.

were back-stage, so the increase in loose robe (*entari*) ownership, despite the decrease of other front-stage products, can be linked to the increase in back-stage products.

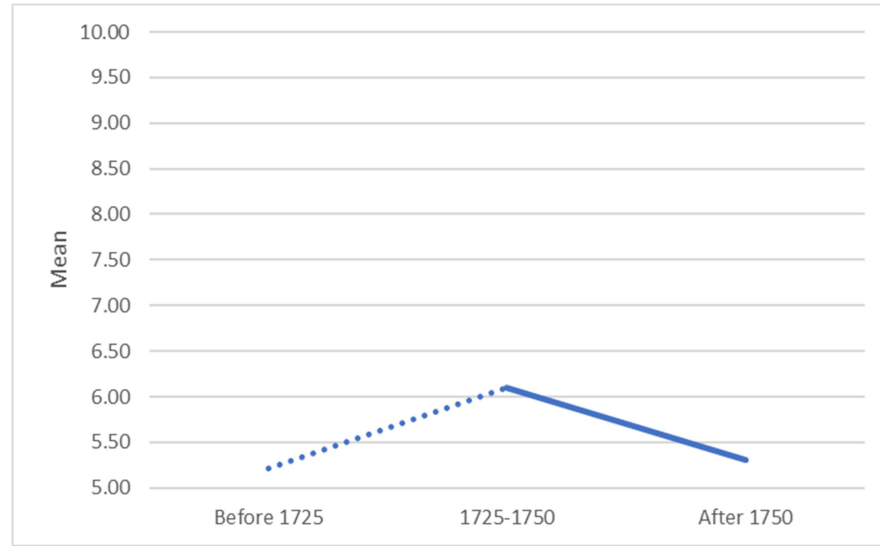


Figure 9: Mean Numbers of Front-Stage Clothing, (Fur, Sash, Robe, Loose Robe, Cloak)

Given the Galata inheritance inventories, the claim that ordinary Ottomans were interested in dressing extravagantly and wore highly decorated clothing throughout the entire eighteenth century must be reviewed.³³⁰ While this situation is valid before 1750, it does not seem to be valid for the second half of the century. The decorations, colors, and ornaments, especially of the front-stage products, seem to have decreased, or even been abandoned during the second half of the century. The fact that the sumptuary dress codes of this era stimulated people to dress more modestly is understandable, taking into consideration the economic conditions of the period. The call for modesty in the sumptuary dress code of Selim III did not derive from the extravagant clothing of the people. When the contents of the *kanunnames* issued during the eras of

³³⁰ Betül İpşirli Arğıt, “An Evaluation of the Tulip Period”, 2004, p. 13.

extravagancy are examined, it is seen that they aimed to hinder dressing in a variety of colors and disregarding the dress codes of the various sections of the society.

Back-stage products show a very slight increasing trend in mean numbers and the ownership rates (see Figure: 10). Although inner dress (*zıbın*) saw a fall from 24 percent to 16 percent, underwear (*don*) increased from 40 percent to 52 percent, chemises (*gömlek*) increased from 48 percent to 66 percent, and the ribands (*uçkur*) increased from 17 percent to 30 percent.

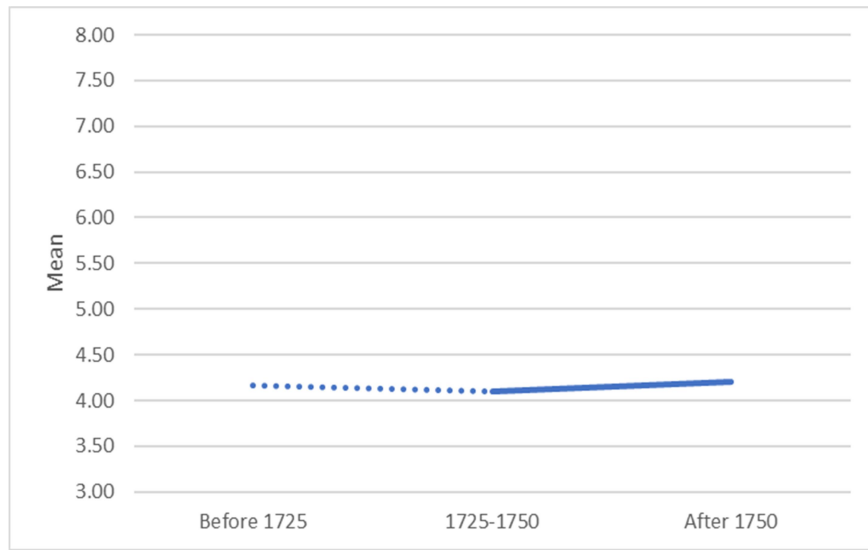


Figure 10: Mean Numbers of Back-Stage Clothing, (Inner Trousers, Chemise, Riband, Inner Dress)

The fact that the ownership rates of the absolute necessities increased during a period when front-stage products decreased emphasizes that consumption within the frame of necessities continued. The concept of social consumption aims to use the back-stage products only as a control group by only focusing on the front-stage products and not putting the consumption of the absolute necessities to the center. This means the front-stage products are the focal point.

The change in the ownership rates of products also influenced the sumptuary dress codes. As mentioned in the previous section, while the dress codes of the sixteenth century emphasized the difference between Muslims and non-Muslims and the social hierarchy, the codes of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century targeted women regardless of faith, in terms of their clothing styles, colors, and types. During the second half of the eighteenth century, the emphasis was on extravagance.³³¹

It seems that dressing in a variety of colors was perceived as an extravagance by the state. Therefore, the state warned society about being frugal in dress. The dress codes that intensified during times of crisis, as mentioned by Quarter, point to an economic crisis during this part of the century.³³² The emphasis on dress does not exist for the other products of consumption. For instance, the use of jewelry was left out of this framework. Although clothing fell from favor, society did not lose any interest in jewelry. What is critical in this product group, as in the cases of furs and cloaks (*ferace*), is the position of the owners within the social hierarchy in comparison with the previous fifty years.

Jewels such as bracelets, necklaces, rings, buttons, and earrings, are considered front-stage products. Between 1750 and 1800, 76 persons possessed 455 bracelets (*bilezik*). This number does not seem to have changed in comparison with the previous period. If we were to give ratios, it fell from 17 percent to 14 percent. It is possible to see a similar trend in earrings as well: between 1750 and 1800 95 persons possessed 124 earrings (*küpe*). The ratio fell from 20 percent to 17 percent from the previous period. In both periods, the variety of earrings is very limited. The most preferred earring types were pearl and emerald earrings.

³³¹ Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1689-1785)*, İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988, pp. 182, 183.

³³² Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire", 1997, pp. 404, 405.

Other than these, as discussed in the previous section, buttons, in the second half of the eighteenth century, became unpreferable. In the 50 years observed, only one person's register contained a button. That person was a non-Muslim named Yani who passed away in 1770 and left behind two silver earrings. It is also interesting that the button was owned by a non-Muslim.³³³ In a way, this suggests that non-Muslim subjects were no longer prone to restrictions on clothing by the state, unlike before. In short, the fact that the emphasis of the dress codes changed direction can be witnessed here as well.

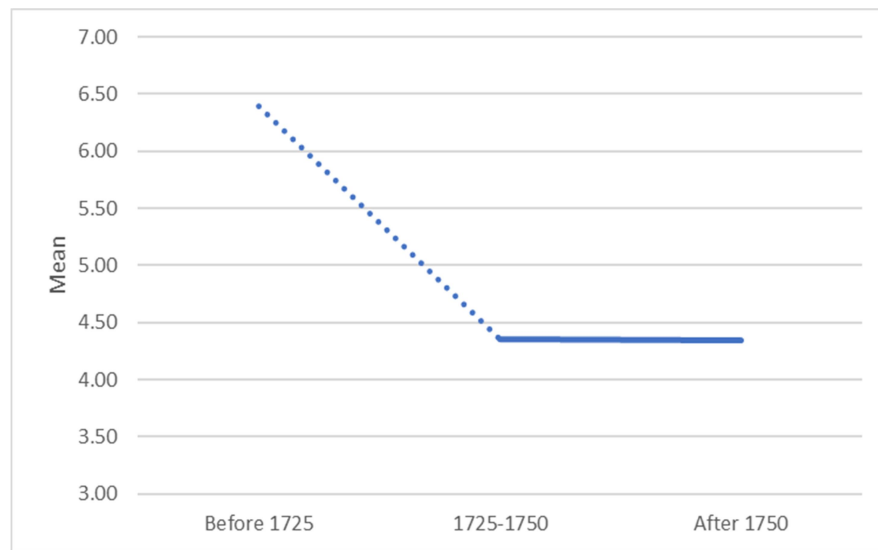


Figure 11: Mean Numbers of Jewelry, (Bracelet, Earring, Ring, Button, Seal)

I argued above that early *kanunnames* mandating clothing positioned the non-Muslims on the lower layers of the social hierarchy and thus they directed those people to use items such as buttons to express themselves in indirect ways. Whereas during the second half of the eighteenth century the *kanunnames* focused on women regardless of their nationality or faith, and the *kanunname* of 1789 was issued to prevent extravagance. Under these circumstances, it would

³³³ GCR No: 398 / 24-a1.

not be wrong to say that the Muslim and non-Muslim distinction became blurry in dress and as a result the need for items such as buttons, which indirectly increased the status of the dress, disappeared. In short, as the focus of the state shifted from social hierarchy to other problems, the dominance it held over its non-Muslim subjects also waned.

In the group of jewelry products, the biggest increase is seen in the rings. In the first half of the eighteenth century 52 people owned 85 rings, while in the second half the ratio increased twofold, from 9 percent to 18 percent. The ring types can be listed as ruby, pearl, silver, gold, diamond, emerald, and turquoise. Before 1750 these products were distributed among those who held titles and those who did not in a more even manner, whereas after 1750 those holding titles possessed three times more gold rings. As mentioned above, this situation was true also for gold- and silver-lined belts, as well as for furs and cloaks (*ferace*). Therefore, one can surmise that in the period between the years of 1700 and 1750, ordinary people developed a taste for more luxurious items and could pursue a lifestyle similar to that of those holding titles. In short, it is possible to say that certain tastes were shared by all layers of society before 1750, while afterwards these tastes became more typical of the elite. That is, in the period between 1700-1750, the middle class departed from their traditional patterns of consumption, but as conditions worsened they returned to their traditional consumption habits. As the pioneering work of Weatherill discusses, for the period of 1700-1750 in the Ottoman Empire, the material world of the people did not reflect their social position.³³⁴

Although studies examining the Ottoman Empire make parallels between wealth and the number and variety of clothes, this is far from reflecting the truth

³³⁴ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, London: Routledge, 1996. p.2.

in some cases under certain social conditions.³³⁵ Considering the wealth of the ruling class expressed here, it is valid in every period. Although the consumption patterns of the ruling class are always different from ordinary people, they always show a consumerist structure. It can be said that, consumption increased in all layers of the middle class between the years of 1700 and 1750. However, after 1750 there was a return to the more traditional pattern, which is the ownership of more expensive products in larger quantities by the wealthier or those in a higher social status. The same tendency was observed in a study concerning Bursa, which demonstrates that there was an expansion in the consumption of clothing in the eighteenth century.³³⁶ However, it is regarded that the post 1760 crises that started with the 1768-1774 Russo Ottoman War, the expansion of consumption stopped for the Bursa people.³³⁷

To sum up this section briefly, there was an opening of the socialization of society due to different reasons after 1700. This socialization was also a stimulus for consumption. I have shown that the qualitative and quantitative features of the products that were used for socializing began to change in this consumption model, which I argue was triggered by socialization. While the increase of wealth during the eighteenth century in literature is in a way the increase of monetary wealth connected to inflation, when we take the price indices into account, it does not exceed the purchasing power of the first half of

³³⁵ Betül İpşirli Arğıt, “Osmanlı İstanbulu’nda Giyim Kuşam”, *Antik Çağ’dan XXI. yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, 2016, p.240.; Gülser Oğuz, “Tereke Kaydından Hareketle Bir Osmanlı Vezirinin 18. Yüzyıl Başlarındaki Yaşam Tarzı: Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa”, *Milli Folklor Dergisi*, No: 22, 2010, p. 94.

³³⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Women, Wealth and Textiles in 1730’s Bursa”, *Living the Good Life: Consumption in the Qing And Ottoman Empires of the Eighteenth Century*, (eds.) Elif Akçetin and Suraiya Faroqhi, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017, p. 234.

³³⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Women, Wealth and Textiles in 1730’s Bursa”, *Living the Good Life: Consumption in the Qing And Ottoman Empires of the Eighteenth Century*, (eds.) Elif Akçetin and Suraiya Faroqhi, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017, p. 234.

the century.³³⁸ On the other hand, it is possible to say that purchasing power, as well as the quantity and the quality of the front-stages, decreased during the second half of the eighteenth century.

In this section, it is possible to understand the effect of socialization on consumption by observing a period when the fabulous effect of socializing vanished. It is possible to deduce from this that consumption in Istanbul decreased in line with urban life, which was affected negatively by earthquakes, economic crisis, pandemics, and fires. The observations in this section demonstrate that the changes in consumption patterns in the Ottoman Empire are neither directly related to the industrial revolution, as argued globally, nor related to Westernization and Western products, as argued exclusively for the Ottoman Empire. In the next section, the household goods will be the center of discussion for the change in the consumption of front-stage products in the home.

5.2 Changes in the Household Goods Preferences Between 1750-1800

Starting in the second half of the eighteenth century, the multifaceted unfavorable atmosphere of the empire caused the disappearance of the socialization in Istanbul. The revived city life was interrupted because of the economic and social conditions. Under these conditions, people left the social activities and directed their attention to more crucial issues. This process must have followed a similar course in terms of consumption. As people's visibility decreased, their interest in front-stage materials must have been reduced as well. As discussed in the previous section, there was an observable decrease in the consumption of front-stage materials of clothing in terms of quantity and quality. In light of this observation, it is not a mistake to expect a decrease in the front-stage materials of household goods.

³³⁸ Betül İpşirli Argıt, "Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Giyim Kuşam", *Antik Çağ'dan XXI. yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, 2016, p. 248.

Consumer behavior is shaped by social conditions. As we saw in the previous chapter, revived social conditions affected the consumption of front-stage materials; however, in the second half of the eighteenth century, social conditions changed. The changing social conditions must have affected consumer behavior, as well. The fires and the great earthquake of 1760 may have slowed down the rapid outward expansion of Istanbulites. Additionally, an economic constriction that started in the 1760s may have affected socialization directly and indirectly.

The direct effects of economic constriction on consumption cannot be denied; however, in the context of this study, the indirect effects of economic constriction become apparent. While the social conditions of the first half of the century changed consumer behavior, the second half of the century did not support socialization.

In other words, before 1750 conditions increased people's interest in front-stage materials, but by the 1760s this interest was gradually disappearing because of unfavorable conditions. This division makes the eighteenth century unique to observe the effects of socialization on consumption.

Observing the quantitative and qualitative decrease in front-stage household goods demonstrates that, as a part of the outward expansion, home visits shortened and diminished during the second half of the century. As discussed in previous chapters, some household goods have been selected for this study as front-stage materials, the ownership of which may have been affected by socialization. It has been seen that there was a significant increase in these products. Nevertheless, the fires, earthquakes, and economic conditions may have influenced the ownership of these materials. If the ownership of the chosen front-stage materials decreased in the second half of the century, then it would be possible to argue that outward expansion caused a change in consumer behavior.

The ownership rates of front-stage household goods indeed show a decrease. The ownership rates of bolsters (*minder*) decreased from 74 percent to

66 percent. The fabrics of that item registered between 1750-1800 are limited to two kinds, *yemeni* and *çuka*. Additionally, the colors were limited to red and yellow. Gone was the great variety of colors and fabrics that we saw in the first half of the century. Accordingly, the ownership pattern of bolsters (*minder*) is similar to the social environment of the period. The consumer behavior of this period aimed to meet the daily basic requirements.

The other front-stage materials are floor rugs, which also saw a decrease in ownership rates. The ownership rates of pileless rugs (*kilim*) decreased to 19 percent from 23 percent. There are no specifics that identify the material. Fine felts (*kebe*), almost all of which were identified as *Yanbolu*, decreased to 26 percent from 34 percent. The ownership of coarse carpets (*keçe*) significantly decreased to 27 percent from 44 percent, while *kaliçes* decreased slightly to 18 percent from 28 percent. As with the others, there are no features registered to identify the material; however there were seven *frenk kaliçes* registered in this period. Those *kaliçes* were owned by holders of titles such as *efendi*, *hatun*, *kapudan*, and *çavuş*.

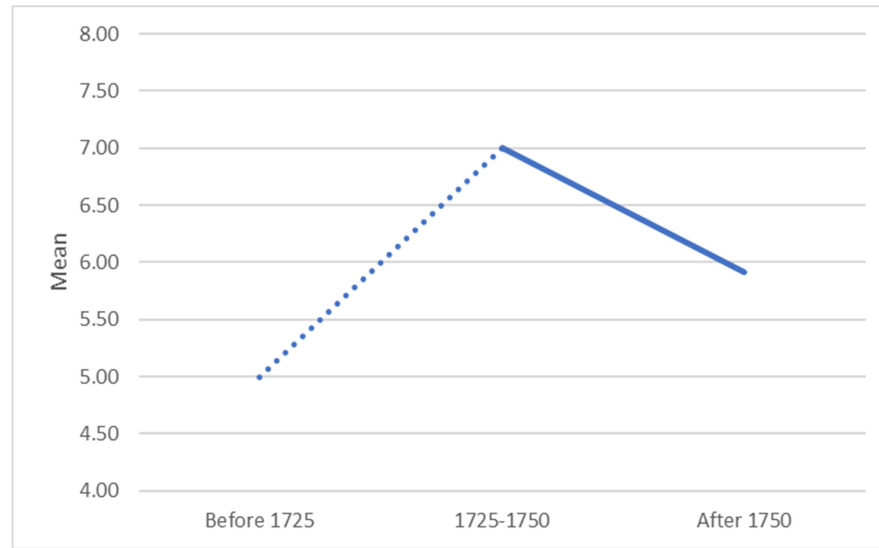


Figure 12: Mean Numbers of Front-Stage Home Textile, (Bolster, Pileless Rug, Fine Felt, Coarse Carpet, Rug)

As can be observed from the data, there was a decrease without exception in the mean numbers and ownership rates of front-stage home textiles (see Figure: 12). The claim of the Amanda Phillips concerning the change in the fashion after 1750 is visible because as the data depicts there was a change in consumer behavior as well.³³⁹ Therefore, it is possible to say that the change in fashion occurred because of the change in consumer behavior, or vice versa.

Back-stage materials also show a similar trend. Ownership of quilts (*yorgan*) was stable around 74 percent, pillows (*yasdik*) to 74 percent from 75 percent, linens (*çarşaf*) to 5 percent from 48 percent, mattresses (*döşek*) to 48 percent from 52 percent, and wrappers (*boğça*) were stable around 33 percent. The most significant decrease is seen in the ownership rates of linens. This does not indicate its disuse in this period; as one of the necessary materials for sleeping, it would not be rational to abandon the use of it. Therefore, the radical decrease signals the limitations of the inheritance inventories. Although there is a noticeable decrease in the ownership of back-stage materials, it is not possible to speak of the disappearance of any of them. Therefore, the decrease in linen must not reflect the real usage.

The decreased in the frequency of home visits during this period may have affected the number of service materials such as coffee cups (*fincan*), coffee trays (*kahve tepsisi*), pots (*sahan*), coffee making pitchers (*kahve ibriği*), and basins (*leğen*). Looking at the data for these materials, we can see that there is a decrease in the ownership of these materials compared to the previous fifty years. Coffee consumption in the home was becoming part of the daily rituals of ordinary Ottomans. The ritualization of coffee consumption without visitors made coffee cups necessity for the household.

³³⁹ The claim about the change in fashion is belong to the Amanda Phillips, please see. Amanda Phillips, "The Historiography of Ottoman Velvets, 2011-1572, scholars, craftsmen, consumers", *Journal of Art Historiography*, No: 6, 2012. Amanda Phillips, "Ottoman Silk Furnishing Fabrics in the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art: Fashion and Production", 1650-1750, *SLWPIA*, No.4, 2012, pp. 1-31.

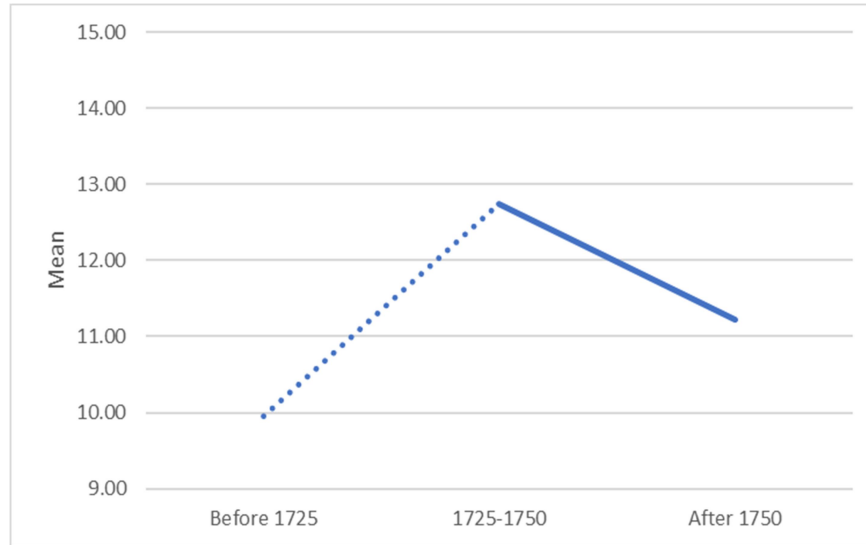


Figure 13: Mean Numbers of Back-Stage Home Textile, (Pillow, Quilt, Linen, Mattress, Wrapper)

Therefore, the number of coffee cups is more important than the existence of coffee cups. Accordingly, ten coffee cups enough to accommodate neighborly visits. That is to say, an inventory with more than 10 coffee cups may give an idea about the relation between the visiting and coffee cups. After 1750, those who owned 10 or more coffee cups were generally Muslims who held titles such as *ağa*, *hatun*, *bey*, *esseyid*, and *reis*. This differs from the situation of the previous fifty years. A non-Muslim man who died in 1701 owned 31 coffee cups of various types, including *çini*, *Kütahya*, *fağfuri* and *Acem*. In the post-1750 period almost all of the coffee cups were *fağfuri*. A Muslim woman named Refiye who died in the Katip Mustafa Çelebi neighborhood in 1744, owned 24 coffee cups. It is possible to list other examples. However, it should be noted that in the second half of the century the ownership of coffee cups was not as democratic as it was between 1694 and 1750. As mentioned in the previous chapter the distribution of the clothing items in the society between the years of 1694-1750, the consumption was more

prevalent in society. However, by the second half of the century, titleholders and rich people held the materials.

Contrary to the slight increase in the ownership of coffee cups, the ownership of other front-stage materials radically declined during the second half of the century. Ownership rates of coffee trays, one of the essential items of coffee rituals, decreased to 23 percent from 37 percent. No registration identifies the qualitative features of this item. Like coffee trays, the ownership rates of coffee making pitchers decreased to 42 percent from 65 percent.

Besides coffee rituals at home visits, serving food was also one of the rituals of daily life. The decrease in the ownership ratios of pots signals a decrease in home visits as well. The ownership rates of those items decreased to 47 percent from 71 percent. As in the case of coffee cups, the upper limit for the number of pots for meeting the absolute and basic needs of a household can be determined no less than 10. That is to say, if the number of pots required for a household's basic needs is 10, then a household with more than 10 pots can be considered to have been open for visitors. Before 1750, it is possible to find many cases in the inheritance registers with more than 10 pots. Based on this, it can be concluded that there was a significant influx of visitors in that period, which was also a major issue in the complaints of those who were trying to protect traditional social relations.³⁴⁰

It has already been seen that people who were not ordinary people, such as Musa Paşa, had a large number of pots. For example, in the inventory register of Musa Paşa, there were 70 pots.³⁴¹ However, the number of those examples is limited. On the other hand, the ownership of such a large number of pots was not the norm for ordinary people. Despite this, there were several examples in

³⁴⁰ Hayati Develi, *XVIII. Yüzyıl İstanbul hayatına dair Risale-i Garibe*, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2001, p. 28.

³⁴¹ GCR No: 271 / 73-a1.

which ordinary people had more than ten pots. Refiye, who died in Beşiktaş in 1710, had 13 pots.³⁴² Similar to her, Mehmed had 19 pots as well.³⁴³ Additionally, Osman Ağa, who died in Beşiktaş in the year 1717, owned ten pots.³⁴⁴ In short, independent from their social status and titles, between the years of 1694-1750 people owned the same number of pots, which supports the frequency of home visits during this period. However, it is seen that the situation changed after 1750. During the post-1750 period, almost all the people, who owned more than ten pots, had titles. This is similar to the example of coffee cups, and indicates the re-emergence of traditional patterns of consumption. What is interesting here is that consumption increased for fifty years. In other words, when social conditions increased the people's socializing, consumption grew because it was intended for others. The increase was seen in the materials that might be seen by others. Products that fulfilled absolute needs were always in demand, and therefore they show the same consumption trend. In short consumption was not only determined by the economy, but it also had a strong cultural dimension and was motivated by other people.

In the context of this study, living in the capital may have eased people's ability to reshape their consumer behavior because of the city's proximity to markets and the large number of products on those markets. In this respect, it is much more likely that the question of the sociality of consumption complies with the urban people. Thus studies that explore consumer behavior in the countryside are needed to have a complete picture of consumption. By examining the consumption patterns of the regions outside the scope of this thesis it may be possible to reach more complete results.

³⁴² GCR No: 207 / 27-a1.

³⁴³ GCR No: 207 / 22-a3.

³⁴⁴ GCR No: 246 / 2-b1.

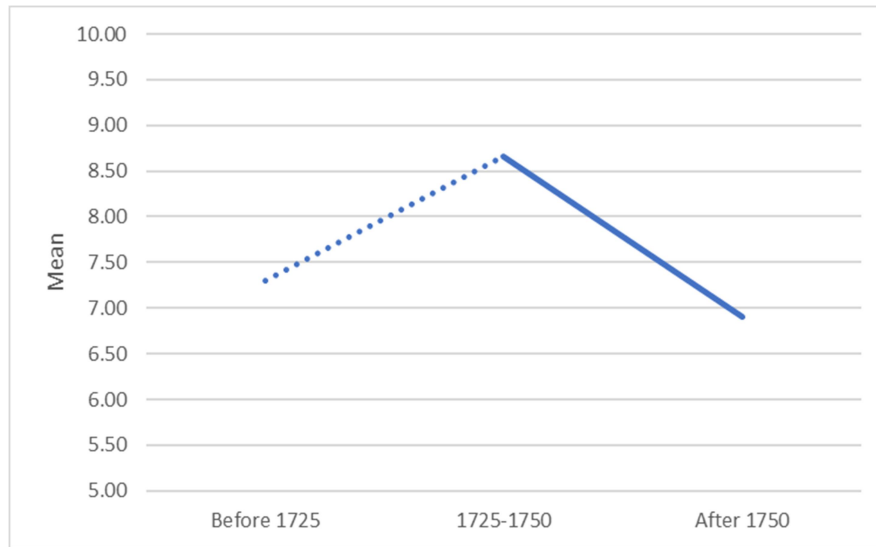


Figure 14: Mean Numbers of Front-Stage Kitchen Utensils, (Coffee Cup, Coffee Tray, Pot, Coffee Making Pitcher, Bowl)

As a tradition, before and after the food service clean water and soap were provided to sanitize the hands. According to this tradition, *leğens* and *ibriks* became front-stage materials. The ownership rates of *leğens* decreased to 35 percent from 57 percent. A decrease can also be observed in decorative items such as rosewater sprinklers (*gülabdan*), incense burners (*buhurdan*), candlesticks (*şamdan*), and mirrors (*ayna*), which adorned the niches and shelves of the houses as well. The components of the coffee rituals like rosewater sprinklers and incense burners, which provided a pleasant scent, presumably were offered to visitors rather than the household.

As far as we can understand from the coffee cups, it is clear that coffee consumption continued in the household during this period. However, the decrease of those two decorative items points to the decrease in the influx of house visits and visitors. Indeed, ownership rates of rosewater sprinklers decreased to 4 percent from 12 percent. While in the years between 1694 and 1750 a total of 147 rosewater sprinklers were used by people of different levels of society, there were only 16 rosewater sprinklers registered in the post-1750

period, almost all of which were silver, and 13 of which belonged to title holders.³⁴⁵ Of the remaining three, two were owned by non-Muslim men, and the last belonged to an ordinary Muslim man. Almost all owners of rosewater sprinklers also owned an incense burner. The only feature that applies to both products is being silver. In that case, it is possible to think that people owned those two items as a set since almost nobody had only one of those items. In short, coffee consumption among urban Ottomans turned into a need, and people continued to consume their coffee daily with the other people of the household, especially in *fağfuri* coffee cups, but the consumption of coffee accompanied by fragrance and mist disappeared.

As increased socialization came to an end, both rosewater sprinklers and incense burners started to disappear. Lady Mary Montagu, who came to Istanbul in the first half of the eighteenth century, visited the houses of rich Ottomans, who according to her were offering these scents to their guests.³⁴⁶ For the first half of the century, this tradition was common to all segments of society, however in the second half it seems it was continued only by rich people.

Another decorative item, candlesticks, significantly decreased to 24 percent from 30 percent. There were 204 candlesticks registered in this period. There were no specific features that were identified in the registers. Mirrors also decreased to 10 percent from 11 percent.

The most remarkable among the decorative items are clocks, ownership rates of which increased during the century. Clocks, which are one of the symbols of Westernization in the current literature, were extensively used by ordinary Ottomans. Alongside the increase in clock ownership, their types diversified in these years as well. Although the *akrep* clock was one of the most

³⁴⁵ GCR No: 349 / 12-a1, 24-a1, 32-b1, 45-a1, 75-b1; GCR No: 355 / 54-a1; GCR No: 436 / 11-b1, 85-a3; GCR No: 454 / 26-a3; GCR No: 484 / 10-a3, 40-b2; GCR No: 517 / 12-a2, 27-b1, 61-a1, 82-b1.

³⁴⁶ Lady Mary Montagu, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*; (ed.) Robert Halsband, Vol. 1, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1965, p. 348.

popular clocks in the period 1694-1750, there are no *akrep* clocks registered in the following fifty years. On the other hand, *bandol* clocks were registered only once between the years of 1694-1750. However, they started to be used extensively in the second half of the century, as did alarm clocks. The increase in interest in alarm clocks can be interpreted as the need to coordinate with others. In the first fifty years the number of clock owners is tiny, and all of the owners had titles. After 1750, on the other hand, the distribution of alarm clocks in society is quite high, both among non-titleholders and people with titles such as *efendi*, *bey*, and *esseyid*.³⁴⁷

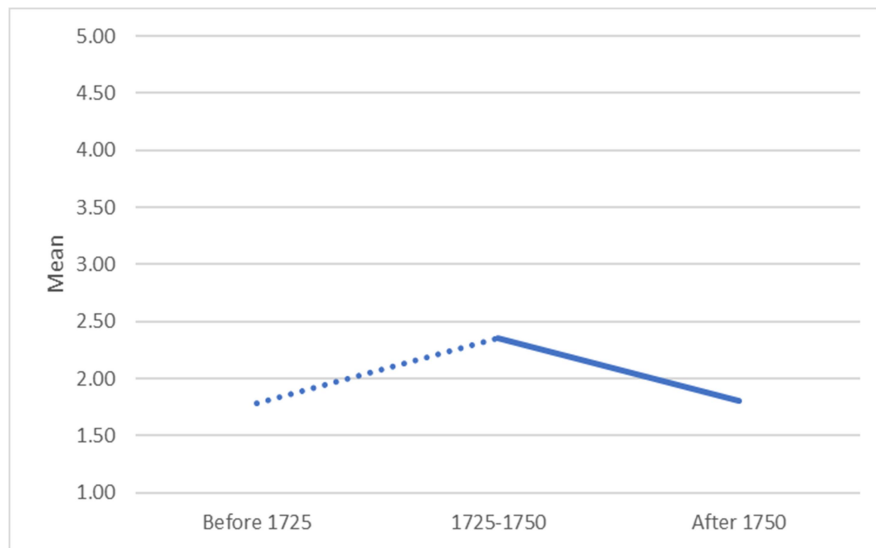


Figure 15: Mean Numbers of Decorative Items, (Rosewater Sprinkler, Incense Burner, Candlestick, Clock, Mirror)

It has been claimed that the use of clocks along with pieces of furniture and other decorative items, became prevalent because of the Westernization of

³⁴⁷ GCR No: 436 / 44-b2; GCR No: 454 / 5-a1, 16-b1, 26-a3, 55-a3; GCR No: 484 / 12-a3, 45-a3, 67-b1, 81-a1; GCR No: 517 / 27-a2, 46-a1, 46-b1, 47-b1, 48-b1, 68-b1, 82-a1, 83-b1, GCR No: 2-a3, 11-b3, 12-b1, 33-a3, 43-b1, 62-b1, 66-b1.

Ottoman society.³⁴⁸ After the disappearance of rosewater sprinklers and incense burners, which were traditionally used as decorative items, there were no other items that might replace them in the inheritance inventories. In terms of household goods, there is no significant change except for the *billur* (crystalline) products and watches that became widespread in the late seventeenth century. In that time it is possible to come across examples such as crystal jugs, crystal glasses, and crystal fans.

There is an observable decline in the ownership rates and the mean numbers of the kitchen utensils (see Figure: 16). Cooking pots (*tencere*) decreased to 47 percent from 70 percent, *bakraçs* to 6 percent from 19 percent, ladles (*kepçe*) to 6 percent from 16 percent, skimmer (*kevgir*) to 5 percent from 19 percent, and cauldrons (*kazan*) decreased to 11 percent from 16 percent. The decreases of ladles and skimmers do not reflected the truth as they were essential utensils for preparing the food. As discussed in the case of linen, this kind of radical decline could not happen, and therefore, those ratios remind us of the limitations of those registers.

Although consumption cannot be considered independently from economic processes, considering the economy as the only factor that changes the direction of consumption is not sufficient to understand the changes in consumer behaviour. Consumption is not always for meeting the needs, but is also performed for other people. This is similar to the conspicuous consumption Veblen speaks of, but it is not the same. Veblen's theory is again based on economic purchasing power, and in a sense people consume to show their wealth.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁸ Charlotte Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Later Ottoman Empire", in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire: 1550-1922*, (ed.) Donald Quataert, State University of New York Press, 2000, pp. 207, 208.

³⁴⁹ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New Brunswick, U.S.A. : Transaction Publishers, 1992.

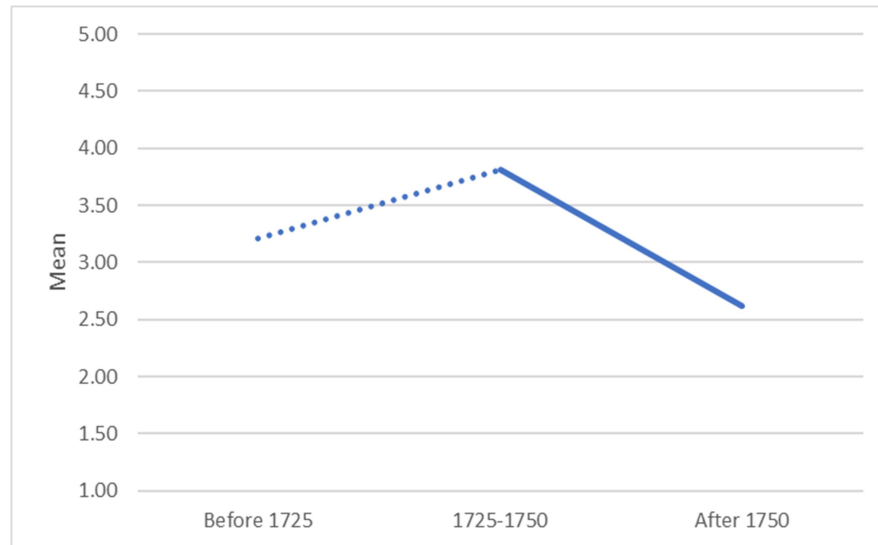


Figure 16: Mean Numbers of Back-Stage Kitchen Utensils, (Cooking Pot, Bucket, Cauldron, Skimmer, Ladle)

This includes not working and spending leisure time as well. However, in the context of this study, I argue that intensified social interaction affected consumer behavior. That is, consumption began to increase with the concern of addressing the eyes and taste of others rather than addressing absolute needs. This kind of consumption also includes the conspicuous consumption that Veblen mentioned, however it emphasizes the type of consumption that intends to not fall below social standards.

In the case of the Ottoman Empire, the consumer behavior of ordinary Ottomans changed with the increase in the use of public space and the change of daily rituals. If it is possible to explain consumption only through processes of production and economics, then it would not be possible to see fluctuations only in the consumption of front-stage materials. On the other hand, if consumption is reduced to the desire to buy that which is determined by purchasing power, then it would be inevitable to see fluctuations in ownership rates of back-stage materials as well. However, contrary to the changes in front-stage products, absolute needs follow a constant trend independent of economic and social

conditions, indicating the direction of consumption. In short, although traditionally people consumed to meet the requirements of daily life, in the first half of the century they started to consume for the eyes of other people.

There is a consensus that eighteenth-century should be understood as two periods in terms of economy and warfare. Studies concerning eighteenth century Istanbul, on the other hand, do not mention the division of the century in terms of social life, instead examining the social life of Istanbul during the first fifty years of the eighteenth century. Therefore, the socialization of the city in the second half of the century is not studied. As a result, it is not possible to examine this century as a whole in any way, yet it seems unreasonable to seek integrity in terms of consumption. It is not possible to say that consumption in the eighteenth century showed an increase even when the only determinant of consumption is the economy. The potential effects of different record keeping habits between the two periods on the patterns were also taken into account, however I did not observe a change in record keeping. Therefore, the existing results help us to understand the direction of consumption in spite of all the problems of the use of inheritance inventories as a historical source.

As is frequently said in consumption studies, we are what we have, what we wear, and what we eat. All of those determine our social identity. However, it should be noted that under some social conditions it is not always possible to reconstruct identities through belongings. This chapter attempted to give a glimpse into consumer behavior through ownership rates, and showed that there were stable levels of ownership rates of back-stage materials, while the front-stage materials that increased during the first half of the century showed a decrease in the second half of the century. The economy should be counted as one of the reasons for this decrease, however the lack of a decline across *all* materials emphasizes that other reasons may have been in play.

As Madeline Zilfi has written, although the state attempted to intervene in the streets and clothing in this century, it made no attempt to change the insides of houses and their decorations.³⁵⁰ In spite of this, a simplification can be observed in the decoration of households compared to the previous fifty years. The fact that silver rosewater sprinklers and incense burners were no longer used means that people were oriented towards the simplification of their houses regardless of state sanctions. As stated above, the possible causes of this simplification are the economic decline that interrupted social life, and the traumatic effects of unfavorable social conditions.

³⁵⁰ Madeline C. Zilfi, “ Goods in the Mahalle: Distributional Encounters in Eighteenth Century İstanbul”, *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire: 1550-1922*,(ed.) Donald Quataert, State University of New York Press, 2000, p. 303.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Material culture and consumption studies in Ottoman historiography are generally discussed within the frameworks of “westernization” and “modernization”. The main theme in this context is considered as the introduction of western materials to the Ottoman Empire. However in the international literature, the change in consumption behavior and pattern is also examined through different contexts such as changes in production processes or changes in daily routine. In this study, the change in consumption of the Ottoman society is discussed within the framework of changing daily routine. As the eighteenth century has been evaluated within the framework of the decline paradigm, the western influence in the empire was tried to be traced in various fields such as architecture, military and education etc. More recently, this century has been started to be reconsidered and depicted to be a period open to both the eastern and the western influence, rather than the sole western influence. The studies concerning the reconsidered Istanbul social life in the eighteenth century constitutes the context of this study. These studies describe the period as outward expansion with a special focus on change in daily routine. The aim of this study is to address the impact of the outward expansion and socialization on consumption behavior.

For this, I used the inheritance inventories (*tereke*s) as an archival material. Inheritance inventories have limitations like other archival sources. Those limitations can be categorized in two basic groups such as “representativeness” and “content”. That means, those records neither contain the registers of all the deceased people nor do they contain all materials they left

behind. However, despite all these limitations, the registrations remain the main source of material culture and consumption. With all these limits in mind, I have selected two *defters* for each decade and transliterated 22 total *defters*. 1905 inheritance inventories have been examined that were recorded by the Galata Kadışip, which was one of the three great kadiships of Istanbul, together with Eyup and Uskudar.

As it was not possible to analyze all of the materials recorded on the registers a selection has been made. To see the effects of socialization on consumption, the products were divided into two main categories as front-stage materials and back-stage materials. In this categorization, while front stage represents the materials that used at the time of socialization, back stage represents the products of absolute need. Finally, 39 materials of 1905 people were analyzed in three quantitative methods through SPSS. The first of these was the analysis of the ownership ratios of the materials, aiming to answer whether the number of people who owned these products increased over the years. The second analysis, on the other hand, was to see the change in mean numbers of the quantity of materials over the years. The last analysis was to see the changes in tastes of textures, decoration etc.

This study emphasizes the social dimensions of consumption and reveals that the internal dynamics of Istanbul affected the consumer behavior of ordinary Ottomans. While not underestimating the effects of political and economic conditions on consumption behavior, this study highlights the effects of the economy and politics on socialization and relates them to changes in consumer behavior. This means that a change in consumption requires a more comprehensive analysis than a simple explanation based only on economic conditions.

It has been observed that the changes in urban social life in Istanbul starting from the beginning of the eighteenth century had impacts on the changes in consumption. The revived social life and increase in the visibility of

people went hand in hand with the economic and political conditions that triggered consumption.

The thesis analyzed 1905 inheritance inventories for 39 materials that are categorized as front-stage and back-stage materials. According to this data, there seems to be an increase in front-stage materials during the first half of the eighteenth century while back-stage materials remained stable. However, as social life faded in the second half of the eighteenth century due to economic and political unrest, we observe a decrease in front-stage materials both in quantitative and qualitative terms.

It is clear that the rise and fall of social life affected in particular the consumption of front-stage materials. On the other hand, the stability of the consumption of back-stage materials, which refer to the absolute necessities for the survival of a person, strengthens this argument. As discussed above in detail, the colors, fabrics, and features of the materials consumed became more varied and diverse throughout the first half of the eighteenth century.

Although there was a serious increase in the consumption of front-stage materials in the first half of the century, this did not continue in the second half. Military defeats and economic crisis, in addition to the earthquakes and fires that occurred in the second half of the century, had an impact on socialization, directly affected consumption. It is important to note that this study offers a partial answer to Suraiya Faroqhi's question, in which she asks: "Was there, at least among the more affluent sections of Istanbul, Cairo, and Damascus society, an increase in consumption during the eighteenth century, or more specifically between about 1720 and 1760?"³⁵¹ According to the present study, it is clear that there was an increase in consumption in those forty years in the district of Galata in Istanbul.

³⁵¹ Faroqhi, "Women, Wealth and textiles in 1730s Bursa" in *Living the Good Life*, 2017, p. 217.

Faroqhi also writes, “after that time (1760) the Russo Ottoman War of 1768-1774 surely put paid to all hopes of further economic growth, as the government mobilized all sources for a series of never ending confrontations that usually ended with defeat.”³⁵² She appears to be right in her foresight, because a natural decrease in the ownership graphics is observed for the period after 1760. In this phrase, it seems that Faroqhi identifies the economy as the main determinant of consumption. However, it is not only the economic conditions that were worsened by military defeats, but more complex links between the economy and social life affected consumption. As highlighted several times throughout this study, although the economy was one of the main determinants of consumption and purchasing power, it had more extensive impacts on social life that seriously impacted consumption behavior.

In addition to this main argument, there are several contributions of this study both to consumption studies, and to broader discussions including the Tulip Age. Consumption between 1700 and 1750 seems to have been “democratized” when compared to the second half of the century, meaning that people from all layers of ordinary Ottoman subjects with various titles, consumed more materials than they needed regardless of their wealth accumulation. This situation disappeared after 1750, when ordinary Ottomans who held titles appeared to have had more luxurious items than the others. Silver incense burners and rosewater sprinklers could be mentioned as the most significant exemplars of this point. There were many silver incense burners and rosewater sprinklers in the hands of several people in the first half of the century, however there were a very limited number of those materials in the hands of titleholders in the second half of the century.

The other important concluding remark relates to the Westernization of material culture. Although it is widely written that by the eighteenth century and with the effects of the Tulip Age Western materials started to dominate material

³⁵² Faroqhi, “Women, Wealth and textiles in 1730s Bursa” in *Living the Good Life*, 2017, p. 217.

culture, this study shows that there were almost no Western materials in the hands of ordinary Ottomans. This study shares and confirms the view that emphasizes the absence of Western materials in Ottoman lands in the eighteenth century.³⁵³ On the other hand, there is another discussion that concerns Western effects on fashion. There are several studies that highlight the cultural interaction during the eighteenth century between the West and the Ottoman Empire.³⁵⁴ Some of those studies focus on architectural interaction while others emphasize textiles and fashion, but they all oppose the view that the West dominated the culture of the Ottoman Empire, instead they point out to an interaction between the West and the Ottomans. The findings of this study also reject Western domination over the Ottomans in terms of fashion and materials. Throughout the 1905 entries, one infrequently encounters Western-originated materials. However, there are studies that reveal the impact of Ottoman fashion among Western women.³⁵⁵ Additionally, claims of a “change in fashion” in the eighteenth century concerning both household textiles and garments seem accurate too, with respect to the outcomes of this study.³⁵⁶ As mentioned before, “the changes [in garments] are seen more in subtlety of detail rather than in

³⁵³ Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008, p. 27.

³⁵⁴ Onur İnal, “Women's Fashions in Transition: Ottoman Borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman Exchange of Costumes”, *Journal of World History*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2011. Can Erimtan, *Ottomans looking west? : the origins of the Tulip Age and its development in modern Turkey*, London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies; New York: Distributed in the USA by Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

³⁵⁵ Onur İnal, “Women's Fashions in Transition: Ottoman Borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman Exchange of Costumes”, *Journal of World History*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2011, pp. 270, 271.

³⁵⁶ Amanda Phillips, “A Material Culture: Ottoman Velvets and Their Owners”, *Muqarnas*, 1660-1750, 2014, pp. 155.

drastic innovation of shape and cut”.³⁵⁷ This claim makes sense when taken into consideration with the claim that Western materials were absent. As discussed above there was indeed a change in consumption behavior, as people started to consume both more than they needed (quantitative), and in more proliferated ways (qualitative). It is much more reasonable to consider the state’s reaction like issuing dress codes and sumptuary laws based on this quantitative and qualitative change rather than westernization, because there were nearly no western materials in use at that time, and the measures did not involve those materials.

Much like the “decline paradigm,” the Tulip Age is also intensely debated. There are two main groups that argue for the reality of the Tulip Age. Traditional Ottoman historiography marks the Tulip Age as a symbol of Westernization, and the consumption patterns of the elite are associated with the process of decline. More recent studies, however, have criticized this view, as they endeavor to reveal the Eastern (Safavid) inspirations on the architecture of the eighteenth century, as well as Western inspirations. Beside the claims of Westernization, in the framework of traditional Ottoman historiography the Tulip Age includes the over-consumption of the elites. However, some studies have made an effort to criticize this view with the help of archival documents that reveal the expenditures of Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damat İbrahim Paşa.³⁵⁸ The mentioned study shows that the grand vizier did not over-consume “beyond the norms of his rank”.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁷ Jennifer Scarce, *Women’s Costume of the Near and Middle East*, New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, p. 55.

³⁵⁸ Selim Karahasanoğlu, *A Tulip Age Legend: Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in the Ottoman Empire (1718-1730)*, Unpublished Ph.D, Binghamton University, 2009.

³⁵⁹ Selim Karahasanoğlu, *A Tulip Age Legend: Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in the Ottoman Empire (1718-1730)*, Unpublished Ph.D, Binghamton University, 2009, p. 229.

As the Tulip Age paradigm has begun to be criticized by elite-oriented studies, some Ottomanists have claimed that the social life of ordinary Ottomans started to change during this period. Those arguments are supported by the present study as well. Although the elites of the age have been absolved of claims of wastefulness, ordinary Ottomans seem to have consumed more than it was previously thought. Therefore, it is worthwhile to follow the traces of the Tulip Age through ordinary people and their consumption, rather than through the elites. It is not one of the aims of this study to contribute directly to the discussion of the Tulip Age, however since the time period of this study involves the years between 1718 and 1730 a partial contribution may be presented to those who study the Tulip Age. The focus of the Tulip Age paradigm should be shifted to ordinary Ottomans, because a “changing consumption behavior” is observed among them. In this way it is possible to see the changing consumption behavior and overconsumption that is mentioned in the documents of the age.

Although this study has significant contributions to various fields, its limitations should not be forgotten. The main archival documents of this study are inheritance inventories, which embody several limitations in themselves. As exhaustively discussed in the introduction chapter, the number of the inventories analyzed was increased with the intent of overcoming some of those limitations, such as the question of representation. As the number of inventories is too large the number of materials has been limited to 39 in order to make the study systematic. This limitation, on the one hand allowed me to make deeper analyses, but on the other hand it left the increase and decrease of the remaining materials unnoticed and underanalyzed. Therefore, although I attempted to pick the most common materials that ordinary Ottomans owned, it would also be possible to choose alternative groups, which would probably yield similar results.

Among the limitations of this study one can also count the geographical location. All the inheritance inventories that were used in this study belong to

the Galata Kadışip. It should be noted that the Galata Kadışip encompassed a larger area than the Galata district alone, and therefore the population makeup of Galata decently represented ordinary Ottomans, as much as other parts of the capital city such as Eyup or Uskudar. Even so, analyzing the inheritance inventories of different regions may open new perspectives by verifying or falsifying the results of this study. Additionally, as Faroqhi has asserted, analyzing the prominent cities of the empire other than the capital city, such as Cairo and Damascus, would be helpful to achieve to a complete framework.

In short, this study aimed to understand the changes in the consumption of ordinary Ottomans in the eighteenth century through the case of Galata. The point arrived at the end of this study allows us to share the position of the revisionist Ottomanists who fundamentally emphasize the unique conditions of the eighteenth century, in contrast to traditional Ottoman historiography. Furthermore, it puts forward the impact of socialization on consumption rather than seeking economic motives behind for consumer behavior.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: LIST OF MATERIALS

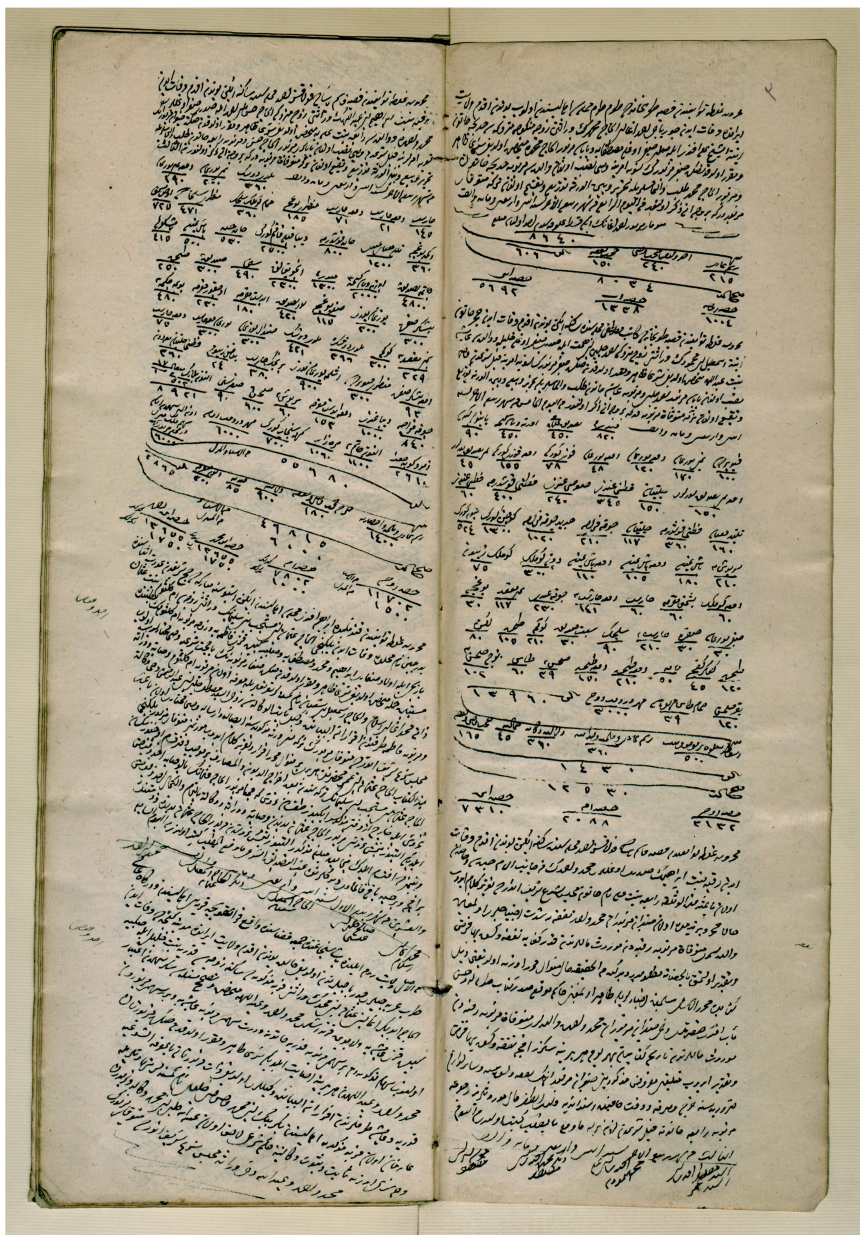
1. Ayna	2. Baklava tepsisi	3. Bakraç
4. Balta	5. Barut	6. Bez Tarağı
7. Bıçak	8. Bilezik	9. Bohça
10. Börek tepsisi	11. Buhurdan	12. Çakşır
13. Çarşaf	14. Çatki	15. Çedik
16. Çekiç	17. Çekmece	18. Cezve
19. Çintıyan	20. Çizme	21. Çorap
22. Çorba kasesi	23. Çuval	24. Destar
25. Destgah	26. Destmal	27. Devat
28. Diz çakşırı	29. Dizlik	30. Dolama
31. Don	32. Döşek	33. Döşek yüzü
34. Düğme	35. Dülbent	36. El İbriği
37. Entari	38. Eyer	39. Fanus
40. Fener	41. Ferace	42. Feraş
43. Fincan	44. Fincan kutusu	45. Garar
46. Gergef	47. Gömlek	48. Güğüm
49. Gülabdan	50. Hamam gömleği	51. Hamam rahtı
52. Hasır	53. Hatem	54. Havan
55. Hoşaf taşı	56. İbrik	57. İhram
58. İplik	59. İstefan	60. İskemle
61. Kaftan	62. Kahve ibriği	63. Kahve tepsisi
64. Kaliçe	65. Kalpak	66. Kandil
67. Kantar	68. Kapaklı tas	69. Kapama
70. Kapı perdesi	71. Kase	72. Kaşık

73. Kavuk	74. Kazan	75. Kebe
76. Keçe	77. Kelam-ı Şerif	78. Keman ve Tir
79. Kepçe	80. Kese	81. Keten tarağı
82. Kevgir	83. Kil kutusu	84. Kılıç
85. Kilim	86. Kolun	87. Kum saati
88. Küpe	89. Kürk	90. Kurşun
91. Kuşak	92. Kutu	93. Leğen
94. Lenger	95. Makad	96. Makrame
97. Mangal	98. Maşraba	99. Mest
100.Minder	101.Mirad	102.Mısır hasırı
103.Musluklu güğüm	104.Nacak	105.Nakit para
106.Nimten	107.Ocak yaşmağı	108.Orta keçesi
109.Pabuç	110.Pazubend	111.Peçe
112.Perde	113.Peşkir	114.Peştahta
115.Peştemal	116.Prinç saat	117.Raht
118.Saat	119.Saat Kesesi	120.Saç Bağı
121.Sacayak	122.Saçlık	123.Sade
124.Sahan	125.Sakal tarağı	126.Şal
127.Şalvar	128.Şamdan	129.Sandık
130.Sarık	131.Satır	132.Seccade
133.Sehpa	134.Sepet sandık	135.Serpuş
136.Silah	137.Silecek	138.Sini
139.Şiş	140.Sorguç	141.Süzgeç
142.Taba	143.Tabak	144.Tabanca
145.Tabure	146.Tarak	147.Tas
148.Tencere	149.Tepsi	150.Terazi
151.Terlik	152.Terpuş	153.Tespih
154.Testere	155.Tomak	156.Topuz
157.Topuz	158.Tüfek	159.Uçkur
160.Üstlük	161.Üzengi	162.Valense
163.Yağlık	164.Yağmurluk	165.Yaşmak
166.Yastık	167.Yastık	168.Yastık kılıfı
169.Yelken Bezi	170.Yorgan	171.Yüz yasdığı
172.Yüzük	173.Yüzük	174.Zar
175.Zenbil	176.Zıbın	177.Zıpkın

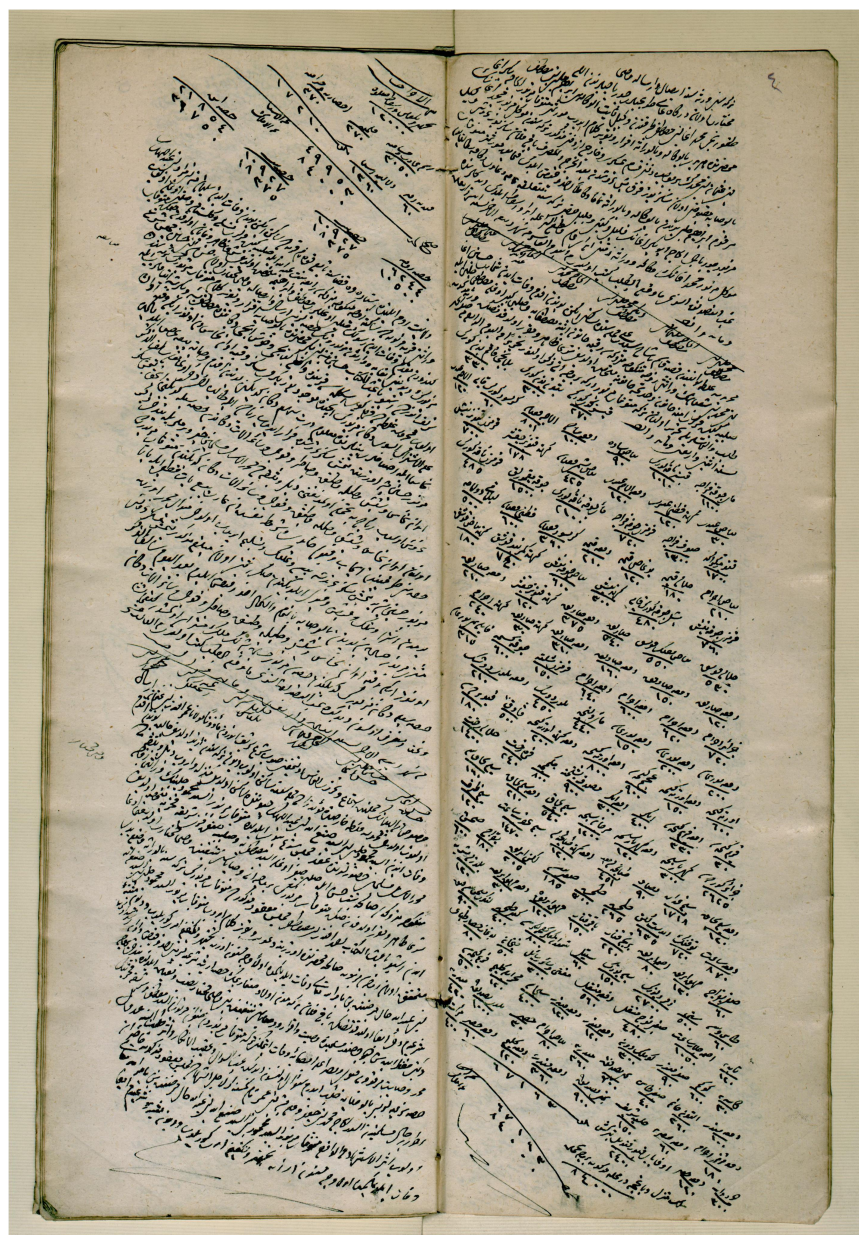
178.Zülüflük	179.Mum	180.Sabun
181.Çarçube Kağıdı		Food
1. Mercimek	2. Nohut	3. Börülce
4. Bakla	5. Pirinç	6. Arpa
7. Üzüm	8. Incir	9. Fındık
10. Fıstık	11. Ceviz	12. Badem
13. Kestane	14. Kaşkaval Peyniri	15. Tulum Peyniri
16. Sucuk	17. Pastırma	18. Uskumru
19. Zeytin	20. Turşu	21. Soğan
22. Sarımsak	23. Revgan-ı Sade	24. Revgan-ı Zeyt
25. Revagn-ı Mahluta	26. Şehriye	27. Nişasta
28. Bal	29. Pekmez	30. Nardenk
31. Sirke	32. Tuz	33. Ihlamur

APPENDIX B: SAMPLE INHERITANCE INVENTORIES

[illegible]



GCR No:271-3



GCR No: 271-4

APPENDIX C: ANOVA TABLES

Table 1. One-way ANOVA summary results for comparing inherited cloths between three time periods							
Variables	Years	<i>N</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>df1, df2</i>	<i>p</i>
BS Clothing	Before 1725	415	4.18	4.29	0.011	2, 1336	.989
	1725-1750	422	4.22	4.44			
	After 1750	502	4.19	3.71			
FS Clothing	Before 1725	534	5.29	4.04	6.875	2, 1739	.001
	1725-1750	593	6.11	5.56			
	After 1750	615	5.31	4.32			

Table 2. One-way ANOVA summary results for comparing inherited kitchen goods between three time periods							
Variables	Years	<i>N</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>df1, df2</i>	<i>p</i>
BS Kitchen Utensils	Before 1725	437	3.18	2.51	14.418	2, 1213	< .001
	1725-1750	473	3.70	3.20			
	After 1750	306	2.62	2.24			
FS Kitchen Utensils	Before 1725	459	7.37	6.73	5.976	2, 1358	.003
	1725-1750	517	8.53	9.04			
	After 1750	385	6.88	5.56			

Table 3. One-way ANOVA summary results for comparing inherited textile goods between three time periods

Variables	Years	N	Mean	SD	F	df1, df2	p
BS Home Textile	Before 1725	513	10.06	8.60	7.959	2, 1654	< .001
	1725-1750	561	12.75	12.54			
	After 1750	583	11.17	11.63			
FS Home Textile	Before 1725	524	5.06	4.38	11.758	2, 1598	< .001
	1725-1750	567	6.80	7.12			
	After 1750	510	5.94	5.83			

Table 4. One-way ANOVA summary results for comparing inherited decorative goods between three time periods

Variables	Years	N	Mean	SD	F	df1, df2	p
FS Decorative Items	Before 1725	246	1.80	1.76	6.459	2, 805	.002
	1725-1750	296	2.31	2.37			
	After 1750	266	1.82	1.42			

Table 5. One-way ANOVA summary results for comparing inherited jeweleries between three time periods

Variables	Years	N	Mean	SD	F	df1, df2	p
FS Jewellery	Before 1725	172	6.27	10.01	3.059	2, 561	0.048
	1725-1750	201	4.88	7.35			
	After 1750	191	4.18	7.00			

APPENDIX D: CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL

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ACADEMIC AND EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

- 2019** **Ph.D.**, Department of History, Middle East Technical University, (Thesis Title: *Changes in the Consumption of the Ottomans in the Eighteenth Century*) Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kayhan Orbay.
- 2014** **Visiting Scholar**, Department of History, University of Vermont, USA, Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Boğaç Ergene.
- 2012** **M.A.**, Department of History, Middle East Technical University, Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güçlü Tülüveli (Title of the thesis: *Credit and Financing in Early Modern Ottoman Empire: The Galata Example*).

2008 **B.A.**, Department of History, Middle East Technical University.

RESEARCH INTERESTS

- Early Modern Ottoman History,
- Socio-economic History, Consumption, Material Culture

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

2010 – 2019 **Research Assistant**, Department of History, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey.

2008 – 2009 **Outprocessing**, International Catholic Migration Commission (UN), İstanbul, Turkey.

2005 – 2008 **Editorship**, Doğu Batı Press, Ankara, Turkey.

PROJECTS

2012 **Project Assistant**, Project Title: Based on the Archival Materials Evaluation of the Socio-Economic Life in Ottoman Galata During the Early Modern Ages, Project Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Güçlü Tülüveli, Department of History, Middle East Technical University.

SCHOLARSHIPS AND AWARDS

2018 **Research Awards**, On Sekizinci Yüzyıl Ankarası'nda Gıda Tüketimi ve Yeme İçme Alışkanlıkları, Vehbi Koç Ankara Studies Research Center, (VEKAM), Koç University, Ankara, Turkey.

2013 **Graduate Summer School Scholarship**, İstanbul through the Ages, Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (RCAC), Koç University, İstanbul, Turkey.

PUBLICATIONS

Book Chapters (In Turkish)

- 2017** “Tereke Kayıtları Işığında On Yedinci Yüzyılda Galata’da Osmanlı Ulemasının Servet Birikimi” (“In the Light of *Tereke* Registers the Wealth Accumulation of the Ottoman Ulema in Galata during the Seventeenth Century”) , in Kerim İlker Bulunur et. al (eds), *Osmanlı’da Şehir, Vakıf ve Sosyal Hayat*, İstanbul: Mahya, pp. 207-217.

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles (In Turkish)

- forthcoming* “Hem Manav Hem Meyhaneci: İstanbul’un Bakkalları” *Toplumsal Tarih*.
- 2016** “Bakkal Terekeleri Işığında İstanbullu Mutfağına Bir Bakış” (A Glimpse to the Food Consumption of Istanbulites in the Light of Tereke Registers of Grocers), *Kebikeç*, 42: 129-146.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- 2018** “Nahide Hanım’ın Maddi Kültür Dünyası; On Sekizinci Yüzyılda Osmanlı’da Kadınların Gösterişçi Tüketimi”, (“*Nahide Hanım’s* World of Material Culture: The Conspicuous Consumption of Ottoman Women in the Eighteenth Century”), *CIEPO*, 11-15 September, Sofia, Bulgaria.
- 2018** “The Coffee Utensils and the Conspicuous Consumption in the Eighteenth Century Ottoman World”, *Turkologentag*, 19-21 September, Bamberg, Germany.
- 2016** “Making Difference through Dress: The Case of Galata”, *The Politics of Dress and Identity in Eastern Mediterranean Societies, Past and Present*, 23-27 March Amsterdam, Holland.

- 2015** “Tereke Kayıtları Işığında On Yedinci Yüzyılda Galata’da Osmanlı Ulemasının Servet Birikimi”, (“In the Light of *Tereke* Registers Wealth Accumulation of the Ottoman Ulema in Galata During the Seventeenth Century”), Uluslararası Osmanlı Araştırmaları Kongresi - 1, 14-17 November, Sakarya, Turkey.
- 2014** “Credit and Financing in Early Modern Ottoman Empire: The Galata Example”, *International Conference on Ottoman Istanbul* - 2, 26 – 29 May, İstanbul, Turkey.

EDITORIAL EXPERIENCE (In Turkish)

- 2008** **Editorship**, Takış Taşkın (ed.), *Şerif Mardin Okumaları*, Ankara: Doğu Batı Press, ISBN:9789758717415.
- 2006** **Editorship**, Faroqhi Suraiya, *Osmanlı Şehirleri ve Kırsal Hayatı*, Ankara: Doğu Batı Press, ISBN:9789758717194.

LANGUAGE SKILLS

Turkish	Mother Language
English	Fluent

APPENDIX E: TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

ON SEKİZİNCİ YZYILDA OSMANLILARIN TKETİMİNDEKİ DEĞİŞİM

1. Giriş

Osmanlı tarihyazımında maddi kltr ve tketim alıřmaları genelde “batılılaşma” ve “modernleşme” kavramları etrafında tartıřılmıştır. Bu alıřma ise Osmanlı toplumunun tketim rntlerindeki deęiřimi imparatorluęun isel dinamiklere odaklanarak ele almayı amalamaktadır.

Tketim tartıřmaları Avrupa’daki alıřmalarda Osmanlı’da ele alınan baęlamından farklı olarak “*tketimcilik*” (consumerism) ve “*tketici devrimi*” (consumer revolution) gibi kavramların etrafında ele alınmıştır. Kısaca zetlemek gerekirse retimdeki artıřın fiyatların dřmesini saęladığı dřncesinden hareketle tketicinin daha kolay satın almaya bařlaması ekonomi ile tketim arasındaki gl iliřkiye dikkat ekmiştir. Dięer taraftan on sekizinci yzyıl bařlarında gndelik hayat rutininin deęiřmesine baęlı olarak kiřilerin maddi kltrlerinin deęiřmiř olabileceęini dolayısıyla tketimin ekonomik bir yn olmakla birlikte kltrel ynlerinin de olabileceęine iřaret eden alıřmalar mevcuttur.

Osmanlı tarihi kapsamında yrtlen tketim alıřmaları ise Avrupa’daki tartıřmalara ve kavramlara mesafeli kalarak  ana ekseninde toplanmıştır. Bunlardan ilki “nemli” bir kiřinin terekesinin sorunsallařtırmaksızın dkmnn yapıldığı veya belirlenen bir blgedeki

maddi kültür elemanlarının dökümünün yapıldığı çalışmalardır. İkincisi elit terekeleri üzerinden Lale Devri tartışmaları etrafında sorunsallaştırılan çalışmalardır. Üçüncüsü ise sıradan insanların tüketimine odaklanan ve tüketim davranışlarının değişmesini batılılaşmayı dışarıda tutarak konu alan çalışmalardır. Bu çalışma da bu eksenlerden sonuncusu ile aynı pozisyonda on sekizinci yüzyılda İstanbul'daki tüketim kalıplarının değişimini kentte yaşanan “dışa açılım” tartışmalarına dayandırarak Galata örneği üzerinden analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu argümana göre hem kent alanlarında hem de hanelerde farklı toplumsal gruplardan, cinsiyetlerden ve yaş gruplarından kişilerin daha sık bir araya gelmesi ve toplumsal gruplar arası geçirgenliğin artması kültürel açılımı mümkün kılmıştır. Bu çalışma, tüketim örüntülerinin batı kaynaklı bir değişimden çok içsel dinamiklerin hakim olduğu ve yönlendirdiği bir değişim yaşadığını savunmaktadır.

Bu iddianın analizi için maddi kültür ve tüketim tartışmalarının ana kaynakları olan terekeler kullanılmıştır. Terekeler, kişinin vefatından sonra taşınır ve taşınmaz malları ile borç ve alacaklarının kadılığın ilgili görevlisi kassam tarafından kaydedildiği belgelerdir. Miras kayıtları yalnızca Osmanlı tarihi açısından değil aynı zamanda Avrupa'daki maddi kültür çalışmaları için de ana tarihsel kaynakları oluşturmaktadır. Maddi kültür unsurlarına en çok yaklaşılabildiğimiz kayıtlar terekeler olmakla beraber tarihsel kaynak olarak kullanımları problemsiz değildir. İlk olarak toplumun kadın, erkek, müslüman veya gayrimüslim hiç bir kesimi için miras kayıt ve taksim işlemini kassam eliyle yapmak zorunlu değildi; ancak şayet varisler arasında reşit olmayan bir çocuk varsa, arkada mirası paylaşacak varis yoksa ya da var olan miras varisler arasında paylaşılırken anlaşmazlık yaşandıysa kadılığa giderek bu işlemi yaptırma şansları vardı. Bu durumlar yaşanmasa da miras işlemi yaptırmak mümkündü ancak zorunluluk olmaması bu kaynakların “temsiliyet” sorununu öne çıkarmaktadır. İkinci olarak ise müteveffanın arkasında bıraktığı ürünlerin

eksiksiz kaydedilip kaydedilmemesidir. Varislerin ölümünden sonra müteveffanın eşyalarının ne kadarını kassama paylaşırması için getirdiklerini bilemiyoruz.

Bu problemler göz önünde bulundurularak temsiliyet probleminin üstesinden gelinebilmesi ve tüm riskleri en alt seviyede tutabilmek açısından çalışmada kullanılan veri miktarı büyük tutularak 1694-1800 yılları arasında Galata Kadılığınca kaydedilmiş tereke defterlerinden her on yıl için seçilen 2 tereke defteri tamamıyla transkribe edilmiş ve toplamda on sekizinci yüzyılda yaşamış 1905 orta halli Osmanlı'nın tereke kayıtları analize dahil edilmiştir. Verinin büyüklüğü ve dağınıklığı dolayısıyla sistematik bir çalışma yürütebilmek için veriler SPSS istatistik programına aktarılmıştır.

Galata Kadılığı Kasımpaşa, Beşiktaş, Tophane, Fındıklı ve İstinye'ya bağlı yaklaşık 200-250 mahallenin hukuki işlerinden sorumlu Eyüp ve Üsküdar ile birlikte İstanbul'daki üç büyük kadılıktan (*Bilad-ı Selase*) biridir. Her ne kadar Galata, bazı gezginler ve bugünkü bazı araştırmacılar tarafından İstanbul'un nüfus anlamında gayri müslim yoğun bölgelerinden biri olarak tarif ediliyorsa da on sekizinci yüzyıl Galatası için bu tarif gerçekliği yansıtmamaktadır. İstanbul'un fethedildikten sonra kurulan Kasımpaşa'daki Tersane ve Tophane ile Galatasarayındaki Acemioğlan Okulu müslüman nüfusun süreç içerisinde bölgenin bu kısımlarında yoğunlaşmıştır. Bölgede yüzyıllar içerisinde artan cami ve çeşme sayıları ve 1696'da Galata'da meydana gelen büyük bir yangın sonrası San Francisco Kilisesi'nin yanmasını ardından arazinin istimlak edilerek yerine dönemin valide sultanı tarafından büyük bir cami yaptırılması (Yeni Cami) bölgedeki müslüman nüfusun azımsanmayacak miktarda olduğunu desteklemektedir.³⁶⁰

³⁶⁰ Edhem Eldem, "İstanbul: İmparatorluk Başkentinden Perifileşmiş Bir Başkente", *Doğu ile Batı Arasında Osmanlı Kenti: Halep, İzmir ve İstanbul*, (ed.) Eldem, Goffman, Masters, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000., s.170.

Bu çalışmanın devamında ilk olarak tarihsel bağlam genişletilerek tüketimi tetiklediği düşünülen toplumsal koşullar üzerinde durulacaktır. Arkasından analizler ile tüketimin nasıl değiştiği ortaya konulacaktır.

2. Tarihsel Bağlam

On sekizinci yüzyılda İstanbul'da toplumsallaşmanın artması bu çalışmada üç dayanak etrafında şekillendirilmiştir. Bunlardan ilki iktidar eliyle topluma sunulan yeni kamusal alanların ortaya çıkması ve var olan olanların ziyaret edilme sıklığının yükselişe geçmesidir. İkincisi kahve tüketimine bağlı olarak hem hanelerde hem de kahvehanelerde bir araya gelme sıklığının artması, sonuncusu ise siyasi konjonktüre de bağlı olarak toplumsal gruplar arası geçirgenliğin artmasıdır.

On yedinci yüzyıldan itibaren askeri mağlubiyetlerin yarattığı siyasi ortam ve II. Mustafa'nın İstanbul'u terk ederek Edirne'ye yerleşmesi İstanbullular için kent hayatı açısından hem sosyal hem de ekonomik olumsuzluklara neden olmuştur. On sekizinci yüzyılın hemen başında bu huzursuzluklara bağlı olarak sultanı Edirne'den İstanbul'a geri dönmeye zorlayan ve yeniçeri ile esnafın birlikte hareket ettiği bir isyan çıkmıştır. 1703 yılındaki bu isyanla birlikte başkente geri dönen sultan toplum nazarında kaybettiği askeri ve politik meşruiyetini hem mimari eserler yoluyla hem de gösterişçi tüketim ile yeniden kazanmaya çalışmıştır. Edirne'den dönüşle başlayan ve 1719 yılındaki depremle birlikte hız kazanan mimari canlanma yalnızca elitlerin yaşamında değil yarattığı yeni kamusal alanlarla birlikte sıradan İstanbulluların gündelik rutinlerinde de etkili olmuştur.³⁶¹ Bu dönemde yeni kamusal alanların toplumun kullanımına açılması ve İstanbul'daki kent

³⁶¹ Tülay Artan, "18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı", *Toplum ve Bilim*, 1999/2000, s. 304.

hayatını canlandıran bu alanlara nüfusun her kesiminden insanların katılması dönemin hem yazılı hem de görsel kaynaklarına konu olmuştur.³⁶²

Kahvenin bu dönemdeki tüketim şekli ve kent hayatına eklenmesi ise yukarıda bahsedilen ve tüketimin yön değiştirmesine sebep olan gerekçelerden ikincisidir. On altıncı yüzyıl itibariyle İstanbul’da tüketilmeye başlanan kahve ve kahvehanelerin açılması uzun süre iktidar tarafından hoş karşılanmamış dolayısıyla kahve tüketiminin gündelik hayatın bir parçası haline gelmesi engellenmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu durum modern Osmanlı tarihçileri tarafından kamusal alan tartışmaları düzeyine taşınmış; sıradan insanların kahvehaneler yoluyla siyasi ajandanın öznesi haline gelmesi ve siyasette etkinleşmesi çerçevesinde tartışılmıştır.³⁶³ Tüm bunlar toplumsallığın siyasete olan etkileri çerçevesinde doğru olmakla beraber bu çalışma kapsamında hem hanelerdeki kahve ritüelinin hem de kahvehanelerdeki toplumsallaşmanın tüketim üzerindeki etkisi önem kazanmaktadır. Ayrıca, on yedinci yüzyıldan itibaren başlayan toplumsal gruplar arası geçirgenliğin artması yeni toplumsal kimliklerin oluşumuna imkan tanıdığından yeni tüketim modellerinin ortaya çıkmasına zemin hazırlamıştır.

On sekizinci yüzyılda belirginleşen bu üç bağlamın kalıplarını da değiştirmiş olması beklenmektedir. Bunu söylemek, ekonominin ve üretim süreçlerindeki gelişmelerin tüketim üzerindeki etkisini yadsımak anlamına gelmiyor. Sadece üretim süreçlerine ek olarak toplumsal hayatın da tüketimi etkileyen ve değiştiren faktörlerden biri olduğunu unutmamak gerektiği anlamını taşıyor.

³⁶² Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, s. 19.

³⁶³ Cengiz Kırılı, “Coffeehouses: Leisure and Sociability in Ottoman İstanbul”, *Leisure Cultures in Urban Europe, c.1700-1870 A transnational perspective*, eds. Peter Borsay & Jan Hein Furnee, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016, s. 161-181.

İstanbul'daki toplumsal hayatı on sekizinci yüzyıl özelinde ele alan araştırmacılar kent hayatının on yedinci yüzyıla göre canlandığını ve kentlilerin kamusal alanda görünürlüklerinin arttığını ifade etmektedirler.³⁶⁴ Bu dönemde toplumun dışa açılmasını mümkün kılan ve toplumsal etkileşimi arttıran park, mesire gibi yeni alanlar bizzat iktidar tarafından kullanıma açılmış ve kentte yaşayan orta halli Osmanlılar da canlı kent hayatına katılım göstermişlerdir. Kent hayatına katılan kentli Osmanlılar oldukça renkli bir profil arz ediyordu; farklı yaşlardan, cinsiyetlerden ve farklı mevki ve toplumsal gruplardan insanlar buralarda vakit geçiriyorlardı.³⁶⁵ Son zamanlarda Osmanlı araştırmaları açısından kentte artan canlanmaya yönelik olan vurgu, aynı hareketliliğin tüketim üzerinde de etkisi olduğunu düşündürmüştür. Ancak sürecin tüketim açısından nasıl somutlaştığı henüz araştırılmamıştır. Osmanlı tarihi çalışmalarında tüketimdeki değişim özellikle on sekizinci yüzyılda yalnızca “batılı” ve “lüks” tüketim ürünlerinin gündelik hayatta hangi toplumsal gruplarda ne oranda yayıldığı sorgulayarak anlaşılmaya çalışılmaktadır.³⁶⁶ Halbuki tüketimdeki değişim Artan'ın da aktardığı gibi moda ve harcama arzusunun dışında “rutin, serinkanlı ve kitlesel bir davranış biçimi” olarak düşünülmelidir.³⁶⁷ Yani maddi kültür unsurlarının değişiminden bağımsız olarak

³⁶⁴ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, s. 13.

³⁶⁵ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007, s.164.

³⁶⁶ Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of The Bourgeoisie, Demise Of Empire : Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996., Fatih Bozkurt, *Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddî Kültüründe Değişim (1785-1875 İstanbul Örneği)*, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2011.

³⁶⁷ Tülay Artan, “Terekeler Işığında 18.yy Ortasında Eyüp'te Yaşam Tarzı ve Standartlarına Bir Bakış: Orta Halliliğin Aynası”, *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam*, İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998. s.50,51.

geleneksel ürünlerin niteliksel ve niceliksel olarak yaşadığı farklılaşma ve çeşitlenme tüketim alışkanlıklarındaki değişimi yansıtıyor olabilir.³⁶⁸ Bu açıdan niceliksel değerlendirmeler çalışma açısından tüketimdeki genel eğilimleri gösterirken niteliksel değerlendirmeler de ürünlerin yeni toplumsal bağlamda içerdikleri anlamı ortaya çıkarmayı hedeflemektedir.³⁶⁹

Toplumsallığın tüketim üzerindeki etkisinin analiz etmek için Galata bölgesinde vefat etmiş 2000 kişinin terekelerindeki 39 ürün seçilerek “*Front Stage*” ve “*Back Stage*” olarak sınıflandırılmıştır. “*Front Stage*” ürünler toplumsallaşırken kullanılan yani “vitrin ürünlerdir”. “*Back Stage*” ürünler ise yalnızken veya yalnızca ihtiyaç gidermeye yönelik olan kullanılan ve “mutlak ihtiyaç” olan ürünlerdir. Çalışmada temelde 2 türlü sosyalleşme biçimi üzerine odaklanılmış ve seçilen 39 ürün sosyalleşmenin türüne göre ilgili kategoriler altında değerlendirilmiştir. Üzerinde durulan ilk toplumsallaşma biçimi hane dışında ve kamusal alanlarda ikincisi ise hane içerisindeki sosyalleşmedir. Hane dışındaki sosyalleşme giyim ürünlerindeki değişime odaklanırken hane içindeki sosyalleşme ise ev eşyaları üzerinden anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Giyim kategorisindeki “vitrin” ürünler giyenin karşıdaki tarafından da görülebilecek olan ürünleridir; kürk, kuşak, kaftan, entari, ferace. “Mutlak ihtiyaçlar” ise don, uçkur, gömlek, zıbın olarak belirlenmiştir. Hane düzeyindeki toplumsallaşmaya bağlı tüketim ise 2 düzeyde incelenmiştir. Birincisi ev tekstili ikincisi ise mutfak gereçleri olmuştur. Ev tekstilinde “diğerine” yönelik olan yani “vitrin” ürünler şunlardır; minder, kilim, kebe, keçe, kalıçe. Bu grubun mutlak ihtiyaçları ise yorgan, yastık, çarşaf ve döşek olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu

³⁶⁸ Artan, “Terekeler Işığında 18.yy Ortasında Eyüp’te Yaşam Tarzı ve Standartlarına Bir Bakış: Orta Halliliğin Aynası”, s.57.

³⁶⁹ Richard Grassby, “Material Culture and Cultural History”, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Sayı: 35, No.4, Spring 2005, s.593.

ürünler hane halkının gündelik aktiviteleri açısından zorunlu olarak kullandığı ürünlerdir. Hanedeki toplumsallaşmaya bağlı tüketimin izinin sürülebileceği diğer bir grup ürün ise yiyecek ve içecek servis etmek için kullanılan mutfak gereçleridir. Bunlar; fincan, kahve tepsisi, kahve ibriği, sahan ve leğen ile ibrik olarak belirlenmiştir. Diğer taraftan servis edileceklerin hazırlanması için kullanılan ürünler ise mutfak gereçlerinin “mutlak ihtiyaç” kısmına karşılık geliyor. Bu ürünler tencere, tava, kevgir, kepçe ve bakraç olarak belirlendi. Bunların dışında doğası gereği vitrin olan iki ürün grubu daha var. Birisi yine giyimle alakalı olarak mücevherler; bilezik, yüzük, küpe, düğme ve hatım. Diğeri ise hane ile alakalı olan dekorasyona yönelik ürünler; gülabdan, buhurdan, saat, şamdan ve ayna.

Böyle bir analiz ile toplumsallaşma ile bağı kurulan tüketim örüntülerindeki değişim şayet Osmanlı toplumu için geçerliyse vitrin ürünlerin niteliksel ve niceliksel olarak artış göstermesinin bu argümanı desteklemek için yeterli olacağını savunuyorum. Buna ek olarak tüm ürün gruplarında bir artış görmek tüketimde ekonominin belirleyiciliğinin kültürel etkiden daha fazla olduğu sonucuna ulaşmamızı da sağlayabilir. Yapılan analizleri daha sistemli bir şekilde aktarabilmek için yüzyıl iki dönem halinde ele alınmıştır; bu zamansal bölünme aynı zamanda verinin yönlendirdiği bir bölünmeyi de temsil ediyor.

3. 1694-1750 Dışa Açılım Dönemi

3.1 Giyim Ürünleri

İlk olarak vitrin ürünlerden kürk ile başlayalım. Osmanlı toplumunda kürk hem kış aylarında ihtiyaca yönelik bir zorunluluktan hem de zerdeva, samur, kakım, sincab, kuzu gibi türleri toplumsal statüyü en belirgin biçimde ortaya koyan ürünlerden biriydi. Yapılan analizde 1694-1724 arası kürk sahiplik oranının %64 iken 1725-1750 yılları arasında % 74'e çıktığı görülmektedir. Toplumsal hiyerarşideki bozulma on sekizinci yüzyıl yazarları tarafından kurallara bağlanmış olan giyim kaideleri üzerinden okunmuştur. Kürk ise giyim

konusunda toplumsal hiyerarşinin belirginleştiği ürünlerden biridir. Aynı dönemde çıkan fermanlarda özellikle de “sıradan” erkeklerin giyim kaidelerine uymaksızın vaşak ve kakım kürkleri giydikleri söylenmektedir.³⁷⁰ On sekizinci yüzyıldaki terekelere bakıldığında 1700-1750 arası dönem için bu tespit geçerli olmakla birlikte 1750 sonrası dönemde kakım kürkün yine yoğunlukla ulema tarafından tercih edildiğini söylemek mümkün. İleride de ifade edileceği gibi 1700-1750 arası dönemde tüketim anlamında tüketimin demokratikleşmesi (*democratization of consumption*) kavramını kullanmak mümkündür. Yalnızca kürk açısından değil başka çok çeşitli ürün gruplarında da 1700-1750 arası yaygınlaşmanın 1750’lerden sonra kaybolduğunu görmek mümkündür.

Kuşakta da benzer bir yükseliş görmek mümkün. Kuşaklara sahiplik oranı 1694-1725 arası %55 iken 1725-1750 arasında %63’e yükselmiştir. Kuşak bu dönemde vitrin bir ürün olarak envai çeşit ve renkte kullanılmaya başlanmış. 1694-1725 yılları arasında bu ürünle ilgili toplam 35 tür özellik kayıtlara geçmiş. Bunlardan 10 tanesi kırmızı, sarı, beyaz, siyah, mai, mor, yeşil, nefti, meneviş, laciverd olmak üzere renk; 7’si altın, sim, inci, elmas, pirinç, cevahir ve zümrüd olmak üzere değerli taş; 15 tanesi tiftik, hatayi, kutni, çuka, bogasi, alaca, kaşmir, yemeni, celayi, beledi, kırım, çatma, magrib, cezayir, sakız olmak üzere çeşitli kumaşlar ve 3 tanesi de işleme, kıladdan ve telli olmak üzere dekorasyonları belirtiyor. Bir sonraki bölümde daha detaylı ele alınacağı gibi 1750 sonrası dönemde durum kuşaklar açısından biraz değişmiş görünüyor. En azından renk yelpazesi olarak sayılar yarı yarıya inmiş. Demek ki on sekizinci yüzyılın ilk yarısındaki dışa açılım ve toplumsallaşma bu örnekte olduğu gibi tüketim ve tüketilen ürün seçeneklerinin artmasına sebep olmuştu.

Benzer bir artışı entari oranlarında da görmek mümkün. Bu ürünün sahiplik oranı yaklaşık 50 yıl içerisinde %49’dan %63’e yükselmiştir. Diğer

³⁷⁰ Betül İpşirli Argıt, “Osmanlı İstanbulu’nda Giyim Kuşam”, *Antik Çağdan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, İstanbul:İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2016., s.245,246.

tarafından giyimin en üst katını oluşturan kaftanda ise düşüş gözlemlenmektedir. Bu ürünün sahiplik oranı 1694-1724 arası %44 iken 1725-1750 arası %33'e düşmüştür. Orandaki düşüşe rağmen 1694-1750 yılları arasında kullanılan renkler, 1751-1800 arasındakilerin neredeyse iki katıdır. İlk dönemde mai, beyaz, kırmızı, yeşil, mor, nefti, sarı, turuncu, pembe ve fıstıkî kaftanlar bulmak mümkünken takip eden dönemde mor, beyaz, mai, turuncu, sarı ve al dışında bir renk bulmak mümkün olmamaktadır.

Feracede ise bir düşüş eğilimi olsa da geleneksel olarak dışarı çıkarken mutlaka kullanılması gereken bu ürünün %47'den %44'e gelmesi ciddi bir düşüşe işaret etmemektedir. Muhtemelen orandaki hafif düşüş feracenin kullanımındaki azalmayı göstermiyordu. Feracelerde renk olarak ise çeşitlenmeden söz etmek mümkün değil.

Neticede giyimdeki vitrin ürünlerinin tüketiminin arttığını, toplumsal hayatın canlanmasına bağlı olarak daha fazla giyim ürününün satın alınmaya başlanıldığını ve satın alınanların kişisel zevkleri yansıtmaya noktasında oldukça çeşitli olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Toplumsal hayatın canlı olduğu yani insanların kamusal alanlarda bir araya geldikleri ve birbirlerini evde ziyaret ettikleri bu dönemde doğal olarak dış görünüşe ve giyime olan ilginin arttığını söylemek mümkün. Bu durum vitrin ürünlerin tamamında gerçekleşen niceliksel artışta gözlemlenebilmekte ve doğrulanabilmektedir.

Giyim kategorisinde tene giyilen yani dışarıdan görülmeyen ve mutlak ihtiyaç olan ürünler don, gömlek, uçkur ve zıbında ise bir artış gözlemlenememiştir. Toplumsallaşmanın tetiklediği bir tüketim artışı vitrin ürünlerin edinimine verilen önemi artırmış olabilir ancak mutlak ihtiyaçlarda bir artış gözlemlenmemektedir. Don %40 civarında sabitken; gömlek ise %48'deki seviyesini korumuştur. Uçkur ve zıbında ise kısıtlı da olsa bir düşüş gözlemlenmektedir. Uçkur %19'dan %17'ye zıbın ise %34'ten %24'e düşmüştür.

Diğer taraftan yine bir vitrin ürün olarak analize dahil edilen zıynet eşyalarında -bilezik, yüzük, düğme, küpe- giyimdeki vitrin ürünlerinde olduğu kadar olmasa da bir artış gözlemlenmektedir. Mücevherin bir yönüyle yatırım aracı olmasının da bunda etkisi olmuş olabilir. Var olan paranın mücevher yerine çok çeşitli giyim ve ev eşyasına harcanmış olması da mümkündür. Bilezik 1694-1724 ile 1725-1750 yılları arasında %12den %17'ye, yüzük %8'den %9'a küpe ise %18'den %20'ye doğru bir artış göstermektedir. 1716-1745 yıllarında Üsküdarlı kadınların tüketim örüntülerini ele alan bir çalışma gayrimüslim kadınların müslüman kadınlara göre daha fazla mücevheri ellerinde tuttuklarını iddia ediyorsa da Galata örneğinde müslüman kadınların elindeki mücevherlerin gayrimüslimlere oranla çok daha fazla olduğunu söylemek mümkün.³⁷¹ Bunların dışında değerli taş içerikli olabilen düğme ise %6'dan %3'e düşmüştür.

Kısacası toplumsal olarak dışa açılma ve kent hayatına katılma giyim konusunda ihtiyaca yönelik mutlak ihtiyaçların tüketimini artırmazken; dışarıdakine yönelik, toplumsal hayata katılırken kullanılan ürünlerin sayısında ve bu ürünlerin çeşitliliğinde bir artış söz konusudur. Diğer bir deyişle geleneksel tüketim örüntülerine göre dış giyim de diğerleri gibi yalnızca bir ihtiyaç olarak karşılanıyorken on sekizinci yüzyılın koşulları altında dış giyim ihtiyaçtan çok gösteriş objesi haline gelmiştir. Ya da başka bir okumayla on sekizinci yüzyılın ilk yarısındaki dışa açılma o kadar yoğundu ki insanların dış giyim ürünlerine olan ihtiyacı artmıştı demek mümkün görünmektedir.

Yukarıdaki verilere paralel biçimde on sekizinci yüzyıl boyunca iktidar tarafından çıkarılan kıyafet kanunnameleri de geleneksel giyim kodlarının ve harcamalarının bu dönemde değiştiğini göstermektedir. Her ne kadar bazı

³⁷¹ Betül İpşirli Argıt, “Üsküdar’da Yaşayan Kadınların Maddi Durumları ve Gündelik Hayatları”, *Uluslararası Üsküdar Sempozyumu VI*, 2008, İstanbul, 2008., s. 424.

araştırmacılar çıkan bu kanunnameleri Osmanlı'nın batı ile olan ilişkilerinin yoğunlaşması gibi “dışsal” nedenlere bağlıyorlarsa da bu çalışma bu döneme ait kanunnameleri içsel değişimlerin domine ettiği tüketim artışının sonuçları olarak okumak gerektiğini savunmaktadır.³⁷² Aslında imparatorluk farklı saiklerle on altıncı yüzyıldan beri giyimi toplumsal hiyerarşiyi belirginleştirmek için kullanmıştı.³⁷³ Fakat on sekizinci yüzyılda kıyafet kanunnamelerinin sıklaşmış ve içeriğinin değişmiş olması Quataert'ın da bahsettiği gibi sosyal, ekonomik ve politik düzendeki krizlere işaret ediyor olabilir.³⁷⁴ Bu çalışma açısından bu kanunlar imparatorluğun kentlilerin dışa açılma sürecini, geleneksel kodlardan ayrılmasını ve yeni bir toplumsal düzeni inşa etmesini bir kriz olarak algıladığını ifade ediyor. Kısacası; daha çok tüketmek, daha farklı giyinmek, daha çok dışarıda bulunmak devlet tarafından toplumsal düzenin bozulması olarak algılanmışa benziyor.

Bu yüzyılda eser veren çağdaş yazarlar da bu dönemde toplumun tüketime ve lükse olan ilgisini bir “kriz” gibi algılamışlardır. Lüks tüketim, şimdiye kadar olan çalışmalarda her ne kadar saat, dürbün gibi “batılı ürün” kullanımı ile eş anlamlı gibi kullanıldıysa da aslında yalnızca ihtiyaçtan fazlasının kullanılmış olmasını da işaret ediyor olabilir. Çünkü incelenen orta halli terekelerinde literatürün lüks olarak etiketlediği batılı objelere

³⁷² Fatma Müge Göçek, *Burjuvazinin Yükselişi İmparatorluğun Çöküşü: Osmanlı Batılılaşması ve Toplumsal Değişme*, Ankara: Ayrac Yayınevi, 1999. Betül İpşirli Argıt, “An Evaluation of the Tulip Period and the Period of Selim III in the Light of Clothing Regulations,” *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, v. XXIV, 2004, s.86.

³⁷³ Donald Quataert, *Clothing Laws, State and Society in The Ottoman Empire 1720-1829*, *IJMES*, no.29, 1997, s. 406.

³⁷⁴ Donald Quataert, *Clothing Laws, State and Society in The Ottoman Empire 1720-1829*, *IJMES*, No.29, 1997, s. 406.

rastlanmamaktadır.³⁷⁵ Demek ki çağdaş yazarların tüketime ve lükse olan ilgiden kastettikleri şey aslında batılı ürün değil; ihtiyaçtan fazla kullanılan her şeyi ifade ediyordu. Batıdan gelmeseler dahi ihtiyaçtan fazla sayıda sahip olunması geleneksel olarak Osmanlı giyiminin temel elemanlarından olan kürk, kaftan ve entarinin de aslında lüks tüketimine işaret etmektedir.

3.2 Ev Tekstili

Daha önce de bahsedildiği gibi dışı açılma yalnızca hane dışındaki yeni mekanlara gitmekle sınırlı değildi; başka evlere ziyarete gitmek ve orada vakit geçirmek de aynı bağlamda değerlendirilebilir. Şüphesiz ev ziyaretleri bu yüzyılda karşımıza ilk defa çıkmamıştır ama sıklıklarının arttığını dönemin yazarları vesilesiyle biliyoruz. On sekizinci yüzyıl yazmalarında özellikle kadınların birbirlerini evde sıkça ziyaret etmeleri eleştirilmiştir. Bu durum yukarıda yapılan tasnife benzer bir tasnifin hane içerisindeki ev eşyalarını da giyim ürünlerinde olduğu gibi vitrin ve mutlak ihtiyaç olarak yapılmasını da mümkün hale getiriyor.

Ev dekorasyonunda kullanılan ve ziyaretçilerin görmesinin mümkün olduğu ürünler bu durumda ev eşyaları arasındaki vitrin ürünleri temsil ediyor. Bir Osmanlı evinde günümüzdekine benzer bir mobilya ile döşeme olmadığından evin lüks ve konforunu belirleyen ürünler tekstil ürünleri olmuştur. Yani kilim, kebe, keçe ve kaliçe gibi yer yaygıları, minder gibi konfor ürünleri hanenin döşenmesinde asıl rol sahibi ürünlerdi. Bunların dışında hem evi dekore etmeye yarayan hem de işlevsel olarak kullanılan ve vitrin ürün kategorisinde olan ürünler de vardı; gülabdan, buhurdan, şamdan, ayna ve on

³⁷⁵ 1785-1875 yılları İstanbul beledi kassam terekelerini ele alan bir çalışmaya göre 1830'lu yıllarda batı tarzı ürünler kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Fatih Bozkurt, *Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Değişim: 1785-1875 İstanbul Örneği*, Yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2011.

sekizinci yüzyılda nispeten yaygınlaşmış saat. Sergilenen bu ürünler toplumsal grupların aidiyetini göstermesi açısından önemlidir zira tüketim ve sergilemenin grup aidiyetini güçlendirdiğini biliyoruz.³⁷⁶

On sekizinci yüzyılın toplumsal ortamına bağlı olarak ev ziyaretlerinin artması evin dekorasyonuna ve bu tür eşyaların tüketimine olan ilgiyi, ziyarete gelenleri rahat ettirmek, göz zevklerine hitap etmek gibi nedenlerle niteliksel ve niceliksel olarak değiştirmiş olabilir. Öncelikle evin konfor ürünleriyle başlayalım. Minderler Osmanlı hanesindeki konforun önemli öğeleriydi.³⁷⁷ Öyle görünüyor ki on sekizinci yüzyılda minderler hem daha çok insanı ağırlamak gerektiğinden işlevsel olarak hem de dekoratif olarak önem arz etmekteydi. Yüzyılın ilk çeyreği ve ikinci çeyreğindeki minder oranları da bu savı destekler niteliktedir. 1694-1724 arasında %67 olan sahiplik oranı 1725-1750 arasında %74'lere kadar çıkmıştır. Kendi konforunu artırmanın yanında ziyaretçileri rahat ettirmek için kişilerin daha çok minder kullanmaya başladığını söylemek mümkün. Diğer taraftan minderlerde kullanılan kumaşların çeşitlenmeye başlaması da tüketimin yön değiştirdiğini bize göstermektedir. On yedinci yüzyıldan itibaren Osmanlı evlerinde özellikle de kentlerdeki evlerde minderlerin kumaşları ile öne çıktığı bir dekorasyon anlayışından bahsetmek mümkün görünüyor.³⁷⁸ On sekizinci yüzyılda İstanbul'da mai, beyaz, kırmızı renklerinin yanı sıra beledi, yemeni, alaca, kadife, çuka, hatayi, şayak, kutni ve şali gibi kumaşlardan minderler ve makadlar kullanılmış.

³⁷⁶ Grassby, "Material Culture and Cultural History", s.596.

³⁷⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam: Ortaçağ'dan Yirminci Yüzyıla*, İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998, s.171.

³⁷⁸ Uğur Tanyeli, "Osmanlı Metropollerinde Evlerin Konfor Ve Lüks Normları", *Soframız Nur Hanemiz Mamur: Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Yemek Ve Barınak*, s. 347.

Minderlerin yanında yer yaygıları da bir Osmanlı evinde çokça kullanılan temel ürünlerden biridir. Bu dönemde kilim hariç diğer tüm yer yaygılarında artış gözlenmektedir. Kebe ve kaliçe sayıları hafifçe artmış olmasına rağmen keçede çok daha önemli bir artış olduğu söylenebilir. Keçedeki sahiplik oranı dikkate değer bir artışla %36'dan %44'e kadar çıkmıştır. Bu ürün genelde orta keçesi ve yan keçesi olarak tarif edilmiş. Kullanılan renkler kebedekilere benzer; kırmızı, mai, beyaz, siyah. Geldiği yerlere göre ise Selanik, Acem, Kırım olarak sıralanabilir. Yani bu ürünün sayısında ciddi bir artış olsa da niteliksel değişim ve çeşitlenmeden söz etmek en azından bu verilerle mümkün değil. Kilim ise diğerlerine benzer bir seyir izlememiştir. Her ne kadar radikal bir düşüş yaşamasa da 1694-1724 arasında sahiplik oranı %26 olan kilim 1725-50 arasında %23'e düşmüştür. Kilimin en temel ve ucuz yer yaygısı olduğu düşünüldüğünde sayısının düşmesi anlamlıdır. Anlamlıdır zira bu dönemdeki ürün artışları genelde toplumsal statü sembolü olabilecek ürünler arasında görülmektedir; kilim ise böyle bir ürün olmaktan uzak görünüyor. Bu dönemde kırmızı, mai ve sarı renklerde kilimlere rastlamak mümkündür.

Ev tekstili ürünlerinden yorgan, yastık (yüz), çarşaf, döşek ve bohça toplumsal hayatla ilişkili olmayan ürünler olarak tercih edilerek analize dahil edilmiştir. Odalardaki gömme dolaplarda saklanan bu tür eşyalar akşam olunca çıkarılarak yataklar aynı odalarda hazırlanıyordu. Yani bu ürünlerin yeri kapalı dolaplardı ve toplumsal görünürlükleri yok denecek kadar azdı. Vitrin ürünlerin artış gösterdiği bu dönemde bu ürünlerin sayıları ve nitelikleri de önemlidir zira toplumsallığın tetiklediği tüketim davranışında mutlak ihtiyaçların dramatik artışlar göstermemesi tüketimin yalnızca dışa dönük olarak yapıldığının bir işareti olarak yorumlanabilir.

1694-1724 yılları ile 1725-50 yılları arasında yorgan % 74'te sabit kalmış görünüyor. Çarşafın %46'dan %48'e çıkması önemli bir artış olmadığı gibi döşegin de %53'ten %52'ye düşmesi tüketim açısından ciddi bir değişime

işaret etmemektedir. Var olan ufak inişler ve çıkışlar ise ciddi bir trende işaret etmemektedir. Belirlenen mutlak ihtiyaçlar arasında dikkat çeken bohçadır. Bu ürünün oranının 50 yıllık süreç içerisinde %26'dan %33'e çıkması bohçanın daha detaylı incelenmesini gerekli hale getirmiştir. Bohçalar işlevsel olarak dolaplara saklanan materyallerin muhafazası için kullanıldıklarından toplumsal hayatla ilişkisi kısıtlı gibi görünse de artan vitrin ürünlerin muhafazası için bu ürüne daha fazla ihtiyaç duyulmuş olması ihtimal dahilindedir. Kısacası vitrin ürünlerdeki artışın bohça sayılarında da artışa sebep olduğu söylenebilir.

3.3 Mutfak Ürünleri

On sekizinci yüzyılda Osmanlı toplumunun sosyal hayatında yiyecek sunmak ve tüketmek büyük öneme sahipti. Evde misafir ziyaretleri esnasında kullanılan ev eşyaları kadar misafirleri ağırlamak, onlara ikramda bulunmak için de bazı vitrin ürünlere olan ihtiyaç artmıştır. Bu bağlamda kahve ikramında kullanılan fincanlar, kahve ibriği ve kahve tepsisi de en az ev dekorasyonu kadar önem kazanmaktadır. Fincan %7'den %14'e doğru bir artış göstermiştir. Fincan sahiplerinin de fincan sayılarının da ikiye katlanması hanelerdeki kahve tüketimi etrafında sosyalleşme meselesinin topluma yayıldığı anlamını da içermektedir. Fincan ve kahve tüketimi meselesine daha detaylı bakıldığında günlük kahve ritüelinin uygulayıcısının genelde müslüman orta halli kadınlar olduğu söylenebilir. Her ne kadar, aynı zamanda tereke kayıtlarının limitlerinden biri olarak fincanın kolay kırılabilir bir ürün olmasından ötürü terekelere kaydedilmemiş olma ihtimali söz konusu olsa da incelenen 515 adet gayrimüslim terekelerinin hiç birinde rastlanmıyor oluşu dikkat çekici görünmektedir.

Fincan sayısındaki dikkat çekici artış kadar olmasa da kahve hazırlamaya ve sunmaya yarayan diğer ürünler olan tepsi ve ibrik sayılarında da artış görmek mümkün. Kahve tepsileri %32'den %37'ye ibrikler ise daha radikal artışla %52'den %65'e çıkmış görünüyor. Bu üç ürünlerdeki artış günlük hane

ziyaretlerinin arttığına yönelik kanıyı destekler niteliktedir. Belirtmek gerekir ki 1716-45 yılları arasında Üsküdar'ı ele alan bir çalışma, zengin kadınların evlerindeki misafire yönelik kahve tepsilerinin ve fincanlarının “fakir” kadınlardan ayıran özellik olduğunu söylüyorsa da Galata örneğinde böyle bir durumdan bahsetmek mümkün değildir.³⁷⁹ Hane başına düşen fincanların ve diğer kahve gereçlerinin artması on sekizinci yüzyılda dışa açılma meselesi ve kahve ritüelinin yerleşmesi bağlamında anlamlı görünmektedir. Fincan oranları kahve ibriği ve kahve tepsisi sayıları ile birlikte düşünüldüğünde kahve tüketiminin artmış olduğu söylenebilir. Kısacası kahve tüketimini bu üç ürünün yalnızca biriyle anlamak yetersiz kalacaktır. Üç üründen herhangi birinin terekeye kaydedilmiş olması o kişinin hanesinde kahve tüketildiğini işaret etmektedir. Herhangi bir sebepten ötürü diğerlerinin kaydedilmemiş olması terekelerin yetersizliklerinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Kısacası kahve ibriği olan bir evde fincan veya tepsisinin olmaması o evde kahve tüketilmediği anlamına gelmez. Yalnızca terekelere kayıt esnasında bu ürünün çalınma, kırılma ve benzeri gibi sebeplerden ötürü kaydedilmediği anlamına gelmektedir. Dolayısıyla kahve tüketiminin yukarıda verilen oranların üzerinde olabileceğine dair bir izlenimden söz edilebilir.

Kahve tüketimine ek olarak sahan da çok amaçlı olarak ziyaretçilere ikram edilecek gıdaların sunumu için kullanılmaktaydı. Dolayısıyla hanenin ihtiyacını gidermeye yönelik bir ürün olmaktan çok bu dönemde evi ziyaret edenlerin ağırlanmasında kullanılan bir ürünü sembolize etmektedir. İncelemeden çıkan sonuçlara bakıldığında 1694-1725 arasında %64 olan oran 1725-50 arasında %71'leri bulmuştur. Sahanların niteliksel özellikleri açısından

³⁷⁹ Betül İpşirli Argıt, “Üsküdar’da Yaşayan Kadınların Maddi Durumları ve Gündelik Hayatları”, s. 424.

bir ayırt ediciliği yoktu genelde tunç veya bakır gibi üretildiği madde üzerinden kaydedilmişlerdi.

Ev eşyalarındaki gibi mutfak ürünlerinin de misafirler tarafından görülmeyen yani mutlak ihtiyaç olarak bulundurulmuş ürünleri vardır. Bu ürünler hemen her evde hayatın idamesi açısından önemli olan ürünlerdir. Bu ürünlerin niceliksel durumlarına göz atmak gerekirse hiç birinde artış görmek mümkün değil. Tencere %70'den %67'ye, kevgir %19'dan %16'ya kadar düşmüş; kepçe %16 civarında sabit kalmış, bakraç %13'ten %19'a kazan ise %10'den %16'ya çıkmış görünüyor.

Bunların yanında doğası gereği vitrin kategorisinde olan ürünlerden yani dekoratif objelerden de bahsetmek yerinde olacaktır. Odaların nişlerinde ve raflarında evi dekore etmeye yarayan bu ürünlerin kimi işlevsel görevleri de vardı. Bu çalışma kapsamında gülabdan, buhurdan, saat, şamdan ve ayna İstabulluların terekelerindeki kayıtlar göz önünde bulundurulduğunda evlerin dekorasyonunda kullanılan ürünler olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Şayet tüketim toplumsal bir motivasyona sahipse bu tür ihtiyaçtan ziyade görsel zevk için kullanılan ürünlere olan ilgi de artmış olmalıdır. Bunlardan ikisi, gülabdan ve buhurdan, kahve ritüelinin gündelik hayattaki uygulamasında kullanılan iki üründü. Osmanlı toplumunda ziyaretçilere kahve ikram etmek kadar güzel koku ve güzel buğu ikram etmek gibi bir anlayış da vardı. Fransız seyyah Tournefort on yedinci yüzyılda eve gelenlere kahve ve tütün ikramının sıkça rastlanan bir ritüel olduğunu “varlıklı” ailelerin ise bunlara ek olarak güzel koku da ikram ettiğini belirtir.³⁸⁰ Halbuki yapılan incelemede orta hallilerin evindeki gülabdan 1694-1724 arasında %9 iken 1725-1750 arasında %12'ye çıkmıştır. Yani bu ikram orta halli Osmanlılar arasında on yedinci yüzyıla göre artış göstermiş. Gülabdanların büyük çoğunluğu fağfuri ve sim olmakla beraber çini, bakır,

³⁸⁰ Joseph de Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005. s.76.

pirinç ve hatta incili gibi türlerine de rastlamak mümkün. Aynı şekilde buhurdan sayıları da artmış. 1694-1724 arasındaki sahiplik oranı %4'ten %10'a doğru bir artış göstermiştir. Buhurdan tercihleri de gümüşte yoğunlaşmakla beraber beraber fağfuri, bakır, pirinç, tuç ve hatta bir tane de altın buhurdana rastlamak da mümkün.

Ayna ve saat ise gülabdan, buhurdan ve şamdana göre Osmanlı toplumuna nispeten yeni girmiş ürünler olarak değerlendirilebilir. Bu iki ürün çalışma boyunca bahsedilen “batılılaşma” paradigmasının cisimleştiği ve batılılaşmanın izinin sürülmeye çalışıldığı ürünler olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Yalnız bu çalışmada incelenen terekelerden şunu söylemek mümkün: saati olan kimseler her ne kadar literatürde batılı tüketim ile özdeşleştirilmiş görölse de terekeleri detaylı incelendiğinde bu kişilerin geleneksel ürünlerden koptuklarını söylemek mümkün görünmemektedir. Saat on sekizinci yüzyıl Osmanlı toplumu açısından önemli bir vitrin ürünü. Saatin yenice kullanılmaya başladığı bu dönemde tombak, bandol, çalar ve kurmalı saat gibi saat çeşitleri hiç şüphe yok ki evlerin başköşesinde dekoratif bir obje olarak da yer almaktaydılar. Aslında saat belki de yeni oluşan toplumsal grupların bir statü sembolü olarak da evlerinde yer vermiş olma ihtimali olan ürünlerden biriydi. Ne de olsa on altıncı ve on yedinci yüzyıllarda Edirne örneğini ele alan çalışmalarda saatlerin sayısının hem az hem de var olanların yüksek rütbelilerin elinde bulunması saatlerin lüksün neredeyse üst sınırı olarak değerlendirilmesine sebep olmuştur. Bu yüzyıllardaki koşullar altında az sayıdaki saatin yüksek rütbelilerde bulunması saatin gündelik hayat açısından işlevsel olmadığına ve yüksek rütbelilere has bir statü sembolü olduğu tespitini de yanında getirmiştir.³⁸¹ Halbuki on sekizinci yüzyıl Galatası'nda saat on yedinci yüzyıl Edirnesi'ne göre daha yaygın bir biçimde kullanılmaktaydı. 1694-1724 yılları

³⁸¹ Uğur Tanyeli, “Osmanlı Metropollerinde Evlerin Konfor Ve Lüks Normları”, s. 349.

arasında saat oranı %6 iken 1725-1750 yıllarında %16'ye doğru bir artış göstermiştir.

Sonuçta on sekizinci yüzyılın ilk yarısında mutlak ihtiyaçlar sabit kalırken vitrin ürünlerinde görülen artış dönemin dışı açılma ruhuyla uyumlu bir resim çizmektedir. Bir sonraki bölüm ise 1750'lerden sonraki analizlerde görülen vitrin ürünlerdeki düşüşe odaklanacak ve toplumsal koşulların değişimi ile tüketim arasındaki bağ kurulacaktır.

4. 1750-1800 İçe Kapanma Dönemi

On sekizinci yüzyılın ilk yarısı başkent orta halli Osmanlılar için canlı ve renkli geçmesine rağmen ikinci yarısında ekonomik sıkıntılar, depremler, yangınlar ve salgın hastalıklar gibi İstanbul'un gerçekliklerinden birçoğu ile yüzleşmek zorunda kalınmıştı. Yaşanan bu olumsuzluklar, bu tezde toplumsallık üzerinden okunan bir tüketim modelini doğrulayabilmek açısından önemlidir. Bu dönemdeki vitrin ürünlerde görülen düşme toplumsallığın sönümlenmesi ile ilişkilendirilebilir.

On sekizinci yüzyılı ekonomik, siyasi veya toplumsal olarak yekpare bir dönem olarak değerlendirmek mümkün değildir. Yüzyılın ilk yarısındaki ekonomik canlanma ve genişleme 1760'lardan itibaren yerini daralmaya ve hatta ekonomik buhrana bırakmıştır.³⁸² Benzer bir bölünme Osmanlı Devleti'nin katıldığı savaşlar açısından da geçerlidir. 1760-68 yılları arasında devam eden Osmanlı Rus savaşının Osmanlı ekonomisi üzerinde olumsuz etkileri olmuştur. Yüzyılın başındaki savaşlarda toprak kayıpları ve bunun getirdiği ekonomik yük, gündelik hayatın sürdürülmesi açısından problemlere sebep olmadıysa da ikinci yarısındaki savaşlar, toprak kayıplarından kaynaklanan hazinenin gelir

³⁸² Mehmet Genç, "18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi Ve Savaş", *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, İstanbul; Ötüken Neşriyat, s.209.

kaybı ve ekonomik buhran dönemin gidişatını etkilemiştir.³⁸³ Özellikle 1774 yılında imzalanan Küçük Kaynarca Anlaşması ve 1792 yılında imzalanan Yaş Anlaşmaları imparatorluğun tarihindeki önemli kayıplara işaret eder.³⁸⁴ Yüzyıl başında ekonomik genişleme tüm sektörlerde kendini gösterirken ikinci yarısındaki daralma aynı sektörlerin gerilemesine sebep olmuştur. Özellikle 1760'lı yıllardan sonra üretimin azaldığı vergi gelirlerini baz alan çalışmalar tarafından da ortaya konmuştur.³⁸⁵ Tüm bunlarla ilişkili olarak 1770'li yıllardan sonra ise şiddetli bir enflasyon ile karşı karşıya kalınmıştır.³⁸⁶ Enflasyon ile fiyatların hızla artması toplumun alım gücünü derinden etkilemiştir. Kötü gidişat yalnızca ekonomi ile sınırlı kalmamış; salgın hastalıklar ve afetler de toplumsal durumu çok yönlü olarak etkilemiştir.

Kısacası on sekizinci yüzyılın ikinci yarısındaki toplumsal ve siyasi konjonktür, yüzyılın ilk yarısındaki toplumsallaşmayı destekleyecek nitelikte değildi. Toplumsallaşmanın yükseldiği dönemde vitrin ürünler artmış olduğuna göre toplumun içe çekildiği ve toplumsallaşmanın zayıfladığını düşünebileceğimiz bu dönemde de toplumsallaşma motivasyonu hızlanan tüketimin düşüşe geçmiş olması beklenebilir. Yani toplumun tüketimini tetikleyen toplumsallaşmanın ortadan kalkması veya etkisini yitirmesi tüketimin de özellikle vitrin ürünler bazında azalması anlamına gelmektedir. Bu durumda daha önce analiz edilen vitrin ürünlerin oranlarının 1750 sonrası oranlarla

³⁸³ Mehmet Genç, “18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş”, s.209; Donald Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1700-1922*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2002., s. 73-79.

³⁸⁴ Donald Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1700-1922*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2002., s.75.

³⁸⁵ Mehmet Genç, “18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş”, s.212.

³⁸⁶ Mehmet Genç, “18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş”, s.218.

karşılaştırılması ve farkın ortaya konması tüketimin motivasyonunu ortaya çıkarmak açısından önemlidir.

4.1 Giyim Ürünleri

Toplumun dışarı çıkma ve görünür olma arzusunun afetler ve salgın hastalıklar yüzünden azaldığını düşündüğümüz bu dönemde giyim ürünlerine bir önceki dönemdeki ilginin olmaması anlaşılabilir bir durumdur. Giyimdeki vitrin ürünlerdeki trendler de bu varsayımı desteklemektedir. 1750 yılından sonra kürk, kuşak, kaftan ve feracede ciddi bir düşüş varken entari sayısı yükselmiştir. Kürkteki sahiplik oranı %74'ten %64'e kadar düşmüştür. Bu dönemde tespit edilen 841 parça kürkün neredeyse tamamı ağa, efendi ve hanım gibi unvanlı müslümanların elindedir. Fakat 1750 öncesi dönemde unvansızlar arasındaki kürk kullanımı 1750 sonrasına göre epey farklı. 1700-1750 arasındaki dönemde unvansızların sincap, nafe, sansar, kuzu, kakım, samur, cılkefa, zerdeva ve karsık gibi çok farklı türlerinin unvansızlar arasında yaygın bir biçimde kullanıldığını söylemek mümkünken 1750 sonrasında dönemde bazı ürünler belirli toplumsal grupların tekeline geçmiş görünmektedir yani bir anlamda geleneksel giyim kaideleri tekrar canlanmıştır.

Vitrin ürünlerden olan kuşak da kürk ile benzer bir oranda azalarak %63'ten %52'ye düşmüş. Bir önceki dönemde envai çeşit renk kuşak bulunabilirken bu dönemde yalnızca kırmızı, mor, mai renkler kullanılmıştır. Diğer ürünler gibi kaftanlar da %34'ten %12'e doğru düşüş trendine girmiştir. Niceliksel olarak azaldığı gibi niteliksel olarak da bir düşüşten bahsedilebilir. Bir önceki dönemde 10 farklı renkte kaftana rastlamak mümkünken bu dönemde yalnızca sarı, mor ve beyaz renklerine rastlanmaktadır. Aynı zamanda yalnızca çiçek ve şerit dekorları kullanılmış. Hatırlanacağı gibi 1750 öncesinde kaftanlar hem renk hem dekor hem de kumaş çeşitliliği açısından oldukça zengindiler. Dolayısıyla toplum bu ürünü on sekizinci yüzyılın ikinci yarısındaki toplumsal

koşullarda bir “toplumsal tüketim” malzemesi olmaktan çıkarmış gibi görünüyor.

Ferace de %44’ten %39’a doğru bir düşüş göstermiştir. Feracelerin çoğunluğu çukadan olmakla beraber daha pahalı olan sof feraceler ise yalnızca altı tane ve onlar da istisnasız müslüman ve unvanlı olan erkeklerin elinde. Sof ferace 1750 öncesi dönemde hem orta hallilerin hem de yüksek standartlara sahip kimselerin sahip olabildiği bir üründü. 1750 sonrasında ise bu ürüne yalnızca ağa ve efendi unvanlı 6 kişide rastlamaktadır. Feracelerin yekunda azalmasından yola çıkarak bu dönemde kullanılmadığını iddia etmek mümkün değil. O halde bir önceki dönemdeki artış ihtiyaçtan fazlasının kullanıldığına işaret etmektedir. 1750 sonrası düşüş ise dışarı çıkma pratiğinin azaldığını dolayısıyla ihtiyacın da aynı oranda azaldığına işaret ediyor olabilir. Başka bir deyişle bu dönemde dışarı çıkmak sosyalleşme amaçlı olmaktansa ihtiyaç dahilinde yapıldığından fazladan bir feraceye daha ihtiyaç duyulmadığını göstermektedir. Aslında burada kürkte de tartışılmış olduğu gibi sof feracelerin 1750 sonrasında yalnızca unvanlıların elinde bulunması tüketimdeki demokratikleşmenin sona erdiğinin bir göstergesi olarak okumak da mümkün. Karababa’nın 1650-1700 yılları arasında Bursa’daki tüketim örüntülerine odaklanan çalışması ile birlikte düşünüldüğünde 1750’lerden önce de toplumun daha mütevazı kesimlerinde “elit” ürünlerin görece yaygınlaştığını söylemek mümkündür.³⁸⁷ Giyimdeki vitrin ürünler arasında diğerlerine göre farklı bir eğilim gösteren yalnızca entari olmuştur. Diğer ürünlerin sahiplik oranının düşmesinin aksine entari bu dönemde %63’ten %79’a çıkmıştır. Entari niceliksel olarak arttığı gibi niteliksel olarak da çeşitlilik göstermiştir; mor, beyaz, mai, sarı, kırmızı renkler ile şeritli, saçaklı, işlemeli, çiçekli, yıldızlı ve

³⁸⁷ Eminegül Karababa, “*Origins of a Consumer Culture in an Early Modern Context: Ottoman Bursa*”, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Ankara: Bilkent Üniversitesi, 2006., s. 56.

telli modellere rastlamak mümkündür. Entarinin gece yatarken ve gündüz toplum içinde giyilen iki türünün olması ve bu türlerin kassam tarafından terekeye kaydedilmemiş olması entaride yaşanan farklılaşmada etkili olmuş olabilir.

Yine de genel bir argüman olarak giyimdeki aşırılık ve gösterişe olan ilginin ortaya çıkması ve dekorlu ve süslenmiş kıyafetleri “on sekizinci yüzyıl boyunca” devam ettiğini söylemek en azından orta halliler bazında tekrar gözden geçirilmesi gereken bir tespittir.³⁸⁸ Terekelerden görüldüğü kadarıyla on sekizinci yüzyılın başı için geçerli olabilecek böyle bir tespit yüzyılın ikinci yarısı açısından geçerli görünmemektedir. Özellikle vitrin ürünlerdeki dekor ve süslemeler ile çeşitli renkler yüzyılın ikinci yarısında azalmış hatta büyük oranda terk edilmiş görünüyor. Bu dönemdeki kıyafet kanunnamelerinin ekonomik açılardan kişileri mütevazı giyime yönlendirmeye çalışması ise yüzyılın ikinci yarısındaki ekonomik şartlar düşünüldüğünde oldukça anlaşılabilir. III. Selim’in kıyafet kanunnamesindeki mütevazılık çağrısı insanların gösterişli kıyafet giyiyor olmalarından kaynaklanmamaktadır. Gösterişin olduğu dönemlerde çıkarılan kanunların içeriğine bakılırsa çeşit çeşit renklerin, farklı kesimlerdeki kıyafetlerin giyilmesinin önüne geçilmeye çalışılmış olduğu söylenebilir.³⁸⁹

Mutlak ihtiyaç olarak tüketilen giyim ürünlerinde ise vitrin ürünlerin aksine bu dönemde genel bir artış trendi izlenebilir. Her ne kadar zıbın %24’ten %16’ya doğru düşüş sergiliyorsa da don %40’tan 52’ye, gömlek %48’den %66’ya uçkur da %17’den %30’a doğru bir artış göstermektedir. Vitrin

³⁸⁸ Betül İpşirli Arıt, “An Evaluation of the Tulip Period and the Period of Selim III in the light of Clothing Regulations”, *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, No: 24, 2004, s.13.

³⁸⁹ Ahmed Refik Altınay, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicri’de İstanbul Hayatı (1689-1785)*, İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988.

ürünlerin artmadığı bu dönemde mutlak ihtiyaç olan giyim ürünlerinin artış göstermesi ihtiyaç dahilinde bir tüketimin devam ettiğinin altını çizmektedir.

Ürünlerin sahiplik oranlarındaki bu değişim de kıyafet kanunnameleri üzerinde etkili olmuştur. Bir önceki bölümde de bahsedildiği gibi on altıncı yüzyıldaki kanunnameler gayri müslim müslüman ayrımının vurgulandığı ve toplumsal hiyerarşiyi destekleyen bir dile sahipken, on yedinci yüzyıldan itibaren ve on sekizin ilk yarısı boyunca çıkan kanunnameler toplumdaki kadınların, gayrimüslim müslüman ayırt etmeksizin, çeşitli giyim tarzlarını, giydikleri renkleri ve kumaş türlerini hedef almıştır. On sekizinci yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren ise vurgu israf üzerine yapılmıştır. Yani devlet topluma giyim konusunda iktisatlı olunmasına dair ikazda bulunmuştur. Quatert'ın bahsetmiş olduğu kriz döneminde yoğunlaşan giyim kanunları yüzyılın bu kısmında ise ekonomik krize işaret etmektedir.

Giyimdeki vitrin ürünler ile birlikte analiz edilen bir başka grup bilezik, yüzük, düğme, küpe ve hatımdan oluşan mücevher grubudur. 1750-1800 yılları arasında altın bilezik oranlarsak %17'den %14'e düşmüş. Benzer bir trendi küpede de görmek mümkün. Bir önceki döneme göre oran %20'den %17'ye düşmüş. Her iki dönemde de küpe çeşitliliği oldukça kısıtlı. En çok tercih edilen iki alternatif ise inci ve zümrüd küpeler. Bunların dışında düğmeler kişilerin tercih ettiği bir alternatif olmaktan çıkmış. İncelenen 50 yıllık dönemde yalnızca bir kişinin terekesine düğme kaydedilmiş.

Mücevher grubunda en büyük değişim ve artış trendi yüzükte gözlemlenmektedir. Oranlar bir önceki döneme göre iki katına çıkarak %9'dan % 18'e yükselmiş. Yüzük çeşitleri yakut, inci, sim, altın, lali elmas, zümrüd ve firuze olara sıralanabilir. 1750'ye kadar olan dönemde bu ürünler unvanlı ve unvansız kişiler arasında çok daha dengeli bir biçimde dağılmışken 1750 sonrasında yüzük unvanlıların elindeki yüzüklerin sayısı unvansızların elindekinden üç kat fazla. Hatırlanacağı gibi benzer bir durum altın ve sim kuşaklar, kürk ve ferace için de geçerlidir. Demek oluyor ki 1700-1750

arasındaki alım gücü orta hallilerin zevklerinde ileri gitmelerine ağa ya da efendi gibi unvanları taşıyanlarla benzer bir hayat sürdürmelerine imkan veriyordu. Kısacası 1750 öncesi dönemde bazı zevkler toplumun tüm kesimleri tarafından paylaşılrken 1750 sonrası orta hallilerden ayrılarak daha varsıl kesimlerin tüketim maddesi haline geldiğini söylemek mümkün ya da 1700-1750 arası dönemde geleneksel tüketim kalıplarının terk edildiğini fakat şartların da zorlamasıyla 1750'den sonra benzer bir gelenekselliğe döndüğünü söylemek de mümkün.

4.2 Ev Tekstili

Giyimdeki vitrin ürünlerindeki niteliksel ve niceliksel düşüşten anladığımız kadarıyla dışa açılma ev dışında vakit geçirme düzeyinde de 1750'li yıllardan sonra sönümlenmiştir. Dolayısıyla ev ziyaretleri ve bu ziyaretlerin tüketimini yükseltmiş olduğunu düşündüğümüz ürünler de bu dönemde düşüş göstermiştir. Durumu daha detaylı inceleyebilmek için yine ev eşyalarındaki vitrin ürünlerle başlayalım; bu ürünlerin hepsinde istisnasız bir düşüş görmek mümkün. Minder oranı %74'ten %66'ya düşmüş. Minderlerin büyük bir çoğunluğu yemeni ve çuka gibi ucuz ve çok bulunan kumaşlardan, renkleri ise kırmızı ve sarı ile kısıtlı. Dolayısıyla da minderler bu dönemin ihtiyacı gidermeye dönük tüketim örüntüsüne örnek olarak verilebilirler. Minderlerin yanında evlerdeki diğer bir önemli vitrin ürün grubu ise yer yaygılarıdır. İstisnasız hepsinde bir düşüş gözlemlenebilir. Kilim %23'ten %19'a, kebelere %34'ten %26'ya keçe %44'ten %27'ye kalıçe ise %28'den %18'e düşmüştür.

Giyimdeki mutlak ihtiyaçlar bir önceki bölümde gösterildiği gibi bir miktar artış göstermiş olsa da evdeki mutlak ihtiyaçlar için aynı şeylerden bahsetmek mümkün değil. Yorgan %74 civarında, yastık %75 civarında ve bohça %33 civarında sabit sayılabilecekken, çarşaf %48'den %5'e, döşek %52'den %48'e, düşmüştür. Burada dikkat çeken çarşaftaki düşüştür. Yani evdeki mutlak ihtiyaçlarının sınırlı bir düşüş gösterdiğini söylemek mümkün. Bu

da giyim kategorisiyle benzerlikler göstermektedir. Kısacası mutlak ihtiyaçların tüketiminde radikal bir değişimden söz etmek mümkün değil.

4.3 Mutfak Ürünleri

Eve yapılan ziyaretlerin seyrekleşmesi ve hatta belki de ortadan kalkması temelinde misafirlere ikramda bulunabilmek için evde bulundurulanan fincan, tepsisi, sahan, leğen, ibrik gibi hane halkının ihtiyacından fazla sayıda olan her türlü üründe de bir önceki döneme göre bir azalma dikkat çekmektedir. Burada tek istisna fincanlardır. Fincanların sahiplik oranı %14'ten %16'ya doğru hafif bir yükseliş göstermiştir. Bu hafif yükseliş tüketimdeki bir artışı vurgulamıyor, var olanın sürdürüldüğüne dair bir izlenim veriyor. Evlerde kahve tüketmek elbette ki misafirden bağımsız olarak hanehalkının gerçekleştirdiği bir ritüel olarak da devam ediyordu. Dolayısıyla fincanı bu anlamda mutlak ihtiyaç kategorisi olarak değerlendirmek de mümkün. Dolayısıyla 10 adetten az olan fincan sayılarını hanehalkının mutlak ihtiyacını karşılayan fincan sayısı olarak düşünebiliriz. Ancak tereke başına 10 tanenin üzerinde olan fincan sayıları ihtiyaçtan fazlasına sahip olunması hakkında bir resim çizmemizde yardımcı olabilir. 1750'den sonraki dönemde 10 taneden fazla fincanı olanlar ağa, hatun, bey, esseyid, reis gibi unvanı olan müslümanlar çıkıyor. 1750 öncesinde ise durum daha farklı. Önceki bölümde giyim ürünlerinin toplumsal tabakalara dağılımı üzerinden de değinildiği gibi 1750 öncesi dönemde tüketim ürünleri çok daha geniş bir toplumsal tabana yayılmışken bu dönemde geleneksel olarak “varsıl” olarak tanımlanabilecek ve unvan sahibi olan yani toplumsal hiyerarşide orta hallilerin üzerinde olan gruplarda tüketim devam etmiş dolayısıyla ürünler de onların elinde kalmış gibi benziyor.

Fincanlardaki yumuşak artışın tersine bu kategorinin diğer ürünlerinde düşüşler görmek mümkün. Kahve ritüelinin eşlikçisi kahve tepsileri %37'den %23'e kadar düşmüş. Tepsilerin herhangi bir özelliği kayıt altına alınmamış. Kahve ibrikleri de %65'ten % 42'ye kadar gerilemiş. 1750 sonrası dönemde

sahan sayıları %71'den %47'ye kadar düşmüş. Sahan sayısında da fincanda olduğu gibi hanenin mutlak ihtiyacından fazlasını 10 sahan üzerinden değerlendirmek mümkün. Yani bir hanede yaşayanların yemek yemesi için gerekli olan sahan sayısı 10 ise bu sayının üstünde olan sahanlar o evlerin ziyarete ne kadar açık olduğunun işareti olarak kabul edilebilir. 1750 öncesinde çok sayıda 10 ve üzeri sahana rastlamak mümkündür; buradan hareketle de evlerdeki şikayete konu olan ziyaretçi akınının da doğruluğu desteklenmektedir.³⁹⁰ Durum 1750 sonrasında ise başka bir hal alıyor; bu dönemde elinde 10 adetten fazla sahan bulunduranların sayısı oldukça az olduğu gibi sahiplerin de çoğunluğu unvanlı kimseler. Daha önce fincan örneği ve diğer bir kaç üründe de görüldüğü gibi tüketim bu dönemde yalnızca toplumun belli bir kesimin eline geçmiş gibi görünüyor. Aslında bu geleneksel tüketim biçiminin tekrar ortaya çıkması anlamına da geliyor olabilir. Burada ilginç olan 1700-1750 yılları arasında tüketimin elli yıllık bir zaman aralığında artmış olması. Yani toplumsal koşullar insanların birbirleriyle ilişkisini artırdığında başkalarına yönelik tüketim de artmaktaydı ve bu artış bir başkasının da görmesinin mümkün olduğu ürünler üzerinden olmaktaydı. Mutlak ihtiyaçlar ise her zaman için ihtiyaç dahilinde tüketilen dolayısıyla yıllardan ve toplumsal koşullardan bağımsız olarak sabit bir trende sahip olan ürünlerdi. Kısacası bu dönemdeki tüketimin toplumsal yönü kuvvetli ve temel motivasyonu başka insanlar olan bir olgu olduğunu söylemek mümkün. İstanbul'un incelendiği bu çalışma açısından pazara yakınlık ve pazardaki ürün fazlalığı da şüphesiz kişilerin tüketim örüntüleri açısından belirleyiciydi. Bu açıdan tüketimin toplumsallığı meselesinin kentliler için geçerli olması çok daha olası. Yine de bu tezin kapsamı dışında kalan bölgelerin de tüketim kalıplarının incelenmesi ile daha sağlıklı sonuçlara ulaşmak mümkün olabilir.

³⁹⁰ Hayati Develi, XVIII Yüzyıl Hayatına Dair: *Risale-i Garibe*, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2001., s.28.

Vitrin ürünlerdeki düşüş trendi, evlerin raflarını ve nişlerini süsleyen dekorasyon ürünlerinden gülabdan, buhurdan, şamdan ve ayna için de geçerlidir. Kahve tüketimi fincanlardan da anladığımız kadarıyla en azından hanehalkı bazında sürerken gülabdan ve buhurdanların da azalmış olması İstanbul'daki ev ziyaretlerinin de azaldığının göstergesi olarak okunabilir. Çünkü gülabdan %12'den %4'e düşerken buhurdan da %10'dan %2'ye kadar düşmüştür. Kısacası buradan çıkarılacak olan sonuç şu; kentli Osmanlılar arasında kahve tüketimi on sekizinci yüzyılda bir ihtiyaç haline dönüşmüş ve kişiler hanehalkı ile birlikte gündelik olarak kahvelerini tüketmeye devam etmişler. Ancak kahvenin eve gelen misafirlerle birlikte güzel koku ve buğu eşliğinde "ritüel" düzeyinde tüketilmesi ise çok daha az rastlanır bir hal almıştır. Kısacası gülabdan ve buhurdan gibi mutlak bir ihtiyaca yönelik olmayan bu ürünler toplumsallaşmanın ortadan kalkmasıyla birlikte raflardaki yerlerini de büyük oranda kaybetmişlerdir.

Dekoratif objeler arasında en dikkat çekici olan ise saatler. Saatlerin sahiplik oranı %16'dan %18'e yükselmiştir. 1700-1750 öncesinde saatlerin sahiplerine bakıldığında sayıca az olsa da sahip olanların unvanları oldukça kabarık. Diğer taraftan 1750 sonrasında çalar saatlerin toplumda dağılımı oldukça yaygın; hem unvansızlar hem de efendi, ağa, esseyid, bey gibi unvanlılar tarafından kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Yani daha önce tüketimin demokratikleşmesi diğer birçok üründe 1750 öncesi yaygınken saat örneğinde durum tam tersi durumda. Bu ürünün 1750 sonrası yaygınlaşması dikkat çekicidir.

Saatteki bu hafif yükselmeye karşın evin mutfak gereçleri olarak mutlak ihtiyaçlarında düşüş gözlemlemek mümkündür. Tencere %70'ten 47'ye, bakraç 19'dan %6'ya, kepe %16'dan %6'ya, kevgir %19'dan %5'e kazan da %16'dan %11'e doğru düşüş göstermiştir. Burada kevgir ve kepe'nin oldukça düşük oranları bu ürünlerin artık kullanılmadığı anlamını taşımamaktadır. Bu bölümde de görüldüğü gibi toplumsal koşulların değişmesi Galata'da yaşamış olanların

tüketim örüntülerinden de takip edilebilmektedir. Yüzyılın ilk yarısındaki dışarı açılma sönümlendikçe vitrin ürünlerde hem niteliksel hem de niceliksel olarak azalma görmek mümkündür.

5. Sonuç

On sekizinci yüzyıl yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi birçok bakımdan yüzyılın ilk yarısı ve ikinci yarısı olmak üzere ikiye ayrılmıştır. Dolayısıyla bu yüzyılı bir bütün olarak incelemek mümkün değilken tüketim açısından bir bütünlük beklemek de akla yakın gelmemektedir. Zira tüketim ekonomik ve toplumsal koşullardan doğrudan etkilenmektedir ve on sekizinci yüzyıl örneğinde görülen tüketim örüntülerindeki değişim de bu savı desteklemektedir.

Tüketim her ne kadar ekonomik süreçlerden bağımsız düşünülmesi de tüketimin yönünü değiştiren tek unsur olarak ekonominin belirlenmesi de tüketimdeki değişimlerin anlaşılması açısından yeterli değildir. Şayet tüketim yalnızca üretim süreçleri, ticari ve ekonomik gelişmelerle açıklanabilseydi şu durumda incelenen örneklerde yalnızca vitrin ürünlerde görülen dalgalanma mümkün olmazdı. Diğer bir deyişle tüketimi yalnızca alım gücü belirleseydi mutlak ihtiyaçlarda da vitrin ürünlerin tüketiminde görülen dalgalanma kaçınılmaz olurdu. Ancak vitrin ürünlerde gözlemlenen dalgalanma ve bunun aksine mutlak ihtiyaçların ekonomik ve toplumsal koşullardan bağımsız olarak sabit bir trendi takip etmesi tüketimin kültürel ve toplumsal yönüne işaret etmektedir. Yani on sekizinci yüzyılda tüketimin toplumsal bir yönü olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Dışa açılmanın kuvvetli olduğu yüzyılın ilk yarısındaki tüm kategorilerdeki vitrin ürünlerde görülen artış bu argümanları desteklemektedir.

On sekizinci yüzyılı batılılaşma ve modernleşmenin başlangıcı olarak işaretlemek eleştirilse de aynı dönemde geleneksel yaşam formlarının değiştiğini söylemek mümkündür. İstanbul'da yaşayan kentlilerin bir araya gelme sıklıklarının artması tüketimde değişime sebep olmuştur. Ya da tersten okunursa

bu çalışma kapsamında kullanılan terekelerden çıkan sonuçlar kentlilerin bu dönemde sayıca fazla ürüne, çok çeşitli ve renkli zevklerini ve kendilerini yansıtabildikleri ürünlere ihtiyaç duyduklarını göstermektedir. Elli yıl sonra bu arzularının kaybolmuş olması ise on sekizinci yüzyılın ilk yarısını özel yapmaktadır. 1750’lerden sonra orta hallilerin geleneksel olarak var olan “ihtiyaç kadar” tüketme durumuna geçmesi bir önceki elli yılın özgünlüğüne dikkat çekmektedir. Yani on sekizinci yüzyılın başından başlayarak kesintisiz bir biçimde tüketim artışından bahsetmek mümkün değildir. Şayet mümkün olsaydı tüketim ve modernleşme arasında kurulan bağların Osmanlı tarihi için de kurulabilmesi imkanı hale gelirdi. Ancak 1750’li yıllardan itibaren tüketimde özellikle de vitrin ürünlerde ortaya çıkan düşüş Osmanlı toplumunun geri dönülmez bir yola girmiş olmaktan ziyade yüzyılın ilk yarısındaki canlanmaya bağlı olarak bir değişim yaşadığına işaret etmektedir. Kısacası yüzyılın ilk yarısına kadar olan tüketimdeki artış ve çeşitlenme üretim ve ekonomik ilişkilerdeki gelişmelerden ziyade toplumsallığın tüketimdeki etkisini vurgulamaktadır.

Bugüne kadar Lale Devri özellikle elitlerin tüketimi üzerinden sorgulanmıştır. Yapılan çalışmalar dönemin yönetici sınıfının tüketim örüntülerinin kendilerinden öncekilerden farklı olmadığını ifade ederek Lale Devri’nin bir tüketim ile özdeşleştirilemeyeceğinin altını çizmiştir.³⁹¹ Belirtmek gerekir ki elitlerin tüketimi üzerinden bu dönemin anlaşılmasının sorunları vardır; mesela elit tüketimi her zaman orta hallilere göre farklı bir seyir izlemektedir. Dolayısıyla dönemin sadrazamı olan Nevşehirli Damat İbrahim Paşa’nın ve etrafındaki birkaç devlet adamının muhallefatını ve masraf defterlerini inceleyerek bir artış gözlemlenmemiş olması literatürde “elitlerin

³⁹¹ Selim Karahasanoğlu, *A Tulip Age Legend: Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in the Ottoman Empire (1718-1730)*, Yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Binghamton: Binghamton University, 2004.

tüketimi” ile özdeşleştirilen Lale Devri’nin elit üzerinden okumanın yetersizliğini bize göstermiştir.

Ancak kentin yükselen toplumsallığına dikkat çekerek Lale Devri’nin toplumsal alanda yaşandığını işaret eden çalışmalar da vardır. Çalışmaların bir kısmı kamusal alanların kullanıma açıldığını ve buna bağlı olarak toplumsallığın arttığını gösterirken diğer kısmı elitlerin hayatından bir değişim olmamasından hareketle Lale Devri’nin de olmadığını öne sürmektedir.

Elinizdeki çalışma ise Lale Devri’nin orta hallilerin kentsel alanlarında geçerli olabileceğini vurgulayan çalışmalara paralellik arz etmektedir. Çalışma boyunca tartışıldığı gibi orta halli Osmanlıların tüketim örüntüleri göz önünde bulundurulduğunda yani kentli Osmanlıların toplumsallıklarındaki yükseliş ile toplumsal ürünlerin tüketimindeki artış bu devrin belki de elitlerden ziyade orta halliler arasında yaşanmış olduğunu söylemeye imkan vermektedir. Dahası çalışmada kullanılan verilere bakılırsa bu devrin orta halliler açısından 1750’lere kadar sürdüğü de söylenebilir.

Hiç şüphe yok ki bu çalışmanın on sekizinci yüzyılın ekonomik koşulları irdeleyen ve tüketimdeki değişimi bir de bu pencereden değerlendiren çalışmalar ile desteklenmesi gerekmektedir. Bunun yanında dışa açılma olarak adlandırılan toplumsallaşma meselesi kamusal alanlar ve edebiyat perspektiflerinden incelenerek toplumsallaşmanın yalnızca kamusal alanı ilgilendiren kısmı incelenmiştir. Ayrıca hane içerisindeki toplumsallaşmanın da çalışılması alana katkı açısından ve bu çalışmadaki hane içi tüketim verilerini desteklemesi açısından önemlidir. Diğer taraftan gerileme paradigması her ne kadar son zamanlarda Osmanlı tarihçileri tarafından büyük oranda geçerliliğini yitirmiş görünüyorsa da tüketim verileri ışığında on sekizinci yüzyılda İstanbulluların gerileyen bir imparatorluk tebaası resmi çizmedikleri görülmektedir. İmparatorluğun gerilemesi her ne kadar siyasi tarih üzerinden düşünülüyorsa da gerileme paradigmasını orta halliler üzerinden de incelenerek tebaanın deneyimleri ve algıları üzerinden çalışmak mümkün görünmektedir.

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